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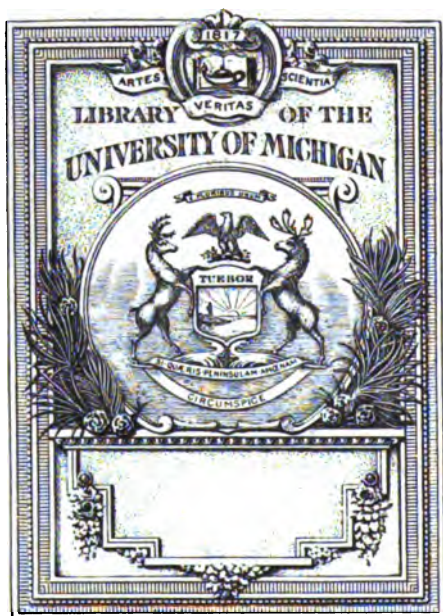
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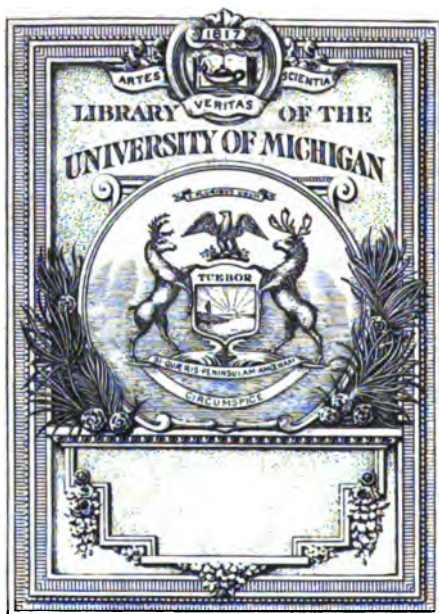
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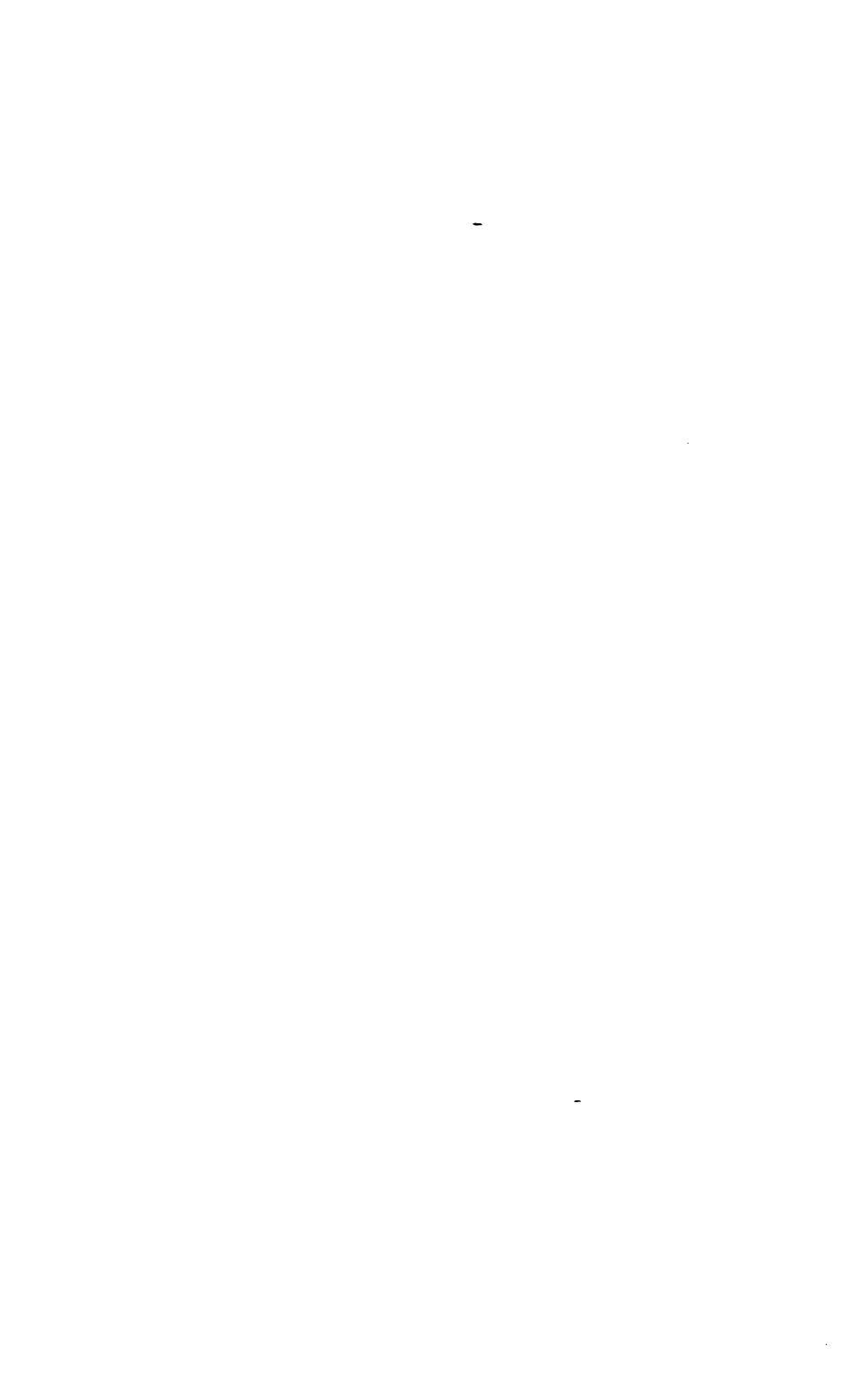














**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**SOUTH AMERICA**  
**AND**  
**MEXICO;**  
**COMPRISING THEIR**  
**DISCOVERY, GEOGRAPHY, POLITICS, COMMERCE**  
**AND**  
**REVOLUTIONS.**

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**BY HON. JOHN M. NILES,**  
**MEMBER OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.**

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**TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,**  
**A GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL VIEW**  
**OF**  
**TEXAS,**  
**WITH A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE**  
**TEXIAN REVOLUTION AND WAR.**

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**BY HON. L. T. PEASE.**

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**IN TWO VOLUMES.**

**VOL. I.**

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**HARTFORD:**  
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SKETCH  
OF THE HISTORY OF  
SPANISH AMERICA,  
TO THE REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

*Effects of the discovery of America—Columbus' first voyage and discoveries—grant of the Pope—second voyage—fate of the first colony—rising of the natives—they are subdued and compelled to pay tribute—convicts transported to the colony—third voyage of Columbus, in which he discovers the continent—origin of the repartimientos—voyage of Alonzo de Ojeda and Americus Vesputius—fourth voyage of Columbus—settlement on the Gulf of Darien—Vasco Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean—voyage of Juan de Solis—conquest of Cuba—colony planted—Cuzana, Yucatan, and Mexico discovered.*

THE discovery of America forms a new and most conspicuous era in the annals of the world; and probably no other event has had greater influence on the destinies of the human race. Its immediate effects were, to excite a spirit of discovery, of enterprise, and commercial cupidity, which not only gave a new direction, but a more vigorous impulse to speculative and commercial operations; and by extending the bounds and magnifying the objects of navigation, a degree of interest and importance was conferred on that pursuit, which it had never before possessed. To these effects succeeded the planting of colonies, which gradually gave a new aspect to the commerce of Europe, engrafted novel principles into the laws of nations, and in no small degree influenced the politics of almost every state in Europe; as for a long period most of the contentions and wars among the principal powers of the old world, arose from conflicting claims and interests in the new. New relations were created between the parent state and its colonies, and between the latter and other powers, the last of which were a source of constant jealousy, and often disturbed the peace of nations.

That the discovery and colonizing of a new world, several times as large as the continent of Europe, would produce an im-

portant change in the commercial and political relations of the maritime powers of that continent, must have been foreseen at the time; but that it should have had an important *moral* influence on the character of mankind, and have been the means of securing their rights, establishing their liberties, and exalting their destinies, no one could have anticipated. On the contrary, it must have been supposed, that the establishment of distant colonies, dependent on the parent state, nursed by its care, protected by its arms, and entirely subject to its power, would have tended to colonial oppression; which by strengthening the power of the sovereign, would react upon the parent state, and thus tend to the oppression of both. Whatever may have been the case with others, this was undoubtedly true of the Spanish Colonies down to the period of the late revolution. Their degradation and oppression alienated them from the parent country, and prepared their minds to embrace the first opportunity to throw off the yoke of a distant and foreign power, which instead of conducting toward them like an affectionate mother, treated them with the jealousy, selfishness, and cruelty of an unfeeling stepdame.

The English colonists in North America, consisting of the persecuted at home, brought with them, to a considerable extent, the elements of freedom; and many of the colonies obtained charters securing the essential rights of self-government, and the enjoyment of civil liberty; so that at a very early period, many scattering rays of light were shed abroad in this western hemisphere, which served as the dawn of that brighter day of liberty which we now behold in its meridian splendour. Although the English and Spanish systems of colonial government in America were different, yet the views and policy of the two countries were essentially the same, and tended to the same result. This policy was to keep the colonies, not only dependent, but tributary states; to monopolize their commerce, to cripple their manufactures, and in all respects to render them contributory to the wealth and aggrandizement of the colonizing country. In both divisions of the American continent this policy was more rigorously pursued as the colonies became more populous and wealthy, and as a jealousy and apprehension of their independence increased. This illiberal policy necessarily led to a separation, and has resulted in the independence and freedom of the greater part of America.

Notwithstanding the vast extent of the new world, its various and happy climate, its magnificent rivers and mountains, its unrivalled fertility of soil, and capacity of sustaining a population almost surpassing conception, the beneficial influence which it has had on the cause of civil liberty and the moral character of man, is infinitely more important than all the other advantages which its discovery will confer on the world. If it had contributed to



the enslavement and degradation of mankind, it might even be a problem whether its discovery ought to be regarded as a blessing or an evil; as the eastern hemisphere is sufficiently extensive for the wretched abodes of slavery. It is the glory and pride of America, and equally so now in two great divisions of this continent, that it is the land of freedom, and the asylum of the oppressed of all nations: that here the mind, as well as the body of man, is free, and ranges at large, unrestrained, except by those barriers which his Maker has established.

Toward the latter part of the fifteenth century a spirit of discovery appeared in several European nations, but was most conspicuous in Portugal. The fame of several successful voyages of discovery, made by the Portuguese, drew many enterprising foreigners into their service, and among the number, Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a subject of the republic of Genoa. At this time he possessed great experience as a navigator, which he improved by several voyages to Madeira, the Canaries, the Azores, and all other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa, so that he soon became one of the most skilful navigators in Europe. Possessing a mind bold and inquiring, and stimulated by the spirit of enterprise and discovery which prevailed, Columbus was ambitious to exceed the bounds which had limited the most daring and successful navigators. From his geographical knowledge, and various facts which he had observed during his voyages, he had for some time conceived the idea of finding a passage by sea to the East Indies, by sailing in a westerly direction. The spices and other rich commodities from India, which the Venetians had introduced into Europe, by the trade which they had monopolized with that country, had excited the attention and the envy of their neighbours, and rendered it an object of the last importance to discover a more direct route over sea to that country, then affording the richest commerce in the world.

Having submitted his plan of a voyage of discovery both to his native and adopted countries, without success, he next applied to Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella then governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. After having spent more than eight years in fruitless endeavours, during which he had to contend not only with ignorance and prejudice, but with the pride of false knowledge; and after experiencing the mortification of a second rejection of his proposals, just as he was on the eve of leaving the country, the influence of two of his friends with the Queen procured for him that encouragement which his own knowledge of the subject, and his long and unwearied exertions, had not been able to effect.

Spain is entitled to but little honour for having been the nation

under whose auspices the new world was discovered, and which, for two centuries and a half, contributed, in an eminent degree, to her aggrandizement and power.

On the third day of August, 1492, Columbus, with a fleet (for it was so called) of three small, weak vessels, scarcely fit for a voyage to the Canary Islands, with ninety men on board, sailed from Cadiz on a voyage of discovery. On the 12th of October, a little past midnight, the joyful cry of *land! land!* was heard; the truth of which was confirmed by the dawn of light, to the unspeakable joy of all. At sunrise the boats were manned and armed, and, with colours flying, and martial music, they approached the shore, which was lined with a multitude of strange people, entirely naked, who by their attitudes and gestures, expressed the surprise and astonishment with which they viewed the novel objects before them. Columbus, in a rich dress, with a drawn sword, was the first who stepped upon the soil of the new world, and, being followed by his men, they all kneeled down and kissed the ground which had so long been the object of their almost hopeless desire. This was followed by the erection of a crucifix, before which they prostrated themselves, and returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to so happy an issue. The natives, although extremely timid, gathered around them, while these ceremonies were performing, and gazed with silent admiration, unable to comprehend what they witnessed, and much less to foresee the misery and desolation which this visit of a new race of men was to bring upon themselves and their posterity. They were filled with amazement and awe, and regarded their strange guests as superior beings, and very naturally supposed that they were the children of the sun, who had deigned to visit the earth. The fallacy of this opinion they soon realized, and had occasion to regard them rather as fiends of darkness, than as angels of light, sent on errands of love.

The land discovered was one of the Bahama Islands, and was named, by Columbus, *San Salvador*. After exploring the island, and discovering several others, Columbus set sail for Spain, leaving thirty-eight of his people on the island, which he named *Hispaniola*, for the protection of which a small fort had been erected, in a great measure by the industry of the natives, who, with much simplicity, laboured, in conjunction with their invaders, to erect the first instrument of their slavery. Before the Discoverer set sail on his second voyage, it was deemed necessary to obtain a grant from the Pope, who, as the head of the church, and vicergerent of the Almighty, claimed dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth. Accordingly, his holiness granted, with great form and solemnity, to Ferdinand and Isabella, and their successors for ever, all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had

discovered, or might discover, but did not undertake to bound or describe them, as he was ignorant not only of their situation, but even of their existence. To prevent, however, this grant from interfering with one previously made to the Crown of Portugal, he directed that a line should be supposed to be drawn one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, from pole to pole, and all the unknown countries, east of this line, were given to the Portuguese, and those west to the Spaniards. The consideration of this grant was the propagation of Christianity among the heathen nations in the western regions, which Ferdinand engaged to do. Accordingly, Father Boyle, and several other friars, accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, to instruct the natives in Christianity; and those whom Columbus had carried to Spain, after some pains to instruct them, were baptized; Ferdinand himself, the prince his son, and the chief persons of his court, standing as their godfathers. These were the first fruits of missionary exertions among the natives of America. The second expedition sailed from the Bay of Cadiz on the 25th of September, 1493, and by steering a more southerly direction than had been pursued in the previous voyage, the first land discovered was the Caribbee, or Leeward Islands. Columbus discovered Dominica, Porto Rico, Guadaloupe, Antigua, and several other islands in the Gulf of Mexico. When he arrived off Navidad, which was the name he had given to the port where he had left the garrison, he was surprised that none of the men appeared, as he expected to behold them on the beach, welcoming their countrymen with transports of joy. It was soon discovered that the fort was entirely demolished, and the tattered garments and broken arms around it, removed all doubts as to the melancholy fate of the first colony, if it deserves that name, which had been planted in the new world. The rashness and licentiousness of the men brought upon them their own destruction. Alike regardless of their own security and the rights of the Indians, they seized upon whatever they could find; the provisions, gold, and women of the natives, were their prey. Roused by such insufferable wrongs, and having thrown off the fear of their invaders, by familiar intercourse with them, the natives were determined to rid themselves of such licentious intruders.

Columbus, instead of reoccupying the same spot, chose a situation more healthy and commodious, at the head of a capacious bay, where he traced out the plan of a large town, and, by the united labour of all hands, the houses and ramparts were in a short time so far advanced as to afford them shelter and protection. This, which must be considered the first settlement in the new world, the founder named Isabella, in honour of his patroness. In the commencement of it Columbus had not only to contend

with the usual difficulties connected with the planting of a colony in a distant and uncultivated country, but with the mutinous disposition of many of his followers, and the indolence of all, greatly increased by the enervating influence of a hot climate, to which they were unaccustomed. Their provisions were rapidly consuming, and what remained were corrupted by the heat and moisture of a tropical climate: the natives cultivated but little ground, and had scarcely sufficient provisions for themselves, consequently could not supply the wants of the Spaniards. The malignant diseases which prevail in the torrid zone, especially where the country is uncultivated, raged among them with great violence. Murmurs and complaints arose against Columbus and those who accompanied him in his former voyage. They were accused of having allured their countrymen to attempt a settlement in a land, which they had represented as a terrestrial paradise, but in reality barbarous and inhospitable, where they must inevitably perish by famine, or by unknown diseases. By his unwearied exertions and prudent measures, Columbus succeeded so far in restoring concord, as to be able to leave the island in pursuit of further discoveries. During a tedious voyage of five months, attended with every hardship and peril, he made no discovery of importance, except the island of Jamaica. He left the command of the infant colony to his brother, Don Diego, with the assistance of a council of officers; but no sooner had he left the harbour, than the soldiers dispersed over the island in small parties, lived upon the natives, wasted their provisions, seized their women, and treated that inoffensive race with all the insolence of military oppression. The natives silently submitted to these oppressions for a considerable time, hoping that their invaders would leave their country; but discovering that they had not come to visit the island, but to settle in it, they perceived that their oppressions would never be terminated but by expelling their cruel invaders. Roused by a common danger, and driven almost to desperation, all the caciques, or chiefs of the island, except Guacanahari, who from the first had been the friend of the Spaniards, united, and brought into the field, according to the Spanish accounts, a force of one hundred thousand men. Their arms were clubs, sticks of wood hardened in the fire, and arrows pointed with bones or flints.

Fortunately for the Spaniards, Columbus returned just at this crisis, and his presence, and the impending danger, restored authority and produced union. But two-thirds of the original number had died, and many of those who survived were incapable of service, so that two hundred foot and twenty horses were all that could take the field. To this force was united one of a novel kind, consisting of twenty large bull-dogs, but perhaps not the least efficient against timid and naked Indians. With great sim-

placidity the natives collected in a large plain, instead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the fastnesses and defiles of the mountains. Alarmed by the noise and havoc of firearms, the impetuosity of the cavalry, and the furious assaults of ferocious dogs, the natives were instantly filled with consternation, and threw down their arms and fled. Many were slain, and a much greater number taken prisoners, and reduced to a state of servitude. From this moment they abandoned themselves to despair, and relinquished all thoughts of resisting men whom they regarded as invincible. In a few days the Spaniards marched over the whole island, and subjected it to their government, without further opposition. The natives were treated as a conquered people, and a tribute imposed upon all persons above the age of fourteen years. In the districts where gold was found, each person was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold dust as filled a hawk's bill, and in other parts of the island twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. These unjust and rigorous measures Columbus, contrary to his own inclinations and his original plan of government, was constrained to adopt, to satisfy the rapacity of the Spanish court, and counteract the machinations of his enemies, who were constantly intriguing to destroy him. This was the first regular tax imposed on the natives, and was the origin of that system of exaction of tribute, or a capitation tax, from the natives, which Spain ever after maintained with the most intolerable oppression.

The settlement in Hispaniola was the parent, and served as the model of all the other Spanish settlements in America. Columbus, having returned to Spain, a more regular plan for the colony was adopted, and a large body of settlers was sent out, consisting of husbandmen, artisans, and workmen skilled in the various arts of digging and working mines, and refining the precious metals, together with a suitable number of women. All these emigrants were, for a certain number of years, to be supported and paid by the Spanish government. With these prudent and judicious regulations, Columbus proposed one of a most pernicious nature, which was the transportation, to the colony, of certain convicts, who had usually been sent to the galleys. This fatal expedient, inconsiderately proposed, was, with as little consideration, adopted, and the prisons of Spain were drained to recruit the colony. This absurd and cruel measure of emptying their jails into their colonies, was not only continued by Spain, but imitated by Great Britain, and in both continents held no unimportant station in the catalogue of colonial grievances against the mother country.

In the third voyage made by Columbus, he sailed further to the south, and the first land he discovered was the island of Trinidad, on the coast of Guiana, near the mouth of the Orinoco. Columbus having become involved among those adverse currents and

tempestuous waves, produced by the body of water which this river rolls into the ocean, with difficulty escaped through a narrow strait. He, however, very justly concluded, that a river of such vast magnitude could not flow from an island, as it must require a country of great extent to supply so large a body of water, and consequently felt persuaded that he had at length discovered the continent which had so long been the supreme object of his hopes and wishes. He directed his course to the west, along the coast of the province of Cumana; landed at several places, and had some intercourse with the inhabitants, who he found resembled those of Hispaniola, although possessed of a better understanding, and more courage.

When Columbus arrived at Hispaniola he found the colony in an unprosperous and distracted state. After his departure, his brother, in pursuance of his advice, removed the colony from Isabella to a more eligible situation on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of the present town of St. Domingo, which, for a long period, remained the most considerable European settlement in America, and was the seat of the supreme courts in the Spanish dominions. A war with the natives broke out, and whilst Diego Columbus was employed against them in the field, his attention was arrested by a most alarming mutiny among the Spaniards, which threatened the ruin of the colony. Columbus, by a reasonable offer of pardon, and other judicious measures, succeeded in allaying the spirit of sedition, and induced the malecontents to return to their duty. To effect this object, however, he was obliged so far to yield to the demands of the mutineers, as to agree to grant to them allotments of land in different parts of the island, with the right to the servitude of the natives settled on the same, so far as that they were to cultivate a certain portion of ground for the use of their new masters, which was to be in lieu of the tribute that had been imposed on them. This regulation was the germ of the system of *Repartimientos*, or distribution and servitude of the natives, which was established throughout the Spanish dominions in America. This plan of domestic servitude was founded on the same principles with the feudal system, so far as that applied to villiens or serfs, who performed the most degrading services, were attached to the soil, and were transferable with it. It reduced a large proportion of the natives in all the Spanish dominions to the most humiliating servitude, and subjected them to grievous and intolerable oppressions. It is one of the sources from whence have flowed the tears of an oppressed people, in such profusion, as if collected into one channel, would almost swell to a flood the vast rivers which flow through their country.

In the year 1500, Alonzo de Ojeda, a gallant officer, who had

accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, sailed on an expedition to America, with four ships, which had been equipped by the merchants of Seville, and was accompanied by Americus Vesputius, a gentleman of Florence. Having obtained a chart of Columbus' last voyage, Ojeda servilely followed in the same track, and arrived on the coast of Paria. He sailed to the west as far as the Cape de Vela, and traversed the coast a considerable extent beyond where Columbus had touched, and returned by way of Hispaniola to Spain.

Americus, on his return, wrote an account of the voyage and discoveries, and framed his narrative with so much art and address, as to secure to himself the credit and glory of having first discovered the continent in the New World. The novelty of the work, being the first publication concerning the discoveries which had been made in the Western World; and the amusing history which he gave of the voyage and adventures, obtained for it a rapid and extensive circulation, and spread the fame of the author over Europe. This bold attempt to assume the merit and glory which belonged to another, by an unaccountable caprice has been suffered to succeed, and, by the universal consent of nations, the name of *America* has been bestowed on the New World.

During the fourth voyage made by Columbus he discovered the Island of Guiana, and the coast of the Continent from Cape Gracias a Dios to a harbour, which, from its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. He went ashore at various places, and penetrated into the country, but searched in vain for the strait that he had long been attempting to discover, which he supposed led into an unknown ocean. He was so charmed with the fertility of the country, and the specimens of gold found on the natives, that he determined to plant a small colony under the command of his brother, in the province of Verague. But the insolence and rapacity of his men provoked the natives, who were a more warlike race than those of the Islands, to take up arms against the Spaniards, part of whom were killed, and the rest obliged to seek safety by abandoning the station.

This was the first repulse the Spaniards had received from the natives, and deprived Columbus of the honour of planting the first colony on the continent of America.

From the first discovery of the continent by Columbus, ten years elapsed before the Spaniards had made a settlement in any part of it; but in the year 1509, two expeditions were fitted out for this purpose, by individual enterprise; one under the command of Ojeda, and the other under Nicuesa; the former consisted of three vessels and three hundred men, and the latter of six vessels and seven hundred men. A grant or patent was given to Ojeda, of the country from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Da-

rien ; and to Nicuessa, from thence to Cape Gracias a Dios, with the power of planting colonies and establishing a government.

These adventurers were instructed to acquaint the natives with the primary articles of Christianity, and particularly to inform them of the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope, and of the grant which he had made of their country to the king of Spain ; and then to require them to embrace Christianity, and to acknowledge the authority of the Spanish sovereign ; and in case the natives did not comply with these requirements, they were told it would be lawful to attack them with fire and sword, exterminate them, and reduce their wives and children to servitude, or compel them to acknowledge the authority of the Church and of the Spanish monarch. This very wise and reasonable mode of taking possession of the country, was prescribed by the most eminent lawyers and divines in Spain. Both of these attempts failed, and nearly all engaged in them, with two considerable reinforcements from St. Domingo, perished within one year. The aborigines were fierce and warlike, and manifested the most implacable enmity toward them ; they used arrows dipped in poison, so noxious that almost every wound was followed by death. Seventy of the Spaniards were killed in one engagement. What few survived settled at Santa Maria, on the Gulf of Darien, under Vasco Balboa, whose extraordinary courage in the most trying emergencies, secured to him the confidence of his countrymen, and the rank of their leader. This was not the only bold adventurer afterward distinguished for daring exploits and splendid undertakings, that was engaged in this unfortunate enterprise. The celebrated Francisco Pizarro was one of Ojeda's party, and in this school of adversity and hardships qualified himself for the wonderful achievements which he subsequently performed. Fernando Cortes was at first engaged in this enterprise ; but being taken sick at St. Domingo before the expedition sailed, he was left behind, and his life spared for more daring and successful undertakings.

Balboa made frequent incursions into the country, and subdued several of the caciques ; and being informed by the natives that at the distance of many suns to the south there was another ocean, where gold was so common that the inhabitants made their common utensils of that metal, he concluded that this ocean was the one for which Columbus had so long searched in vain, and that it afforded a direct communication to the East Indies. With one hundred and ninety men, a part of which he had obtained from Hispaniola, he undertook the bold expedition of crossing over the Isthmus which connects North and South America, without any knowledge of the extent or nature of the country, or any guides but natives, on whose fidelity he could not safely rely.

Balboa set out on this expedition on the first of September,



1513 : and after twenty-five days of incredible hardships, in passing over a country abounding in mountains, rivers, and swamps, and filled with hostile tribes, from the summit of a mountain he beheld the Pacific Ocean, stretching in endless extent before him. He hurried toward it, and rushed into the briny waves to his middle, with his sword and buckler, and in a transport of joy took possession of that vast ocean in the name of his sovereign, and swore to defend it with his arms against all his enemies. He named this part of the Southern Ocean the Gulf of St. Michael, which it has ever since retained. Balboa learnt from the natives that pearl oysters abounded in the sea he had discovered, and that there was a very opulent country, where the inhabitants were more civilized, which lay to the south ; but not thinking it prudent to go in search of it with his small and exhausted party, he returned to Santa Maria ; and embraced the first opportunity to communicate his discoveries to the Spanish government, and requested a reinforcement of one thousand men, to conquer the country he had discovered. But disregarding Balboa's important services, the king sent out an expedition, and appointed Pedrarias Davila governor of Darien. By his incapacity and misconduct he nearly destroyed the colony ; and from his envy and jealousy of Balboa, he caused him to be arrested, just as he was on the eve of setting out on an expedition to the South Sea, and after a mock trial, to be executed. This cruel murder of the most able and successful adventurer and commander the Spaniards had in America, not only passed without censure, but the tyrant was continued at the head of the colony. Soon after this he obtained permission, and removed the colony to Panama, on the opposite side of the Isthmus. The object of this was to obtain a more healthful situation. The new location of the colony greatly facilitated the subsequent discoveries and conquests in the Southern Ocean.

In the year 1515, Juan de Solis, who was deemed one of the most skilful navigators in Spain, commanded an expedition to America, and sailing along the coast of the Southern Continent, on the first day of January the following year, he discovered a river which he named Rio Janeiro, from the day on which it was discovered. He continued along the coast, and discovered a spacious bay, which proved to be the mouth of the Rio de Plata, one of the great rivers of the Southern Continent.

He advanced up the bay, and having landed with the intention of penetrating into the country, De Solis and several of his men were slain by the natives, their bodies cut in pieces, roasted and eaten in sight of the ships. The loss of the commander occasioned the return of the expedition without making any further discoveries.

Diego Velasques, in 1511, commanded an expedition from Hispaniola, against the Island of Cuba, and with a force of three hundred men, he conquered an Island of seven hundred miles in length, filled with inhabitants ; and from his prudent administration it became one of the most flourishing of the Spanish settlements. A colony was planted in Cumana by Las Casas, an ecclesiastic, who, deeply affected with the miserable servitude to which the natives were reduced, had long exerted himself for the melioration of their unhappy condition. This colony was commenced for this laudable purpose ; but the Indians having been treated with such injustice and cruelty, and being in the highest state of exasperation against the Spaniards, in a secret but ferocious manner attacked the colony, cut off a part of them, and compelled the rest to fly in consternation to the Island of Cubagua. The expulsion of this colony was in the year 1531. An expedition was fitted out from Cuba, under Francisco Cordova, and steering in a westerly direction, they discovered a peninsula projecting from the continent, which he named Yucatan, which it has ever since retained.

The natives were more civilized and warlike ; they surprised and attacked the Spaniards with courage, and, in consequence of their hostile disposition, no attempt was made to effect a settlement. Proceeding to the west, and continuing in sight of the coast, in sixteen days they arrived at Campeachy. Cordova having landed with his men to procure water, the natives rushed upon them in such numbers, and with such impetuosity, that forty-seven of the Spaniards were killed, and nearly every man wounded, so that it was with difficulty they regained their ships. Notwithstanding the disastrous result of this expedition, a new one was soon after fitted out from Cuba under Juan de Grijalva, who, proceeding further west than Cordova, sailed along the coast of a fertile and delightful country, and with much surprise and admiration witnessed the villages which lay scattered along the shore ; they discovered stone houses, which at a distance appeared white and lofty ; they even imagined they saw cities with towers and pinnacles ; and one of the sailors observing that the country resembled Spain, Grijalva gave it the name of New Spain, which was received with universal applause. It is scarcely necessary to add that this extensive and interesting portion of America has retained the name ever since, or at least to the extinction of the authority of Spain over it.

Continuing his course to the west, Grijalva touched at several places, and at one Island which he called Uloa, and from thence proceeded along the coast as far as the river Tampico, and then returned to Cuba.

## CHAPTER II.

*Expedition against Mexico under Cortes—lands at St. Juan de Uloa—first interview with the natives—they offer rich presents to the Spaniards—Cortes establishes a council of magistrates, and commences the town of Vera Cruz—he destroys his ships—marches for Mexico—is opposed by the Tlascalans, who are defeated and sue for peace—slaughter of the inhabitants at Cholula—Spaniards approach the capital—first interview with the sovereign—Cortes gets possession of Montezuma, and governs the empire in his name—the governor of Cuba sends an expedition against Cortes—Mexicans revolt, and a dreadful contest ensues—Montezuma killed—Spaniards retire and suffer greatly—action in the valley of Otumba—Cortes receives re-enforcements—marches for Mexico—commences the siege—Guatimozin taken—the city surrenders—Guatimozin tortured to compel him to discover his treasure—discoveries of Magellan—Cortes rebuilds Mexico—the natives revolt—their caciques and nobles put to death.*

HITHERTO the Spaniards had done little more than to enlarge their discoveries upon the continent of America; from the coast of Florida north, they had touched at different places, as far as 35° S. of the equator; they had visited most of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico, and off the coast of the main land, and had discovered the great Southern Ocean, which opened extensive prospects and unbounded expectations in that quarter.

But although the settlements at Hispaniola and Cuba had become considerably flourishing and important, and afforded great facilities for enterprises on the continent, no colony had been maintained there, except the feeble and languishing one at Darien, and nothing had been attempted toward the conquest of the extensive country which had been discovered. The ferocity and courage of the natives, with the other obstacles attending such an enterprise, had discouraged the adventurers who had explored the continent, and they returned contented with the discoveries they had made, and the taking possession of the country, without attempting to maintain any foothold in it. This was the state of Spanish affairs in America in the year 1518, twenty-six years after the discovery of the country by Columbus. But at this period a new era commenced, and the astonishing genius, and almost incredible exertions of one man, conquered a powerful and popu-

lous nation, which, compared with those tribes with which the Spaniards had hitherto been acquainted, were a civilized people, understanding the arts of life, and were settled in towns, villages, and even large and populous cities.

Intelligence of the important discoveries made by Grijalva, was no sooner communicated to Velasques, than, prompted by ambition, he conceived the plan of fitting out a large armament for the conquest and occupation of the country; and so great was his ardour, that without waiting for the authority of his sovereign, or the return of Grijalva, the expedition was prepared and ready to sail about the time the latter entered the port of St. Jago de Cuba. Velasques was ambitious of the glory which he expected would attend the expedition, yet being sensible that he had neither the courage nor capacity to command it himself, he was greatly embarrassed in selecting a person who suited his views; as he wanted a man of sufficient courage, talents, and experience to command, but who at the same time would be a passive instrument in his hands. It was with no small difficulty a man of this description could be found, as those possessing the requisite abilities had too much spirit to be the creature of a jealous and capricious master. At length two of the secretaries of Velasques recommended Fernando Cortes, as a man suitable for his purpose; and, happily for his country, but fatally for himself, he immediately fell in with the proposition. Velasques believed that Cortes possessed courage and talents for command, united with a bold and adventurous spirit, and that his humble condition would keep him dependent on his will, and prevent his aspiring at independence. Cortes was one of the adventurers who came out to Hispaniola in the year 1504, when the island was under the governorship of Ovando, who was a kinsman of his; from which circumstance he was immediately employed in several lucrative and honourable stations; but not being satisfied with these, he accompanied Velasques in his expedition to Cuba; and distinguished himself in the conquest of that island. Cortes received his commission with the warmest gratitude, and erecting his standard before his own house, he immediately assumed the ensigns of his new dignity.

His extraordinary talents and activity were at once brought into requisition, and so great and unremitting were his exertions in forwarding the expedition, that he sailed from St. Jago de Cuba on the eighteenth day of November, in the year 1518, a short time after he received his commission. Cortes proceeded to Trinidad, a small settlement on the same side of the island, where he was joined by several adventurers, and received a supply of provisions and military stores. Velasques, who had been jealous of Cortes before he sailed, was confirmed in his suspicions of his

fidelity as soon as he was no longer in his power, and immediately despatched orders to Trinidad to deprive him of his commission. But he had already acquired the confidence of his officers and men in such a degree as to be able to intimidate the chief magistrate of the place, and depart without molestation. From this place Cortes sailed to the Havana, where he obtained more recruits and additional supplies. Velasques, irritated and mortified at the failure of his first attempt to deprive Cortes of his commission, despatched a confidential friend to this place, with peremptory orders to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes, and send him, under a strong guard, a prisoner to St. Jago, and to countermand the sailing of the fleet. Cortes having obtained information of the designs of Velasques, before his messenger arrived, immediately took measures to counteract them. He ordered such of his officers as he knew to be particularly attached to the governor, on some service abroad, and then acquainted the men of the unreasonable jealousy of the governor, and with his intention to deprive him of his command, and arrest the progress of the armament. The officers and men were equally astonished and indignant at the conduct of the governor, and with one voice beseeched Cortes not to deprive them of a leader in whom they all had such confidence, and offered to shed the last drop of their blood to maintain his authority.

This was the result expected by Cortes, and was highly gratifying to his ambition. In reply, he informed his men that he would never desert soldiers who had given such signal proofs of attachment, and promised instantly to conduct them to that rich country which had been so long the object of their hopes and wishes. Every thing was now ready for their departure.

The fleet consisted of eleven vessels, one of a hundred tons, three of seventy or eighty, and the residue small open barks. There were on board five hundred and eight soldiers, and one hundred and nine seamen and artificers, making in all six hundred and seventeen men. A part of the men had firearms, the rest crossbows, swords and spears. They had only sixteen horses, and ten small fieldpieces. With this force Cortes was about to commence war, with a view of conquest, upon a nation whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown, and which was filled with people considerably advanced in civilization. Although this expedition was undertaken for the purpose of aggression, and for plunder and conquest, yet so strange and blind is religious fanaticism, that with these objects were blended the propagation of Christianity; and upon the Spanish standards a large cross was displayed, with this inscription: "*Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer!*"

The expedition touched at the several places which had been visited by Grijalva, and continued its course to the westward until it arrived at St. Juan de Uloa, where a large canoe, filled with people, two of whom appeared to be persons of distinction, approached the fleet with signs of friendship, and came on board without any symptoms of fear or distrust. By means of a female Indian, who had previously been taken on board, and was afterward known by the name of Donna Marina, and who understood the Aztec, or Mexican language, Cortes ascertained that the two persons of distinction were deputies despatched by the two governors of the province, and that they acknowledged the authority of a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma, who was sovereign of the whole country; and that they were sent to inquire what his object was in visiting their shores, and to offer him any assistance he might stand in need of, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes informed them that he had visited their country with no other than the most friendly intentions, and for an object of very great importance to their king and country. The next morning, without waiting an answer, the Spaniards landed; and the natives, like the man who warmed the frozen snake, which, reviving, bit his child to death, assisted them with great alacrity, little suspecting that they were introducing into their peaceful borders the invaders and despoilers of their country. In the course of the day Teutile and Pilpatoe, the two governors of the province, entered the camp of Cortes, with a numerous retinue, and were received with much ceremony, and apparent respect. Cortes informed them that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos, king of Castile, the most powerful monarch of the East, and that the object of his embassy was of such vast moment, that he could communicate it to no one but Montezuma himself, and therefore requested that they would conduct him into the presence of the emperor. The Mexican officers were astonished at so extraordinary a proposition, and attempted to dissuade Cortes from it; but he insisted upon a compliance with his request, in a peremptory and almost authoritative manner. In the mean time, he observed some of the natives delineating, on white cotton cloth, figures of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, firearms, and other objects which attracted their attention; and being informed that these were to be conveyed to Montezuma, he wished to fill their emperor with the greatest possible awe of the irresistible power of his strange guests. He instantly ordered the troops formed in order of battle; various martial movements and evolutions were performed; the horse exhibited a specimen of their agility and impetuosity; and the fieldpieces were discharged into the wood, which made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on in silent amazement, until the cannon were fired when

some fled, others fell on the ground, and all were filled with consternation and dismay; and were confounded at the sight of men who seemed to command the thunder of heaven, and whose power appeared so nearly to resemble that of the Great Spirit.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma, and returned in a few days, although Mexico, where he resided, was one hundred and eighty miles from St. Juan de Uloa, where Cortes was. This despatch was in consequence of an improvement in police, which had not then been introduced into Europe; couriers were stationed at given distances along the principal roads, and being trained to the business, they conveyed intelligence with great despatch. Teutile and Pilpatoe were empowered to deliver the answer of their master to Cortes; but previous to which, agreeably to their instructions, and with the mistaken hope of conciliating his favour, they offered to him the presents which had been sent by the emperor. These were introduced with great ceremony, by a train of one hundred Indians, each loaded with the presents of his sovereign: they were deposited on mats so placed as to show them to the greatest advantage, and consisted of the manufactures of the country, such as fine cotton stuffs, so splendid as to resemble rich silks; pictures of animals, and other national objects, formed of feathers of various hues, with such wonderful art and skill, as to rival the works of the pencil: but what most attracted the attention of the Spaniards, whose avidity for the precious metals knew no bounds, was the manufactures of gold and silver. Among the bracelets, collars, rings, and trinkets of gold, were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. These specimens of the riches of the country, instead of conciliating the favour of the Spaniards, and inducing them to quit the country, had the effect of oil cast upon fire, with the view to extinguish it; they inflamed their cupidity for gold to such a pitch, that they could hardly be restrained in their ardour to become masters of a country affording such riches. These splendid presents were received by Cortes with great respect for the monarch whose liberality bestowed them. This gave courage to the Mexican officers, who informed Cortes, that though Montezuma wished him to accept these presents, as a token of his respect, yet he could not consent to have him approach, with an armed force, nearer to his capital, or remain any longer in his dominions. "Inform your master," said Cortes, in a peremptory tone, "that I insist on my first demand, and that I cannot return, without disgrace, until I have had an interview with the sovereign, whom I was sent to visit in the name of my king." The Mexicans were astonished at this boldness, as they had been accustomed to see the will of their monarch obeyed in

the most implicit manner. They requested time to send to the emperor once more, with which request the Spanish general complied.

The Mexican monarch and his counsellors were greatly embarrassed and alarmed, and knew not what measures to adopt to expel from their country such bold and troublesome intruders. Their fears were increased by the influence of superstition, there having long prevailed a tradition that their country would be invaded and overrun by a formidable race of men, who would come from the regions toward the rising of the sun. Montezuma, and his advisers, dreading the consequences of involving their country in war with enemies who seemed to be of a higher order of beings, and to command and direct the elements, sent to Cortes a more positive command to leave the country, and most preposterously accompanied this with a rich present, which rendered the Spaniards the more bent on becoming masters of a country that appeared to be filled with the precious metals. When Teutile delivered the ultimatum of his sovereign, together with the rich presents, and Cortes again insisted on his demand of seeing the emperor, the Mexican abruptly turned and left the camp, with looks and gestures which plainly showed that his astonishment was not greater than his indignation, at the boldness and insolence of the Spanish general. This terminated all friendly intercourse between the natives and the Spaniards, and hostilities were immediately expected. At this crisis the situation of Cortes was rendered more alarming by disaffection among his men, which had been produced by the danger of their situation, and the exertions of some of the officers, who were friendly to Velasques. Diego de Ordaz, the leader of the malecontents, presented a remonstrance to Cortes, demanding, with great boldness, to be conducted immediately back to Cuba. Cortes listened with attention to the remonstrance, and, in compliance with it, immediately gave orders for the fleet to be in readiness to sail the next day. This was no sooner known than it produced the effect Cortes had foreseen. The whole camp was in confusion, and almost in mutiny. All demanded to see their leader; and when Cortes appeared, they asked whether it was worthy Castilian courage to be daunted by the first appearance of danger, and to fly before the enemy appeared. They insisted on pursuing the enterprise, the value of which had vastly increased from what they had seen, and declared that they would follow him with alacrity through every danger, to the possession and conquest of those rich countries, of which they had seen such satisfactory evidence. Cortes, delighted with their ardour, declared that his views were the same as their own, but that he had given the order to re-embark from a belief that it was the wish of all; but being happy to learn that



they were animated with so noble a spirit, he would resume the plan he had at first conceived, which was the establishment of a settlement on the seacoast, and then to penetrate into the heart of the country ; and he had no doubt but that he could conduct them in a career of victory which would redound to their glory, and establish their fortune.

As the first step toward planting a colony, Cortes assembled the principal men of his party, who proceeded to elect a council of magistrates, in whom its government was to be vested. The magistrates chosen were called by the official names which existed in Spain, and were to exercise the same jurisdiction ; and all of them were the devoted friends of Cortes. The council was immediately assembled, when Cortes appeared before them with the most profound respect, and, addressing the new tribunal, he informed them that, as the sovereign of the country had already shown a hostile disposition, the security of the colony depended upon military force, and that on subordination and discipline : and as his commission, received from the governor of Cuba, had long since been revoked, his authority might be questionable : he therefore resigned his commission, and observed, that though he had been accustomed to command, yet he should cheerfully obey whomsoever they might see fit to place at the head of affairs. As he had arranged this matter with his friends in the council, the resignation of Cortes was accepted, and immediately he was chosen, by their unanimous voice, captain-general of the army, and chief justice of the colony : his commission was made out in the king's name, with the most ample powers, and was to continue in force until the royal pleasure might be ascertained. Before accepting this appointment, the troops were consulted, and they unanimously confirmed the choice, and the air resounded with Cortes' name, and all swore to shed the last drop of their blood in support of his authority. Some of the adherents of Velasques exclaimed against these illegal proceedings, but Cortes, by a prompt exercise of authority, and by arresting and putting in chains several of the leaders of the malecontents, suppressed a faction which, had it not been timely checked, might have endangered all his hopes. Cortes was now placed in a situation which he had long desired, having rendered himself entirely independent of the governor of Cuba.

Having employed some of his officers to survey the coast, he resolved to remove about forty miles to the northward, where there was a more commodious harbour, the soil more fertile, and in other respects a more eligible spot for a settlement. He immediately marked out the ground for a town, and as avarice and religious fanaticism were the two principles which governed the conduct of all the Spanish adventurers in America, he named the

town *Villarica, de la Vera Cruz*—the rich town of the true cross. Huts were ordered to be erected, which might afford a shelter; these were to be surrounded by fortifications, and works of sufficient strength to afford security from the attacks of the natives; and by the united exertions of officers and men, Cortes himself setting an example of industry and perseverance, and with the assistance of the natives, the works were forwarded with astonishing rapidity. In proceeding to this place the Spaniards had passed through the country of Zempoalla, and had an interview with several of the caciques of that nation, and learnt, with much satisfaction, that they were unfriendly to Montezuma, and anxious to throw off his yoke; he also learnt many particulars concerning that monarch; that he was a great tyrant, and oppressed his subjects; that he had conquered some provinces, and ruined others, by excessive exactions.

Whilst employed in erecting the town, the caciques of Zempoalla, and of Quiabitslan, frequently visited them, which gave Cortes an opportunity to raise their conceptions of the character and power of the Spaniards to the highest pitch, and at the same time to encourage their opposition to the government of Montezuma, by assuring them of his protection. He so far succeeded in this, that when some of Montezuma's officers came among them to collect the usual tribute, they seized them, and treated them as prisoners; and, agreeably to their barbarous superstition, were preparing to sacrifice them to their gods, when Cortes interfered, and delivered them from their impending fate. This act of open rebellion served to attach these caciques firmly to the Spaniards, as their protection alone could save them from the dreadful consequences of Montezuma's displeasure; and Cortes soon succeeded in persuading them to acknowledge themselves, in a formal manner, to be the vassals of the Spanish monarch. Their example was followed by several other tribes. At this period Cortes despatched a vessel to Spain, with a highly coloured description of the country he had discovered, confirmed by many of the specimens of wealth they had received from the natives, with an account of the progress he had made in establishing the Spanish authority over it: he attempted to justify his throwing off the authority of Velasques, and setting up for himself, and requested a confirmation of his authority from the crown.

Disaffection again appeared among the men, of a more alarming character than what had existed before, which, though promptly suppressed, filled the mind of Cortes with disquietude and concern, and led him to adopt one of the boldest measures of which history affords any account. He was satisfied that, from the appalling dangers, and magnitude of the undertaking, and from the spirit of disaffection which, although suppressed, still lurked

among his troops, it would be impossible to maintain his authority over them, except by cutting off the means of return. After reflecting on the subject with deep solicitude, he resolved on destroying the fleet, which would place the Spaniards in a situation that they must conquer or perish; and, by the most plausible and artful representations, he succeeded in persuading his men to acquiesce in this desperate measure. With universal consent the ships were drawn on shore, and after being stripped of their sails, rigging, and every thing of value, they were broken to pieces. His influence must have been unbounded, to be able to persuade his men to an act which is unparalleled in the annals of man: six hundred men voluntarily cut off their means of returning, and shut themselves up in a hostile country, filled with warlike and ferocious inhabitants, whose savage mode of warfare spared their prisoners only for the torture, or to be offered in sacrifice to their angry deities.

Cortes now felt prepared to enter upon a career of victory and conquest, in some measure suited to his ambition and rapacity. Having advanced to Zempoalla, his zeal for religion led him to overturn the idols in the temples, and to place a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary in their stead; which rash step came near blasting all his hopes in the bud. The natives were filled with horror, and were excited to arms by their priests; but Cortes had such an ascendancy over them, that he finally pacified them, and restored harmony.

He marched from Zempoalla on the sixteenth of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six fieldpieces, with the intention of penetrating into the heart of a great and powerful nation. The residue of his men, most of whom were unfit for service, were left as a garrison at Vera Cruz. The cacique of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions, and, with two hundred Indians, called *Tamemes*, whose office it was to carry burdens, and do other menial services, together with four hundred soldiers, most of whom were persons of note, who might be hostages for the fidelity of their chiefs, he advanced near the territories of the Tlascalans; and having learned that they were implacable enemies of the Mexicans, he was in hopes to pass through their country unmolested. He despatched four of the Zempoallans to request this privilege, and explain his friendly intentions. The Tlascalans; instead of granting this request, seized the ambassadors, and were preparing to sacrifice them to their gods. Cortes was obliged to march into their territories, and being a fierce and warlike people, they attacked him with great fury, and with vast numbers; and although defeated and dispersed in every attack, they rallied and returned to the conflict, with valour and perseverance far surpassing any thing which had been witnessed in Ame-

rica. But although the Tlascalans brought into the field immense armies, and fought with courage and perseverance, they were unable to stop the progress of the Spaniards—so great is the advantage of discipline and science over barbarian force. They suffered severely in the successive conflicts, and only killed two horses, and slightly wounded several men, of the Spaniards. Believing the Spaniards to be invincible, as the last resort, they consulted their priests concerning these strange invaders, and how they could be repelled; and were informed that they were the offspring of the Sun, produced by his creative energy, in regions of the East, and that they were invincible during the day; but at night, when deprived of the sustaining influence of the Sun, they dwindled into mere mortals, and could be as easily overcome as other men. This response appeared very plausible, and immediately the Tlascalans prepared to surprise and attack the Spaniards in the night. But Cortes was too vigilant to be surprised by an Indian stratagem; his outposts observed the movements of the enemy, and gave the alarm; the troops were immediately formed, sallied out of the camp, and dispersed them with great slaughter. The last effort, the advice of their priests, having completely failed, they became desirous of ending hostilities with a race that they regarded as more than mortal, but were at a loss whether they were good or evil beings. "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present you five slaves, that you may eat their flesh and drink their blood; if you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes; if you are mere mortals, here is meat, and bread, and fruit, to nourish you." Peace was concluded, and the Tlascalans acknowledged themselves tributary to the Spanish monarch, and agreed to assist Cortes in his operations against the Mexicans, and he engaged to protect them and their country. The Tlascalans, in every adversity of fortune, remained faithful to the Spaniards, and it was to this alliance that they were indebted for success in the conquest of the Mexican empire.

Cortes reposed twenty days at Tlascala, to recruit his troops, who were exhausted with hard service, and enfeebled by the dampers of the climate. During this interval he obtained extensive information concerning the Mexican empire, and the character and political condition of its sovereign. His troops being recruited, the Spanish general commenced his march toward Mexico, with six thousand Tlascalan warriors added to his force. He directed his route to Cholula, a considerable town, fifteen miles distant, celebrated for its vast pyramid, or temple, and as being regarded as the seat of their gods. Here, although they had entered the town without opposition, and with much apparent respect, the Spaniards soon discovered a deep plot laid for their

destruction, and having obtained satisfactory proof, Cortes determined to make such an example as would inspire his enemies with terror. He drew his forces up in the centre of the town, and sent for most of the magistrates and chief citizens, under various pretences, who, at a given signal, were seized, and then the troops and the Tlascalans fell on the people, who, being deprived of their leaders, and filled with astonishment, dropped their arms, and remained motionless, without making the least effort to defend themselves. The slaughter was dreadful; the streets were filled with the dead, and covered with blood; the priests and some of the chief families took refuge in the temples: these were set on fire, and all consumed together. This scene of carnage continued for two days, during which six thousand of the natives perished, without the loss of a single individual of their destroyers.

From Cholula it was but sixty miles to Mexico, and Cortes marched directly toward the capital; through every place he passed he was received as a deliverer, and heard the grievances of the inhabitants, all of which he promised to redress. He was highly gratified on perceiving that the seeds of discontent were scattered through the empire, and not confined to the remote provinces. As the Spaniards approached the capital, the unhappy monarch was distracted with hopes and fears, and knew not what to do: one day he sent orders inviting them to advance; the next, commanding them to retire, and leave the country. As the Spaniards drew near to the city, one thousand persons of distinction came out to meet them, clad in mantles of fine cotton, and adorned with plumes: each, in his order, passed by and saluted Cortes in the manner deemed most respectful in their country. At length they announced the approach of the emperor himself: his retinue consisted of two hundred persons, dressed in uniform, with plumes and feathers, who marched two and two, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground: to these succeeded a higher rank, with more showy apparel. Montezuma followed in a litter, or chair, richly ornamented with gold and feathers, borne on the shoulders of four of his favourites; a canopy of curious workmanship was supported over his head; three officers walked before him, with gold rods, which, at given intervals, they raised up, as a signal for the people to bow their heads, and hide their faces, as unworthy to behold so august a sovereign. As he approached Cortes, the latter dismounted, and advanced in the most respectful manner; Montezuma at the same time alighted, and, leaning on two of his attendants, approached with a slow and stately pace, cotton cloth being strewed on the ground, that he might not touch the earth. Cortes saluted him with profound reverence, according to the European fashion, and Montezuma returned the salutation in the manner of his country: he touched

with his hand the ground, and then kissed it. This being the mode of salutation of an inferior to a superior, the Mexicans viewed with astonishment this act of condescension in their monarch, whom they had been accustomed to consider as exalted above all mortals, and related to the gods. Montezuma, having conducted the Spaniards to the quarters provided for them, on retiring, addressed Cortes as follows :—" You are now with your brothers, in your own house ; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The Spaniards were lodged in an ancient palace, surrounded with a wall, with towers at proper distances, which would serve for defence ; the accommodations were not only sufficient for the Spaniards, but likewise for their Indian allies.

Mexico is situated in an immense plain, or valley, surrounded by lofty mountains, and all the waters that descend from these mountains are collected in several small, and two large lakes, of about ninety miles in circumference, which communicate with each other. The city is built on the banks of one of these lakes, and several adjacent islands ; the access to the city is by several causeways, of great extent ; at proper distances are openings, with bridges, for the water to pass when it overflows the flat.

The houses of the inhabitants were little better than Indian huts, yet placed in regular order ; but the temples and other public buildings, the houses of the monarch and persons of distinction, were of vast dimensions, and had some claims to magnificence, especially when it is considered that the inhabitants knew not the use of iron, or edged tools, and were destitute of the aid of domestic animals.

The Spaniards soon became alarmed for their safety, as it was apparent that by breaking down the bridges their retreat would be cut off, and they would be shut up in a hostile city, where all their superiority in arms could not prevent their being overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies. Reflecting, with deep concern, on his situation, Cortes resolved on a measure scarcely less bold and desperate than that of destroying his ships ; this was to seize the sovereign of a great empire, in his own capital, surrounded by his subjects, and retain him as a prisoner in the Spanish quarters. When he first proposed this measure to his officers, most of them were startled with its audacity ; but he convinced them that it was the only step that could save them from destruction, and they agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes repaired to the palace, with five of his bravest officers, and as many trusty soldiers ; thirty chosen men followed at some distance, and appeared to be sauntering along the street. The rest of the troops, and their allies, were prepared to sally out at the first alarm. As the Spaniards

entered, the Mexican officers retired, and Cortes addressed the monarch in a very different tone from what he had been accustomed to do, and accused him of being the instigator of the attack made on his garrison left at Vera Cruz, in which several Spaniards were killed, and demanded reparation. The monarch, filled with astonishment and indignation, asserted his innocence with great warmth, and, as a proof of it, ordered the officer who attacked the Spaniards to be brought to Mexico as a prisoner. Cortes pretended that he was satisfied with this declaration, but said that his soldiers would never be convinced that Montezuma did not entertain hostile intentions toward them, unless he repaired to the Spanish quarters, as a mark of confidence, where he would be served and honoured as became a great monarch. The first mention of so strange and alarming a proposal, almost bereft the unhappy monarch of his senses; he remonstrated and protested against it; the altercation became warm, and continued for several hours, when Velasques de Leon, a daring and impetuous young officer, exclaimed, with great vehemence: "Why waste more words or time in vain? let us seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The audacity of this declaration, accompanied with fierce and threatening looks and gestures, intimidated Montezuma, who submitted to his fate, and agreed to comply with their request. Montezuma now called in his officers, and informed them of his determination; they heard it with astonishment and grief, but made no reply. He was, accordingly, carried to the Spanish quarters, with great parade, but bathed in tears. We consult history in vain for any parallel to this transaction, whether we consider the boldness and temerity of the measure, or the success with which it was executed.\*

Qulpopoca, the commander who attacked the garrison at Vera Cruz, his son, and six of his principal officers, were delivered to Cortes, to be punished as he deemed proper; and after a mock trial, before a Spanish court martial, they were condemned to be burnt alive, which infamous and wicked sentence was carried into execution, amidst vast multitudes of their astonished countrymen, who viewed the scene with silent horror.

Montezuma remained in the quarters of the Spaniards for six months, was treated with apparent respect, and served by his own officers, but strictly watched, and kept in "durance vile." Du-

\* It is a curious fact, that at the expiration of three centuries, an attempt should be made for the subjugation of Spain, by getting possession of its sovereign, not dissimilar to that which had been practised by the officers of that nation in America. In point of treachery and deception, there is little difference in the two cases; and if the sins of nations are visited upon their posterity, the designs of Bonaparte against Spain and its monarch might be regarded as retributive, for the violence and treachery of the Spanish adventurers against the inoffensive inhabitants of America.

ring this period, Cortes, having possession of the sovereign, governed the empire in his name; his commissions and orders were issued as formerly, and strictly obeyed, although it was known that the monarch was a prisoner, in the hands of the invaders of the country. The Spaniards made themselves acquainted with the country, visited the remote provinces, displaced some officers, whom they suspected of unfriendly designs, and appointed others more obsequious to their will; and so completely was the spirit of Montezuma subdued, that at length Cortes induced him to acknowledge himself as tributary, and a vassal of the king of Castile. This last and most humiliating condition, to which a proud and haughty monarch, accustomed to independent and absolute power, could be reduced, overwhelmed him with the deepest distress. He called together the chief men of the empire, and informed them of his determination, but was scarcely able to speak, being frequently interrupted with tears and groans, flowing from a heart filled with anguish.

Cortes had deprived Montezuma of his liberty, of his wealth, and of his empire; he wished now to deprive him of his religion. But though the unhappy monarch had submitted to every other demand, this he would not yield to; and Cortes, enraged at his obstinacy, had the rashness to order the idols of the temples thrown down by force; but the priests taking arms in their defence, and the people rallying in crowds to support them, Cortes was obliged to desist from an act which the inhabitants viewed as the highest sacrilege. This rash step excited the bitter enmity of the priests against the Spaniards, who regarded them as the enemies of the gods, who would avenge the insult which had been offered to them. They roused the leading men, and from this moment the Mexicans began to reflect on the means of destroying or expelling such audacious and impious invaders. They held frequent consultations with one another, and with their captive prince. Being unwilling to have recourse to arms, if it could be avoided, Montezuma called Cortes into his presence, and informed him, that now all the objects of his mission were fulfilled, and it was the will, both of the gods and of his people, that the Spaniards should instantly depart from the empire, and if he did not comply with this request, inevitable destruction would overtake them. Cortes, thinking it prudent not to appear to oppose the wishes of the Mexicans, informed Montezuma that he was expecting soon to leave the country, and had begun to make preparations for his departure.

Whilst Cortes was deeply anxious as to his situation, in consequence of the evident designs of the Mexicans, a more alarming danger threatened him from another quarter. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, having obtained intelligence of Cortes' proceed-



ings—that he had renounced all dependence on his authority—was attempting to establish an independent colony, and had applied to the king to confirm his acts—was filled with indignation, and resolved to be avenged on the man who had so basely betrayed his confidence, and usurped his authority. He engaged, with great ardour, in preparing an expedition, which was destined to New Spain, to arrest Cortes, bring him home in irons, and then to prosecute and complete the conquest of the country in his own name. The armament consisted of eighteen vessels, having on board eight hundred foot soldiers, and eighty horsemen, with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. The command of this expedition was intrusted to Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, and then complete the conquest of the country. The fatal experience of Velasques had neither inspired him with wisdom nor courage; for he still intrusted to another what he ought to have executed himself.

When Cortes first heard that several ships had appeared on the coast, he supposed that it was an expedition which his messengers had procured to be sent from Spain as a re-enforcement. But the joy which this occasioned was soon turned to sorrow, when, instead of friends, he learnt that they were new and more formidable enemies. In this appalling exigency, Cortes was greatly embarrassed how to act. He finally concluded that he could rely only on his arms; and leaving one hundred and fifty men in Mexico, to guard the royal prisoner, and maintain his authority, he commenced his march toward the coast, with the residue of his troops, which, after being re-enforced by the garrison at Vera Cruz, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. Although sensible that the dispute must be decided by the sword, he despatched several messengers to Narvaez, to offer terms of accommodation, but without success; and the demands of Narvaez were so insolent as greatly to enrage the followers of Cortes. Narvaez, relying on his superiority of numbers, and confident of victory, set a price on Cortes' head. At length the armies approached near each other, and Narvaez immediately marched out to offer Cortes battle. But the latter prudently declined an engagement, and, moving off, took a station where he was secure from attack. He foresaw that the enemy would naturally give themselves up to repose, after their fatigues, and resolved to surprise and attack them in the night. His officers and men highly approved of this measure; it was executed in a most gallant manner, and with success surpassing the most sanguine hopes he could have entertained. The sentinels were seized, and the enemy was completely surprised; and after a desperate but ineffectual struggle, their commander having been wounded and made prisoner, they surrendered at discretion. Cortes treated the vanquished not as enemies

but as his countrymen, and offered to conduct them back to Cuba, or to receive them into his service on the same terms as his own soldiers. To the latter propositions they all acceded, with the exception of a few personal friends of Narvaez, and avowed the satisfaction they felt in following so distinguished a commander. Thus, by the good fortune and great abilities of the conqueror of Mexico, an event which threatened to annihilate all his hopes, was turned so greatly to his advantage, that it afforded him a re-enforcement exceeding in number the troops he then had, and placed him at the head of one thousand Spaniards. He immediately commenced a rapid march back to the capital, a courier having arrived just after the victory over Narvaez from the garrison left there, with intelligence that the Mexicans, immediately after the departure of Cortes, had taken arms, and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters with great fury. This was occasioned by the rapacity and violence of the Spaniards, who, at a solemn festival in honour of the gods of the country, treacherously murdered two thousand of the nobles, and stripped them of their ornaments. This outrage was committed under a pretence that they had engaged in a conspiracy against the Spaniards. Cortes found, as he passed through the Mexican territories, that the spirit of hostility to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital; the inhabitants deserted the towns through which he passed, and removed all provisions, so that he could scarcely subsist his troops. Nothing but the rapidity of his movements could have saved the garrison, as the Mexicans had destroyed the two brigantines which Cortes had built to secure the command of the lake, reduced their magazines to ashes, and were carrying on hostilities with such fury and perseverance, that, with all their bravery, the Spaniards must soon have been overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies.

But so ignorant were the Mexicans of the art of war, and so little had they learnt from experience, that they permitted Cortes again to enter the capital, when they could, with the greatest ease, have prevented it, by breaking down the bridges and causeways.\* The garrison received their countrymen with transports of joy; and Cortes, feeling confident in his strength, had the imprudence to throw off the disguise which had covered his actions, and to treat the captive monarch with contempt, and scarcely to conceal his intentions of subjugating the country. This indiscretion re-

\* This may have been the result of policy instead of ignorance; the Mexicans may have suffered the Spaniards to enter the city, for the purpose of involving them all in one common ruin. They are represented to have said, "that having discovered our enemies are not immortal, we are determined to complete their destruction, although the death of every Spaniard should cost a thousand lives. After so great a slaughter, there will still remain a sufficient number to celebrate the victory."—HERRERA.

kindled the flames of war ; and, emboldened by their success, which convinced them that their enemies were not invincible, the Mexicans collected the next day after the arrival of Cortes, in vast multitudes, and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, with great impetuosity. The Spanish leader and his followers were astonished at the courage and spirit of men who had, for a long time, submitted so tamely to the yoke they had imposed on them. Crowded together in the narrow streets, the Spanish artillery swept them away, at every discharge, like autumnal leaves before the blast ; yet they remained undaunted, and returned to the assault with the bravery and determination of men resolved to conquer or die. The contest was continued for several days, with the same spirit and perseverance. At length Cortes resolved to make a sally, with so strong a force that he hoped to drive the enemy out of the city, and end the contest. But he was met by so numerous a body of men, who, animated by their priests, and led on by their nobles, fought with such desperation, that after a day of incessant toil, during which immense slaughter was made of the Mexicans, and a part of the city burnt, the Spaniards returned to their quarters, harassed by the multitude and perseverance of their enemies, and weary with their own carnage, without having effected any thing decisive, or that compensated them for the great loss of twelve men killed and sixty wounded. Being now sensible that he could not maintain himself in the midst of an exasperated population with a handful of men, however great might be their superiority, he resolved to try what would be the effect of the intercession of Montezuma toward soothing the wrath of his people. Accordingly, the next morning, when the Mexicans advanced to the attack, the wretched prince, made the instrument of his own disgrace and of the enslavement of his subjects, was constrained to ascend the battlement, clad in his royal robes, and to address his subjects, and attempt to allay their rage, and dissuade them from hostilities.\* As he came in sight of the Mexicans their weapons dropped from their hands, and they prostrated themselves on the earth ; but when he stopped speaking, a deep and sullen murmur arose, and spread through the ranks ; reproaches and threats followed, and the feelings of the people swelling in a moment like a sudden rush of waters, volleys of arrows, stones, and every missile, were poured upon the ramparts, so suddenly, and with such violence, that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to protect Montezuma, could cover him with their bucklers, he was wounded by the arrows, and struck by a stone on the temple, which felled him to the ground. His fall occasioned a sudden

\* Some authorities state that Montezuma was induced to intercede with his people, by an assurance from Cortes, that if he would pacify them, he would grant him his liberty, and depart from his country.

transition in the feelings of the multitude ; being horror-struck with the crime they had committed, they threw down their arms, and fled with precipitation. Montezuma was removed to his apartments by the Spaniards, but his proud spirit could not brook this last mortification, and perceiving that he was not only the prisoner and tool of his enemies, but the object of the vengeance and contempt of his subjects, he tore the bandages from his wounds in a transport of feeling, and persisted in a refusal to take any nourishment, with a firmness that neither entreaties nor threats could overcome, and thus terminated his wretched existence. He obstinately refused, to the last, all the solicitations, accompanied with all the terrors of future punishment, to embrace the Christian faith.

With the death of Montezuma ended all hopes of pacifying the Mexicans, and Cortes was sensible that his salvation depended on a successful retreat. The morning following the fall of their prince the Mexicans renewed the assault with redoubled fury, and succeeded in taking possession of a high temple, which overlooked the Spanish quarters, and greatly exposed them to the missiles of the enemy. A detachment of chosen men, ordered to dislodge them, were twice repulsed, when Cortes, taking the command himself, rushed into the thickest of the combat, with a drawn sword, and by his presence and example, after a dreadful carnage, the Spaniards made themselves masters of the tower, and set fire to it. Cortes was determined to retreat from the city, but was at a loss in what way to attempt it, when a private soldier, who from a smattering of learning sustained the character of an astrologer, advised him to undertake it in the night, and assured him of complete success. Cortes the more readily fell in with this plan, as he knew it was a superstitious principle with the Mexicans not to attack an enemy in the night. The arrangements being made, the Spaniards moved forward about midnight over the shortest causeway, and all was silence until they reached the first breach. Whilst they were preparing to place their bridge over the breach, at the moment when they supposed their retreat had not been discovered, they were astonished with a tremendous shout, accompanied with martial instruments, of an immense multitude, which covered the whole lake. A shower of arrows and stones was followed by a furious charge. The Spaniards defended themselves with their usual bravery ; but being confined in a narrow causeway, and hemmed in on all sides by the multitude of their enemies, all the Mexicans being under arms, they were deprived of the advantages of their superior discipline and skill ; and, from the darkness of the night, they could scarcely distinguish friends from foes. After sustaining a dreadful conflict, attended with immense slaughter, for a considerable time,

they were thrown into confusion. They finally forced their way over the remaining part of the causeway, the dead bodies serving to fill up the breaches. In the morning Cortes found his troops reduced to half their number, and a large portion of these covered with wounds, and all filled with grief, at the loss of their friends and companions. All the artillery was lost, the ammunition and the baggage, most of the horses, and nearly all their ill-gotten gold. The last, which was the chief object of their desires, contributed greatly to their fatal disaster, as the soldiers were so encumbered with it as greatly to impede their exertions. More than two thousand of the Tlascalans were killed.

The Spaniards now commenced their march for Tlascala, and for six days continued it without respite, through swamps and over mountains, harassed by the Mexicans at a distance, and sometimes closely attacked. On the sixth day they approached near to Otumba, and discovered numerous parties moving in various directions. Their interpreter informed them that they often exclaimed, with exultation: "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet with the fate due to your crimes." The Spaniards continued their march until they reached the summit of a mountain, when an extensive valley opened to their astonished visions, covered with an innumerable multitude, which explained the meaning of what they had just seen and heard. The vast number of their enemies, and the suddenness with which they had appeared, appalled the stoutest hearts, and despair was depicted in every countenance. But Cortes, who alone was unshaken, informed them that there remained but one alternative, to conquer or perish; and immediately led them to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with courage; but so great is the superiority of discipline and military science over brute force, that the small battalion of the Spaniards made an irresistible impression, and forced its way through the armed multitude. Although the Mexicans were dispersed, and obliged to give way wherever the Spaniards approached, yet as they retreated in one quarter, they advanced in another; so that the Spaniards were constantly surrounded, and had become nearly exhausted by their own carnage. At this crisis, Cortes, observing the standard of the Mexican empire, and recollecting to have heard that on the fate of that depended the success of a battle, assembled some of his bravest officers, and rushed, with great impetuosity, through the crowd, and by the stroke of a lance wounded the general who held it, and threw him to the ground; whereupon one of his officers dismounted, stabbed him to the heart, and secured the imperial standard. The fall of their leader and standard had an instantaneous and magical effect; every tie which held them together seemed dissolved; a universal panic prevailed; their wea-

pons dropped from their hands, and they all fled with precipitation to the mountains, leaving every thing behind them. The spoil which the Spaniards collected compensated them, in some measure, for their loss in retreating from the Mexican capital.

The next day they entered with joy the territories of Tlascala, and, notwithstanding their dreadful calamities, they were kindly received by their allies, whose fidelity was not at all shaken by the declining condition of the Spanish power. Notwithstanding all his misfortunes, Cortes did not abandon his plan of conquering the Mexican empire. He obtained some ammunition and three fieldpieces from Vera Cruz, and despatched four of the vessels of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to obtain ammunition and military stores, and procure adventurers. Sensible that he could do nothing against Mexico without the command of the lake, he set about preparing the timber and other materials for twelve brigantines; which were to be carried by land to the lake in pieces, and there put together and launched. These measures, which disclosed his intentions, occasioned disaffection again to appear among his troops; which, with his usual address, but not without difficulty, he succeeded in suppressing.

Whilst anxiously waiting for the return of his ships, two vessels, which had been sent out by Velasques to re-enforce Narvaez, were decoyed into Vera Cruz, and the crews and troops induced to follow the fortunes of Cortes; and soon after several vessels put in there, and the seamen and soldiers on board were also persuaded to join the Spanish adventurer, by which means Cortes received a re-enforcement of one hundred and eighty men, and twenty horses. He now dismissed such of Narvaez's men as served with reluctance, after which he mustered five hundred and fifty foot soldiers, and forty horsemen, and possessed a train of nine fieldpieces. With this force, and ten thousand Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, he set out once more for the conquest of the Mexican empire. He began his march toward the capital on the 28th of December, 1520, six months after his disastrous retreat.

Although the Mexicans, aware of his intentions, had made preparations to obstruct his progress, he continued his march without much difficulty, and took possession of Tezcuco, the second town in the empire, situated on the lake, about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he established his headquarters, as it was the most suitable place to launch his brigantines; and during the delay which that object required, he subjugated a number of towns on the lake, and thus circumscribed the Mexican empire. At this time, when his prospects were more flattering than they had been at any other, all his hopes were exposed to be blasted, by an alarming conspiracy, which aimed at the life of Cortes himself,

and all his principal officers. On the very day on which it was to have been carried into execution, one of the conspirators went privately to his general, and revealed it. Villefragua, the ring-leader, was seized and executed. The materials for the brigantines being completed, Cortes despatched a detachment of his troops as a convoy to eight thousand *Tamemes*, an inferior class of men, used for carrying burdens in the lieu of animals, who had been furnished by the Tlascalans. Fifteen thousand Tlascalan warriors also accompanied them for their defence. This novel and immense convoy arrived safe at Tezcucó; and about the same time the ships returned from Hispaniola, with two hundred troops, eighty horses, two battering cannon, and a supply of ammunition and arms. These events elevated the hopes of Cortes and his followers, and gave increased activity to their exertions. On the 28th of April all the brigantines were launched, with great ceremony—all the troops, and those of their allies, being drawn up on the banks of the canal, and mass and religious exercises were performed. As they fell into the lake from the canal, Father Olmedo, the chaplain, gave to each its name, and his benediction. The joy of the Spaniards was excessive, and repeated shouts resounded over the still waters of the lake, now for the first time honoured with a fleet, after being for centuries only skimmed by the light canoes of the savage.

As the vessels entered the lake, they hoisted sail, and bore away before the wind; and were viewed by the Spaniards and their Indian allies with transports of joy, whilst the Mexicans beheld them with astonishment and dismay.

On the death of Montezuma the Mexican chiefs elevated to the throne Quetzlavaca, his brother, whose bravery and hostility to the Spaniards were signalized by those fierce attacks upon their invaders, which drove them from the capital. Whilst actively engaged in preparing to defend his capital from the second attack of Cortes, he was cut off by the smallpox, which fatal disease was then ravaging the empire, and was one of the dreadful calamities brought upon it by the Europeans. He was succeeded by Guatimozin, the nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma: his distinguished reputation for courage, and as a commander, secured him the unanimous support of his countrymen at this alarming crisis. Although appalled at the formidable aspect of the brigantines, small and clumsy as they were, Guatimozin resolved to hazard an attempt to destroy them. With a vast multitude of canoes, which covered the whole lake, the Mexicans fearlessly advanced to engage the brigantines, which, in consequence of a dead calm, were scarcely able to move; but, fortunately for the Spaniards, a breeze sprung up, and the vessels, spreading sail, broke through and upset the canoes, and dispers-

ed the whole armament without scarcely an effort, and with great slaughter. This action convinced the Mexicans that the superiority of the Spaniards was greater on the water than on the land, and they made no further attempt to dispute with them the dominion of the lake. Being master of the lake, Cortes carried on the siege with great activity: he divided his forces, and attacked the city in three different quarters, the brigantines being formed into three squadrons, to cover the troops at each of the points of attack. For more than a month the siege continued, and was a succession of sharp and obstinate conflicts. During the day, the Spaniards forced their way over all the obstructions which the enemy had interposed on the causeways to stop their progress, and passed the trenches and canals where the bridges were broken down, and sometimes penetrated into the city; but at night retired to their former positions, as, from the small number of their troops, they deemed it unsafe to remain within the city, where they might be overwhelmed by the multitude of their foes. During the night the Mexicans repaired what the Spaniards had destroyed in the course of the day, and the contest was thus continued, with the desperate bravery and perseverance, on both sides, of men determined to conquer or die. At length Cortes, astonished at the obstinacy of the Mexicans, resolved to attempt, by a great and bold effort, to get possession of the city. He made a general assault at the three points of attack, with his whole force, and pushing on with irresistible impetuosity, they forced their way over one barricade after another, and penetrated into the city. But the officer ordered to fill up the trenches in the causeways, and to keep the command of the same to secure a retreat in case it should become necessary, having neglected that duty and joined in the conflict, Guatimozin, availing himself of this mistake, suffered the Spaniards to advance into the heart of the town, when the sound of the great drum of the temple, consecrated to the god of war, was heard as a signal for action; the whole population of the city rushed with frantic fury to the scene of strife, and fell on their invaders with irresistible impetuosity: the Spaniards at first retired slowly and in order; but when they arrived at the breach in the causeway, where the Mexicans had concentrated a large force to intercept their retreat, being pressed on all sides, they were thrown into confusion, and horse and foot, Spaniards and Tlascalans, plunged promiscuously into the gap. The Mexicans, encouraged by success, pressed furiously upon them from all quarters; their canoes covered the lake, and the causeway, both before and behind, was blocked up with their warriors. After incredible exertions, the Spaniards forced their way through the multitude of their enemies, with the loss of more than twenty killed, and forty taken prisoners. These last unhappy victims were sacrificed the fol-



lowing night to the god of war, as a horrid triumph ; the whole city was illuminated, and the Spaniards were filled with grief and horror by the shrieks of their companions, about to be immolated to the diabolical deities of their enemies. The heads of the victims were sent to the different provinces, and exhibited, with a declaration that the god of war, appeased by the blood of their enemies, had declared that in eight days their invaders should be destroyed, and peace restored to the empire. The success of the Mexicans, together with this confident prediction, had a magic effect, and the people flocked in from all quarters, to assist in conquering a hated foe, whom the gods had decreed to destroy. Cortes stationed his troops under the protection of his ships, which kept the enemy at a distance until the eight days had expired ; and such was the influence of superstition, that most of his allies deserted him ; but after the fatal period had elapsed, and the Spaniards still being safe, they were ashamed of their credulity, and returned to their stations.

Although Cortes now found himself in possession of a numerous force of Indians, yet past experience taught him to adopt a new and more safe mode of carrying on the siege. He made slow but gradual advances ; his Indian allies repaired the causeways as he advanced, and as the Spaniards got possession of any part of the city, their allies were employed in levelling the houses to the ground. They thus compelled the Mexicans daily to retire, and gradually circumscribed the limits of the town. The immense multitude which had assembled in the city, consumed the supplies of provisions, and they were threatened with the horrors of famine within, whilst assailed by the enemy from without.

Having the command of the lake, and from the numerous body of his Indian allies, Cortes was enabled to cut off all communications with the city. Three quarters of it were reduced to ashes, when at length the three divisions of the Spaniards penetrated into the great central square, and established a secure position. The fate of the city was now decided, as it was evident that what remained, being assailed from more advantageous stations, could hold out but a short time. At this crisis the chiefs and nobles prevailed on Guatimozin to retire to the provinces, and attempt to arouse the people ; and to facilitate his escape they opened a negotiation for peace with Cortes ; but the latter, too vigilant to be deceived, had given strict orders to watch the lake, and suffer no canoes to pass. The officer, to whom this duty was assigned, observing several large canoes crossing the lake with rapidity, ordered a swift-sailing brigantine in pursuit, which, as it neared them, was about firing, when all the rowers in an instant dropped their oars, threw down their arms, and, rising up, beseeched them not to fire, as the emperor was on board. Guatimozin surrendered

himself with dignity, and only requested that no insult might be offered to the empress, or his children. When brought into the presence of Cortes, he behaved with a degree of composure and dignity that would have done honour to any monarch on earth. Addressing himself to Cortes, he said, "I have done what became a monarch; I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," (laying his hand on one which Cortes wore,) "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of any use." Previous to his leaving the city, he had caused all his treasures to be thrown into the lake.

The capture of the sovereign terminated the struggle, and the city and the empire fell into the hands of the conquerors. The siege had continued seventy-five days, and was by far the most extraordinary and memorable military effort in the conquest of America. The exertions, bravery, perseverance, and astonishing exploits of Cortes and his followers, are unexampled; yet it is not to be supposed that the Mexican empire, comprising a vast population, in a considerable state of improvement, was conquered by a few hundred Spaniards: its conquest was effected by internal disaffections and divisions, and the jealousy of its neighbours, who dreaded its power, the oppression of which they had often experienced.

The excessive joy of the Spaniards was changed to murmurs, when they learnt the small amount of treasure which had fallen into their hands; and such was their rage and disappointment, that Cortes was obliged to give way to it, and suffer Guatimozin to be put to the torture, to compel him to discover the royal treasures which they supposed he had concealed. And with such dignity and fortitude did he endure the torture, that when the anguish and pain was at its height, and his fellow-sufferer seemed to ask permission to purchase relief by revealing what he knew, the royal victim, with a look of authority and scorn, reproached him for his weakness, by asking, "Am I now reposing on a bed of roses?" After this reproof, his fellow-sufferer remained silent, and expired under the torture of men calling themselves Christians. Cortes, ashamed of what he had done, interfered, and rescued the royal victim from the hands of his persecutors.

On the 10th of August, 1519, Ferdinand Magellan sailed from Seville, with five ships and two hundred and thirty-four men, on a voyage of discovery. He discovered and entered the spacious bay forming the mouth of the River de la Plata, supposing it to be a strait, or communication leading into the Southern Ocean; and proceeding south he entered the strait that bears his name, and after sailing twenty days in that winding channel, the great Southern Ocean presented itself to his astonished vision, and

with tears of joy he returned thanks to Heaven. Pursuing his course toward the northwest, he sailed for three months and twenty days without discovering land; and from the uninterrupted course of fair weather, and the favourableness of the winds, he gave that ocean the name of *Pacific*, which it has ever since retained. He discovered numerous islands, and among others the Philippines. In a quarrel with the natives, at one of these islands, he was unfortunately killed. The expedition, after the death of its commander, discovered the great island of Borneo, and at length arrived at one of the Molucca isles, to the no small astonishment of the Portuguese, who could not conceive how the Spaniards, by sailing in a westerly direction, had arrived at an island which they discovered by sailing in a directly opposite course. From this place they sailed by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and returned home, after a voyage of three years and twenty-eight days, having sailed round the globe for the first time.

The accounts of Cortes' victories and conquests, which were sent to Spain, filled his countrymen with admiration, and excited the highest expectations with the people and the government. Charles V. who had succeeded to the throne, appointed Cortes captain-general of New Spain; and even before he had received any legal sanction, he assumed the power of governor, and adopted measures to secure the vast country he had conquered to his sovereign, as a colony of Spain. He determined to rebuild the capital, and there to establish the seat of his government; he commenced the work on an extended plan, and laid the foundations of the most magnificent city in the new world. He caused examinations to be made for mines, opened some, and encouraged his countrymen to settle in the remote provinces.

The Mexicans, conquered and degraded as they were, did not quietly submit to their new masters; but aroused by oppression or despair, they often, with more courage than discretion, rushed to arms, and were not only defeated in every contest, but the Spaniards, regarding these attempts to regain their liberty as rebellion against their lawful sovereign, put the caciques and nobles, who fell into their hands, to death, and reduced the common people to the most humiliating and degrading servitude. The massacres and cruelties of the Spaniards are almost incredible. "In almost every district of the Mexican empire, the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood. In the country of Panuco, sixty caciques, or leaders, and four hundred nobles, were burnt at one time; and, to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled, and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies."\*

\* Robertson.

was succeeded by another, if possible still more revolting and horrible to the natives. On suspicion, or pretence, that Guatimozin had conspired against the Spanish authority, and excited his former subjects to take up arms, the unhappy monarch, with the caciques of Tezcucó and Tacuba, the two most distinguished personages in the empire, without even the formality of a trial, were brought to a public and ignominious execution, and hanged on a gibbet, in the presence of their countrymen, who witnessed the scene with indescribable horror, as they had long been accustomed to reverence their sovereign with homage and awe, scarcely less profound than that offered to their gods.

For all his toils and sufferings, his splendid achievements, his extensive conquests, and all the cruelties and crimes he committed for his sovereign, Cortes received the reward which usually attends those who perform great services for their country: he was envied, calumniated, suspected, recalled, deprived of his authority, and of all benefit from his exertions, except the glory of being the conqueror of Mexico, and the oppressor and destroyer of a great, and once prosperous and happy nation.

## CHAPTER III.

*Expedition for the discovery of Peru—the coast of Chili and Peru discovered—Pizarro visits Spain—returns, and fits out another expedition for the conquest of the country—the first colony in Peru planted—the Incas of the country—Pizarro marches into the interior, and captures the Inca—he offers to fill a room with gold for his ransom—is put to death—the Peruvians determine to expel their invaders—they besiege Cusco—action between Pizarro and Almagro—expedition of Gonsalo Pizarro—the incredible sufferings of his men—Orellana, one of his officers, with fifty men, deserts—sails down the Amazon, and enters the Atlantic Ocean—Distress of Gonsalo—he returns to Quito—Vaca de Castro appointed governor of Peru—insurrection among the Spaniards against Pizarro—he is assassinated in his palace—Vela appointed governor—bloody action between him and Gonsalo Pizarro—Gasca sent from Spain, as governor—his pacific measures—Pizarro refuses to submit—is defeated and beheaded—Gasca returns to Spain.*

THE success of Cortes, and other Spanish adventurers in America, stimulated the ambition of their countrymen, and gave additional impulse to the spirit of enterprise and discovery, which was the prevailing passion of the day. The discoveries and conquests which had been made, and the settlements that had been established, served both as incentives and facilities to new and bolder enterprises. The settlement at Panama, on the western coast of the isthmus of Darien, greatly facilitated the plans of adventurers in that quarter, and became, in some measure, the parent of most of the early settlements on the coast of the Southern Ocean.

Soon after the conquest of Mexico, about the year 1524, three obscure individuals, residing at Panama, formed a plan for discovering and conquering the rich countries to the eastward of that colony, which had long attracted the attention of adventurers. These individuals were Francisco Pizarro, the natural son of a Spanish gentleman, a soldier, and one of the early adventurers to the new world; Diego de Almagro, also a soldier, and whose origin was equally humble with that of his associate, one being a bastard and the other a foundling; and Hernando Luque, an ecclesiastic, who was employed in the double capacity of priest and schoolmaster at Panama. The last, by some means not known,

had acquired considerable wealth, but his two associates possessed but little; each, however, was to embark his whole fortune in the enterprise, together with all his hopes. The contract between them was solemnized by religious sanctions, although its object was rapine and murder.

With all their united means and exertions they were enabled only to fit out one small vessel, with one hundred and twelve men, Pedrarias, the governor of Panama, having first authorized the expedition. This was commanded by Pizarro, and afterward Almagro sailed with seventy men more as a re-enforcement. Such were the men, and such the means, by which one of the most extensive empires on the globe was to be conquered—an empire where civilization and the arts had made great progress, and whose government was not only established on divine authority, but its sovereign claimed relationship with the gods, and was venerated by his subjects accordingly.

Their first expedition was productive of little more advantage than the discovery of the opulent country of which they were in pursuit, whose existence had become a matter of doubt, in consequence of the failure of several attempts at discovery. After having touched at various places, and suffered incredible hardships, they discovered the coast of Chili, and landed at Tacamez, south of the river Emeraulds, where they beheld with pleasure a fertile and inviting country, very different from any they had discovered in the Southern Ocean. The country was cultivated, and the natives were clad in garments of white cotton stuffs, and adorned with trinkets of gold and silver. Although delighted with these appearances, the adventurers did not presume to invade so populous a country with a handful of men, worn out with hardships, and wasted by disease. They stopped at the island of Gallo, and Almagro returned to Panama to obtain re-enforcements, leaving Pizarro with part of the men. Pedro de los Rios, having succeeded Pedrarias as governor of the colony, and apprehending that the settlement of Panama would be weakened, and even exposed, by sending off adventurers in a distant and uncertain enterprise, he prohibited Almagro from raising more recruits, and despatched a vessel to bring back Pizarro and his followers, who were left behind. When the vessel arrived, Pizarro, inflexibly bent on his purposes, peremptorily refused to obey the orders of the governor, and used every persuasion to induce his men to remain with him. He drew a line on the sand with his sword, and informed his followers, that those who wished to abandon their leader and the glorious enterprise, would pass over: thirteen only remained to share the fortune of their commander. This small and dauntless band removed to the island of Gorgona, as being a more safe situation, where they remained for more than five

months, constantly tortured with hopes and fears, and suffering every thing, short of death, from an unhealthy climate, and the want of provisions. At length a vessel arrived from the governor, to convey them to Panama, which occasioned such excessive joy, such a sudden transition of feeling, that not only his followers, but the crew of the vessel, agreed to follow Pizarro, and, instead of returning to Panama, they bore away to the southeast, and had the good fortune to discover the coast of Peru. After touching at several places, they landed at Tumbez, situated about three degrees south of the equatorial line; here was a magnificent temple, and a palace of the Incas, or sovereigns of the empire. The fertility of the country, the improvements, civilization, and wealth of the inhabitants, was now, for the first time, fully unfolded to the view of the Spaniards; the rich stuffs, in which many of the inhabitants were clad, the ornaments of gold and silver which adorned their persons, and the more massy and splendid ornaments of the precious metals which enriched their temples, and even the common utensils, composed of gold and silver, attracted their enraptured vision, convinced them that their fondest dreams were realized, and that at last they had discovered the land of Ophir—the country of gold. They feasted their eyes and their hopes on these inviting objects; and gazed until they almost imagined themselves masters of the country, and possessed of all the wealth they saw and coveted. But, with his small force, Pizarro did not attempt any thing against the country, and contented himself with sailing along the coast, and trading with the inhabitants; he procured several llamas, vessels of silver and gold, and several curious specimens of their manufactures, to be exhibited as memorials of the opulent country he had discovered and explored. He also brought off two native youths, under the pretence of instructing them in the Castilian language, but with the real intention of employing them as interpreters.

But the flattering accounts which Pizarro gave of the opulence of the country, supported by the specimens he had brought with him, did not change the inflexible resolution of the governor of Panama; he still refused to authorize, or even countenance, the scheme of Pizarro and his two associates; in consequence of which, they determined to apply directly to their sovereign. Having agreed among themselves that Pizarro should be governor, Almagro adelantado, or lieutenant-governor, and Luque bishop of the country they might conquer, Pizarro set sail for Spain, and succeeded beyond the utmost extent of his hopes. He obtained the appointment of captain-general and adelantado of the country he had discovered, described to extend six hundred miles along the coast south of the river St. Jago; but his unbounded ambi-

tion led him to grasp every thing for himself, and to disregard the rights of Almagro ; yet as the views of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the expected appointment. When Pizarro arrived at Panama he found Almagro so exasperated at his conduct, that he was exerting all his influence to embarrass and frustrate his plans, and at the same time to fit out an expedition himself, on his own account. Alarmed at the consequences of an opposition from one who had been connected with him in the enterprise, Pizarro exerted himself to effect a reconciliation ; and, by offering to relinquish to Almagro the office of adelantado, a reunion among the confederates was established. The confederates now exerted themselves to fit out an armament for the conquest of the country : but with all their united efforts, aided by the alluring accounts of the country, three small vessels, with one hundred and eight men, was the extent of the force which they could raise, and with this Pizarro did not hesitate to invade an extensive country, filled with people. He landed in the bay of St. Matthew, and advanced toward the south. In the province of Coaque they plundered the inhabitants of gold and silver to the amount of forty thousand dollars, a large portion of which they remitted in one of their vessels to Almagro, at Panama, to enable him to procure recruits ; and despatched another vessel to Nicaragua. This display of the riches of the country, and the wealth they had already acquired, had a most happy influence on the cause, and procured several small re-enforcements. Pizarro continued his march along the coast, and met with little resistance from the inhabitants, who, surprised and terrified at the sudden appearance of such formidable invaders, either deserted their habitations and fled, or sued for peace and favour. He proceeded to Tumbes, and from thence to the river Piura, near the mouth of which, at a favourable site, he planted the first colony in Peru, which he called St. Michael.

Peru, at the time it was invaded by Pizarro, was a powerful and extensive empire, being six hundred leagues in length on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and extending east to the ridge of the Andes, stretching from one extremity of that vast chain to the other. This extensive country, like other parts of America, was originally inhabited by numerous independent tribes of savages, who were in a rude and unimproved state of nature, until, according to their own traditions, two extraordinary personages suddenly appeared on the banks of the lake Titiaca, who founded the Peruvian empire. Their names were Manco Capac, and Mama Ocollo, his consort. They were dressed in white cotton garments, were of majestic form and appearance, and claimed to be children of the Sun, and to have been sent by the Beneficent



Parent of the human race, who looked down on the miseries of his creatures with pity, to instruct, and impart to them the blessings of peace and civilization.

The dignity and sanctity of these extraordinary individuals, and their knowledge of some of the arts of life, which appeared wonderful to the simple natives, induced many of the wandering tribes to follow them, and submit to their authority.—They proceeded to Cusco, and commenced the erection of houses, and thus gradually laid the foundation of a city.—Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture and the useful arts, and introduced the regular laws of society, whilst Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and weave, and other domestic employments. The institutions and laws of Manco established private property, and the duties of the social relations, and provided for the security of private rights, and the peace of the community. The powers and duties of persons in authority were divided, graduated, and defined, and exercised with such uniformity and steadiness, as gave the community the appearance, if not the character, of a well regulated state. At first the territory of Manco Capac extended but about eight leagues around Cusco, his capital; but it was enlarged by him and his successors, from time to time, until it comprised one of the most extensive empires in the world.—He and his successors were styled *Incas*, or lords, and were not only obeyed as sovereigns, but revered as divinities; and according to the principles of legitimacy, as recognised in more civilized nations, the blood was to be kept pure, and all intermarriages with the royal and divine race of the Incas were prohibited, under the severest penalties.

When the Spaniards first visited Peru the throne was filled by Huanan Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the empire and dynasty. He was a prince equally eminent for his pacific virtues, and military talents. He conquered the kingdom of Quito in the year 1526, and annexed it to his dominions, and married the daughter of the vanquished monarch, by whom he had a son, called Atahualpa. At his death he appointed this son his successor in the kingdom of Quito, and left the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son, and whose mother was of the royal Inca blood. The latter, feeling the pride of legitimacy, disallowed the title of his half-brother, as he was not of the entire royal blood, and a civil war ensued. This war was prevailing, and had filled the empire with dissensions, when Pizarro landed in the Bay of St. Michael.

Atahualpa, having the command of the army which his father had led into Quito, took the field with great advantage over his rival; defeated and took him prisoner, and confined him in the tower at Cusco. Pizarro obtained information of these disorders

with great satisfaction, from messengers sent to him by Huascar, to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel, who had usurped the sovereignty which belonged to himself. The importance of this intelligence being perceived by Pizarro, he immediately put his troops in motion, and without waiting for a re-enforcement, marched into the interior of the country, leaving a small garrison at St. Michael. With little opposition, he penetrated to Caxamalca, the headquarters of Atahualpa, who, with astonishing simplicity, received him in the most friendly manner. Pizarro, according to the prevailing artifice of his countrymen, pretended that he had come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch beyond the waters, and that the object of his mission was to assist Atahualpa against his enemies, who wished to deprive him of his crown and dominions. Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a palace of the Incas, and on the other a temple of the Sun, which was the divinity of the country. The whole being surrounded by a wall of earth, it afforded a safe and advantageous position for his troops. Pizarro immediately despatched his brother to the camp of Atahualpa to reassure him of his amicable intentions, and to invite him to an interview. The example of Cortes, strengthened by his own experience in the country, determined him to attempt the same bold measure that had been found so successful in Mexico. The interview was conducted with great ceremony and dignity on the part of the Peruvians: the Inca sitting on a throne covered with gold, and adorned with plumes and precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of four of the principal officers of his household, and was preceded by four hundred men in uniform, and followed by the officers of government, civil and military, accompanied by an immense retinue; and his whole army was drawn out on the plain, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

As the Inca arrived near the Spanish quarters, the chaplain of the expedition addressed him, and explained to him in Spanish, which was interpreted, the mysteries of Christianity, the power of the pope, and the grant made by his holiness of all the territories and countries of the new world, to the king of Spain, and concluded by requiring the Inca to acknowledge the Christian religion, the authority of the pope, and submit to the king of Castile as his lawful sovereign; and in case he should be so unreasonable and impious as to refuse to obey this demand, he denounced war against him in the name of his sovereign. Astonished and indignant at this incomprehensible and presumptuous harangue, Atahualpa replied that he was master of his own dominions, and held them as an inheritance from his ancestors, and that he could not perceive how a priest should pretend to dispose of countries which did not belong to him, and of which he must have been ignorant

even of the existence; he said he would not renounce the religion of his ancestors, nor relinquish the adoration of the Sun, the immortal divinity of his country, to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death like mortals. He wished to be informed where the priest had learnt such wonderful things: "In this book," said Father Valverde, reaching to him his breviary. The Inca took it in his hand, and turning over the leaves and raising it to his ear, observed, "this book is silent; it tells me nothing," and threw it on the ground in a contemptuous manner. The monk, turning toward his countrymen in a rage, exclaimed, "To arms, Christians! to arms! the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs." Pizarro, who had previously made the necessary arrangements for an attack, waited with impatience during this long conference, being anxious to seize his victim, and the rich spoils that lay before his eyes. His orders were instantly given: the martial music struck up, the cannon roared, the musketry was discharged, the horse galloped fiercely to the charge, and the infantry pressed impetuously forward, sword in hand. Astonished at such infamous treachery, and surprised and terrified at the suddenness of the attack, and the noise and destructive effects of firearms, the Peruvians were filled with consternation, and fled with the utmost precipitation. Although the nobility flocked around the Inca in crowds, zealous to defend him, he was seized by Pizarro, who, at the head of a chosen band, selected for the purpose, had advanced directly toward him. He was dragged from his throne to the ground, and carried to the Spanish quarters. The fugitives, half frightened out of their senses, not knowing whether their enemies were of the human race, or beings of a superior nature, sent to punish them for their crimes, were pursued in every direction, and immense numbers of them slaughtered, although they did not make the least resistance. More than four thousand Peruvians were slain, and not a single Spaniard, nor one wounded, except Pizarro himself, slightly, on the hand, by one of his own men. The plunder was of immense value, and fairly turned the heads of such a band of desperate and indigent adventurers; they spent the night in that extravagant joy which a change of fortune so sudden and important was calculated to produce.

The wretched monarch, removed in an hour from a throne to a prison, almost sunk under a calamity so sudden and so tremendous: had an earthquake shaken the Andes from its base, and swallowed up half his dominions, the calamity could not have appeared more sudden or terrible. Discovering, however, that an insatiable thirst for gold was the predominant passion of his oppressors, and apparently their only object in invading his country, he offered, as a ransom for his liberty, to fill the apartment in

which he was confined, which was twenty-two feet in length, and sixteen in breadth, as high as he could reach, with gold. Pizarro did not hesitate to accept this tempting offer, and a line was drawn round the walls, to fix more definitely the stipulated height of the chamber. Transported with the idea of obtaining his liberty, Atahualpa sent to Cusco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been collected for adorning the temples and palaces of the Incas, informing his subjects of the terms of his ransom, and ordering all the gold to be conveyed to Caxamalca for that purpose.

The Peruvians, accustomed to obey implicitly the mandates of their sovereign, flocked in, from all parts of the empire, loaded with the precious metals, so that in a short period the greater part of the stipulated quantity was produced, and Atahualpa assured Pizarro that the residue would arrive as soon as there was sufficient time to convey it from the remote provinces. But such piles of gold so inflamed the avarice of a needy soldiery, that they could no longer be restrained, and Pizarro was obliged to order the whole melted down, and divided among his followers. The captive monarch, having performed his part of the contract, now demanded to be set at liberty; but the perfidious Spanish leader had no such intention; his only object being to secure the plunder; and he even meditated taking the life of his credulous captive, at the very time the latter was employed in amassing the treasures for his ransom. Atahualpa was subjected to a mock trial, and condemned to be burnt: his last moments were embittered by friar Valverde, who, although he had used his influence to procure his condemnation, and sanctioned the sentence with his own signature, attempted to console him in his awful situation, and to convert him to Christianity. The only argument that had any influence on the trembling victim was that of mitigating his punishment; and on the promise of being strangled, instead of consumed by a slow fire, he consented to be baptized, by the hand of one of his murderers, who exercised the holy functions of priest.

After the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty; Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, was also declared sovereign at Cusco, and the governors of many of the provinces assumed independent authority, so that the empire was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions.

The intelligence of the immense wealth acquired by Pizarro and his followers, which those who had returned had conveyed to Panama, Nicaragua and Guatemala, confirmed by a display of the treasures, produced such an electric effect, that it was with difficulty the governors of those places could restrain their people from abandoning their possessions and embarking for Peru, as

adventurers. Numerous re-enforcements arrived from various quarters, which enabled Pizarro to force his way into the heart of the country, and take possession of Cusco, the capital of the empire. The gold and silver found here, after all that had been removed, exceeded what had been received as the ransom of Atahualpa.

Whilst the Spanish commander was thus employed, Benalcázar, who had been left in command at St. Michael, having received some re-enforcements, left a garrison at that place, and set out with the rest of the troops under his command for the conquest of Quito. After a long and difficult march, over mountains and rivers, exposed to the fierce attacks of the natives, he entered the city of Quito. The tranquillity of the interior, and the arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro, brother of the commander-in-chief, with considerable re-enforcements, induced the latter to march back to the seacoast, where, in the year 1534, he laid the foundation of the city of Lima, distinguished in after times for its wealth and earthquakes, and more recently as the seat of civil war. In the mean time, Amalro set out on an expedition for the conquest of Chili; and several parties were ordered by Pizarro into distant provinces, which had not been subjugated. These various enterprises had reduced the troops at Cusco to a small number. The Peruvians, aware of this circumstance, and being now persuaded that the Spaniards would not voluntarily retire from their country, but intended to establish themselves in it, were at last aroused from their inactivity, and seemed determined to expel their rapacious invaders. Preparations, through the whole empire, were carried on with such secrecy and despatch, as to elude the utmost vigilance of the Spaniards; and Manco Capac, who was acknowledged by all as sovereign at this time, having made his escape from the Spaniards at Cusco, where he had been detained as a prisoner, the standard of war was immediately raised; troops assembled from all parts of the empire, and, according to the Spanish writers of that period, two hundred thousand men laid siege to Cusco, which was defended for nine months by one hundred and seventy Spaniards. A numerous army also invested Lima, and all communication between the two cities was cut off. The Peruvians not only displayed the utmost bravery, but, imitating the discipline of their enemies, large bodies were marshalled in regular order: some of their bravest warriors were armed with swords and spears; others appeared with muskets, obtained from the Spaniards, and a few of the boldest, at the head of whom was the Inca himself, were mounted on horses, which they had taken from their invaders, and charged like Spanish cavaliers. All the exertions of the Spanish garrison, directed by the three brothers of the commander-in-chief, and rendered desperate from their

situation, could not resist the incessant attacks of the Peruvians; they recovered possession of one half of their capital; and the Spaniards, worn out with uninterrupted service, suffering for the want of provisions, and ignorant as to their brethren in other stations, and the number of their enemies daily increasing, were ready to despair; the stoutest hearts sunk under such accumulated, such appalling difficulties and dangers.

At this hour of darkness, when the lamp of hope emitted but a glimmering ray, Almagro appeared at Cusco. But even this event the Pizarros hardly knew whether to regard as auspicious or calamitous, as they knew not whether he had come as a friend or foe. Whilst in Chili, he had received a patent from the crown, constituting him governor of Chili, and defining its limits, which, by his own construction, included the city of Cusco; and being informed of the revolt of the Peruvians, he marched back to prevent the place from falling into the possession of the natives, and also to rescue it from the hands of the Pizarros. Almagro was, therefore, the enemy of both parties, and both attempted to negotiate with him. The Inca, knowing his situation and pretensions, at first attempted to make terms with him; but soon being convinced that no faith could be had with a Spaniard, he fell suddenly upon him, with a numerous body of his bravest troops. The discipline and good fortune of the Spaniards once more prevailed, and the Peruvians were defeated with an immense slaughter, and their whole army dispersed. Almagro's attention was now directed against the garrison; and having surprised the sentinels, he entered the town by night, surrounded the house where the two Pizarros quartered, and compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. Francisco Pizarro, having defeated and driven off the Peruvians who invested Lima, sent a detachment of five hundred men to Cusco to the relief of his brothers, in case they had not already fallen into the hands of the Peruvians. On their arrival they were astonished to find an enemy in their own countrymen, which was the first knowledge they had of the events that had occurred at Cusco. After first attempting, without success, to seduce Alvarado, their commander, Almagro surprised and fell upon them in the night in their camp, took Alvarado and his principal officers prisoners, and completely routed the party.

Pizarro, alarmed for the safety of his two brothers, as well as for the security of his possessions, opened a negotiation with Almagro; and having artfully prolonged the same for several months, and by deception and perfidy procured the liberation of his brothers, threw off all disguise, abandoned the negotiation, and prepared to settle the dispute in the field; and seven hundred men, ready to march to Cusco, attested the rapidity of his preparations. The command of these troops he gave to his two brothers, who

anxious for victory, and thirsting for revenge, penetrated through the defiles of one branch of the Andes, and appeared on the plain before Cusco. Almagro had five hundred men, veteran soldiers, and a greater number of cavalry than his enemy : being worn out by services and fatigues, too great for his advanced age, he was obliged to intrust the command to Orgognez, who, though an officer of much merit, had not the same ascendancy over the troops as their chief, whom they had long been accustomed to follow in the career of victory. Pizarro had a superiority in numbers, and an advantage from two companies armed with muskets, and disciplined to their use. Whilst countrymen and brethren, who had made common cause in plundering and massacring the natives, were drawn up in hostile array, and under the same banners, to shed each other's blood, the Indians, like distant clouds, covered the mountains, and viewed with astonishment, but with pleasure, that rapacity and violence of which they had been the victims, about to recoil on the heads of their invaders, and to be inflicted by their own hands. They were prepared to fall on the victorious party, who, exhausted by the contest, might be an easy prey, and thus appropriate the victory to themselves.

The conflict was fierce and tremendous ; for "when Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war ;" for a considerable time the result was doubtful, but Orgognez, having received a dangerous wound, his party was completely routed, himself slain in cold blood, one hundred and forty killed, and the rest fell into the hands of the victors. Almagro, who had witnessed the action from a litter with the deepest emotions, attempted to escape, but was made a prisoner. After being detained in custody for several months, he was subjected to a mock trial, and sentenced to death. Cusco was again pillaged, but its rich spoils did not satisfy the rapacity of its conquerors.

Pizarro now considered himself master of the entire country, and parcelled it out among his favourites, with as much justice and propriety as the pope had granted the whole to his master. But not being able to satisfy all, and to prevent the consequences of the complaints and the turbulence of his men, he promoted enterprises which employed them at a distance. Valdivia resumed the project of the conquest of Chili, and founded the city of St. Jago de Santiago. His brother, Gonsalo Pizarro, he appointed to supersede Benalcazar as governor of Quito, and instructed him to examine and conquer the country east of the Andes. At the head of three hundred and fifty men, he forced his way through the defiles and over the elevated ridges of the Andes, where the cold was so excessive that four thousand Indians, who accompanied him to transport his provisions, all perished ; and from their excessive fatigues, the severity of the cold, and the want of pro-

visions, the Spaniards themselves, inured to hardships as they were, could scarcely sustain such accumulated evils, such intolerable sufferings. Some of their number fell victims to them. After crossing the mountains, new and unexpected calamities from the climate awaited them, and scarcely less severe; having escaped the frosts of the mountains, they were now to be destroyed by the rains of the plains. For two months the rain fell incessantly; there was scarcely sufficient fair weather to dry their clothes. They, however, advanced until they reached the banks of one of the principal branches of the Maragnon or Amazon. Here they constructed a bark for the purpose of passing rivers, conveying provisions, and exploring the country. Fifty men were put on board, under Orellana, the officer next in authority to Pizarro, and the rapidity of the stream soon carried them ahead of their brethren, who made their way with difficulty by land.

Orellana, imitating the examples which had been furnished him, was no sooner beyond the power of Pizarro, than he considered himself independent, and determined to carry on business on his own account, as a discoverer. He formed the bold scheme of pursuing the course of the Amazon to the ocean, and exploring the vast interior regions of the southern continent. This daring attempt, as bold as it was unjustifiable, he accomplished: committing his frail bark to the guidance of the rapid stream; he penetrated four thousand miles through an unknown region, filled with hostile tribes, and where, for unknown ages, wild beasts and savages alone had roamed joint tenants of its immense domains. He found his way safely to the ocean, and finally to Spain, where he published a marvellous account of his voyage and discoveries; and, among other wonders, gave an account of a nation or community of women, which he visited, having all the heroic virtues of the ancient Amazons; and, from the propensity of mankind for the marvellous, this community of Amazons long maintained their existence, after the discoveries made, and the progress of science had dissipated the darkness which first gave credit to the narration. Orellana was ordered to wait at the junction of the Napo with the Amazon, for the arrival of Pizarro; and the astonishment and consternation of the latter, when he ascertained the infamous treachery of Orellana, who had basely deprived his brethren of their only resource, and left them to perish in the heart of an immense wilderness, can better be conceived than described. They were twelve hundred miles from Quito, to which place they turned their course: the hardships they had before encountered, now seemed comparatively but small: they were compelled to subsist on berries and roots; they even devoured their dogs, horses, the most loathsome reptiles, and the leather of their saddles. After the expiration of two years,



eighty of the Spaniards, only, returned to Quito, and these were as naked as the savages, and emaciated to skeletons.

But Pizarro found neither repose nor consolation on his return; as the last dregs of his cup of bitterness, he learnt the awful fate of his brother, and the overthrow of his power. The adherents of Almagro and other malecontents formed a bold conspiracy, surprised and assassinated the governor in his own palace, and proclaimed young Almagro, now arrived at manhood, to be the head of the government, as successor to his father. The shocking dissensions in Peru being known at the court of Castile, Vaca de Castro received a royal commission, appointing him governor of Peru, for the purpose of quieting the existing disturbances, and establishing the authority of the Spanish government. Having landed at Quito, he immediately, and with great energy, adopted measures to suppress the insurrection, and bring the daring conspirators to punishment. He marched toward Cusco, whither Almagro had retired; the hostile parties met at Chupaz, about two hundred miles from Cusco, and both determined to decide the contest at once. The action was bloody and decisive, and characterized by that fierceness, impetuosity, and vindictive spirit, which the deadly animosities of both parties, and desperate situation of one, were calculated to inspire; and the slaughter was in proportion to the maddening fury of the combatants. Of fourteen hundred men, the whole number engaged on both sides, more than one thousand lay dead and wounded on the field of battle. Superiority of numbers prevailed, and young Almagro and his party, or all who escaped the sword, fell into the hands of the victors. And although they were countrymen and fellow-Christians, the tender mercies of their conquerors were cruelties; forty were executed as rebels; many were banished, and young Almagro, their leader, was publicly beheaded at Cusco. These events occurred in 1542.

At length the torch of civil dissension, if not extinguished, ceased to burn; and a short period of repose was restored to a country, whose history hitherto was but a succession of carnage and bloodshed.

But tranquillity in Peru was not of long continuance; new regulations having been framed for the government of the Spanish possessions in America, which greatly alarmed the settlers, by depriving them of their oppressive power over the natives, and Nugnez Vela being sent out to Peru as governor, to enforce them, the elements of dissension were again brought into action, and the gathering clouds threatened another storm of civil war. The rashness and violence of the new governor increased the disorders, and spread the disaffection throughout the provinces. The malecontents from all quarters looked to Gonsalo Pizarro as

their leader and deliverer ; and, having taken the field, he soon found himself at the head of one thousand men, with which he moved toward Lima. But before he arrived there a revolution had taken place ; the governor and the judges of the court of Audience, had long been in contention, and finally the latter, gaining the ascendancy, seized the governor, and sent him prisoner to a desert island on the coast. Pizarro, finding things in this state of disorder, beheld the supreme authority within his reach, and compelled the judges of the royal audience to appoint him governor and captain-general of Peru. He had scarcely possessed himself of his usurped authority, before he was called to defend it, against a formidable opponent. Nugnez Vela, the governor, being set at liberty by the officer intrusted with conducting him to Spain, landed at Tumbez, raised the royal standard, and resumed his functions as viceroy of the province. Many distinguished individuals declared in his favour, and, from the violence of Pizarro's administration, he soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. Pizarro immediately prepared to meet him, and to decide, by the umpirage of the sword, the validity of their respective pretensions. But Vela being inferior in the number of his forces, and unwilling to stake his power and his life on the issue of an engagement, retreated toward Quito, and was pursued with great celerity by Pizarro.

Not being able to defend Quito, the viceroy continued his march into the province of Popayan, where he received so considerable re-enforcements that he determined to march back to Quito, and decide the contest. Pizarro, confiding in the known bravery of his troops, rejoiced at an opportunity to meet him ; the conflict, as usual, was sharp, fierce, and bloody ; Pizarro was victorious, and the viceroy, who fell covered with wounds, had his head cut off and placed on a gibbet in Quito, whilst the conquerors made a triumphal entry into the city. All opposition to the authority of the victor ceased, and Pizarro now found himself supreme master of Peru, and of the South Sea, as he possessed a fleet which had captured Panama, and commanded the ocean.

These alarming dissensions gave great concern to the government of Spain, and led to the appointment of Pedro de la Gasca, with unlimited authority to suppress them, and restore tranquillity and the power of the parent country. He came without troops, and almost without attendants ; his conduct was directly the reverse of Vela, his predecessor ; he was truly the minister of peace ; it was his object to reclaim, not to subdue : and by his conciliatory conduct, and mild and judicious measures, he effected more than he could have done by the sword. Several of Pizarro's officers declared in his favour, and from the contagion of example, and the oblivion which he proclaimed to all

past offences, and a promise of redressing grievances, his adherents daily and rapidly increased. Pizarro, as is the case of all usurpers, when their power is in danger, was filled with apprehension and rage. He sent deputies to bribe Gasca, and if that could not be done, to cut him off by assassination or poison; but his messengers, instead of executing his diabolical orders, joined Gasca themselves. Irritated at the disaffection of his officers and men, he prepared to decide the dispute in the field; and Gasca, perceiving that it would become necessary to employ force, took steps to assemble troops in Peru, and collect them from other colonies. Pizarro marched rapidly to Cusco, and attacked Centeno, who had joined Gasca, and although he had but half the number of men, he obtained a signal victory, attended with immense slaughter. This good fortune was probably the cause of his ruin, as it elevated his hopes so high as inclined him to refuse all terms of accommodation, although Gasca continued to the last extremely moderate in his demands, and seemed more desirous to reclaim than to conquer. Gasca having tried, without success, every means of avoiding the distressing alternative of imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, at length, at the head of sixteen hundred men, moved toward Cusco; and Pizarro, with one thousand more experienced veterans, confident of victory, suffered him to advance to within four leagues of the capital, when he marched out, eager to meet him. He chose his ground, drew up his men in line of battle, and at the very moment he expected the action to commence, some of his principal officers galloped off and surrendered themselves to the enemy: their example was followed by others, and this extraordinary conduct spread distrust and amazement from rank to rank; one company after another threw down their arms, and went over to the royalists. Pizarro, and some of his officers who remained faithful, attempted to stop them by entreaties and threats, but it was all in vain; they soon found themselves deserted of nearly their whole army. Pizarro fell into the hands of Gasca, and was beheaded the next day; several of his most distinguished and notorious followers shared the same fate; Carvajal, at the advanced age of fourscore, and who had long been accustomed to scenes of carnage and peril, on being informed of his sentence, carelessly replied:—"Well, a man can die but once." Gasca, as moderate and just after victory as before, pardoned all the rest, and exerted himself to sooth the feelings of the remaining malecontents; he simplified the collection of the revenue, re-established the administration of justice, and provided for the protection and bettering the condition of the Indians; and having accomplished every object of his mission, he returned to Spain, in 1549, as poor as he left it, but universally admired for his talents, virtues, and important services.

He intrusted the government of Peru to the Court of Audience. For several years after this the machinations and rapacity of several ambitious chiefs distracted the Peruvian states with civil contentions; but at length the authority of Spain was completely and firmly established over the whole of that extensive and valuable portion of America.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Settlement of the different provinces in America—formed into two grand divisions—vicerealty of New Spain and Peru—the Council of the Indies established—a new vicerealty called Santa Fe de Bogota—events in the provinces of Rio de la Plata—establishment of the Board of Trade of Seville—policy of Spain in relation to her colonies—difference between Great Britain and Spain, in this respect—ecclesiastical establishment in America—conduct of missionaries—inquisition established by Philip II.—oppressive conduct of the Spaniards toward the natives—their wretched condition—gold and silver mines—commercial regulations—revenue derived from the colonies.*

THAT part of the southern continent of America, stretching to the eastward of Darien, comprising the provinces of Carthagena and Santa Martha, was discovered by Roderigo de Bastigas, in the year 1520, and was subjugated by Pedro de Heredia, in the year 1532. As early as the year 1544, Carthagena had become a considerable town, and its harbour was the safest and best fortified of any in the Spanish territories in the new world. Its situation is favourable for commerce, and it was selected as the port at which the Spanish galleons should first begin to trade, on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were to return, in order to prepare for their homeward voyage. The province of Venezuela was first visited by Ojeda, in the year 1499, in his voyage of discovery, which has before been noticed. Observing an Indian village, built on piles, to raise it above the stagnant water, the Spaniards, from their propensity to discover resemblances between America and Europe, bestowed on it the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice.

Charles Vth, to obtain a large loan of the Velsers of Augsburg, then the wealthiest merchants in Europe, granted to them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief, on condition that they were to subjugate the natives, and plant a colony in the territory. The proprietors sent out some German adventurers, who, instead of establishing a colony, wandered about the country in search of mines, and to plunder the natives. In a few years their avarice and rapacity desolated the province, instead of settling it, and the proprietors, despairing of succeeding in the enterprise, relinquished their grant, and the occupation of the country, when the Spaniards again took possession of it; but notwithstanding its natural advantages, it long remained one of their most unpromising settlements.

The new kingdom of Granada, as it was called, is an interior region, and was subjugated to the authority of Spain, in 1536, by Banalcazar, who invaded it from Quito, where he was in command under Pizarro and Quesada. The natives being more improved than any in America, not excepting the Peruvians and Mexicans, defended themselves with resolution, bravery, and perseverance; but here, as every where else, discipline and science prevailed over barbarian force. The Indians in New Granada, not having been subjected to the same services of working in mines, which in other parts of America have wasted that miserable race, continued more populous in this colony than in any other. Gold was found here, not by digging into the bowels of the earth, but mixed with the soil near the surface, on the more elevated tracts. One of the governors of Santa Fe carried to Spain a lump of pure gold, found in one of the provinces of New Granada, valued at more than three thousand dollars.

The kingdom of New Granada was first established in 1547, and was under the government of a captain-general and royal audience: the seat of government was fixed at Santa Fe de Bogota. In 1718 it was erected into a viceroyalty, together with several other provinces; but this government was annulled in 1724, and restored in 1740, and continued an independent government until the breaking out of the revolution, when it was incorporated into the republic of Colombia.

The provinces of Caraccas and Cumana lie to the eastward of Venezuela, and, together with Carthagena and Santa Martha, formed what was anciently called the kingdom of Terra Firma, and all are now included in the republic of Colombia. These two provinces were, for a long period, principally known and distinguished for the cultivation and commerce in the nuts of the cocoa-tree, which, next to those produced in Guatemala, on the South Sea, are the best in America. A paste, formed from the nut or almond of the cocoa-tree, compounded with certain ingre-

dients, constitutes chocolate, the manufacture and use of which the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans ; and being a palatable and wholesome beverage, it was soon introduced into use in Europe, and became an important article of commerce.

From the contiguity of the settlements of the Dutch to the coast of Caraccas, on the island of Curracoa, and their superior enterprise in traffic, they engrossed most of the cocoa trade from Caraccas, and Spain itself was obliged to receive the article from foreigners, at an exorbitant price, although the product of their own colonies. To remedy an evil, not more detrimental to the interests than disgraceful to the enterprise of Spain, in the year 1728 Philip the Vth granted to a company of merchants an entire and exclusive monopoly of the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana. This association, sometimes called the Company of Caraccas, restored to Spain this branch of the commerce of America, greatly extended it, as the consumption of the article increased, and being subjected to proper regulations, to counteract the effects of the monopoly, advanced the growth and progress of the settlement.

Mexico, or New Spain, and Peru, were at first regarded by the Spaniards as the most important and valuable portions of America ; not so much on account of their fertility, or any geographical superiority, as from the consideration of their being inhabited by people in a higher state of improvement, and consequently affording more gratifying objects for the rapacity of the first adventurers. The numbers of adventurers which these objects, and the civil contentions which they occasioned, originally drew to these countries, tended to commence their settlement under more favourable auspices than any other colonies enjoyed. The rich mines, afterward discovered, had a powerful operation to attract enterprise and allure adventurers ; and the complete subjugation of the natives, both in Mexico and Peru, and reducing them to a condition of domestic servitude, and apportioning them, together with the lands, among the first adventurers, (whilst in other districts the natives, more wild and ferocious, without fixed habitations, subsisting by hunting, could no otherwise be overcome than by being exterminated or expelled,) were among the causes which continued, for a long period, to promote the growth of Mexico and Peru, and to render them the principal of the Spanish colonies ; and the same causes occasioned the other settlements to be regarded only as appendages of one or the other of these, or of little importance. Hence, after the Spanish conquests in America had been so far completed as to justify the establishment, on the part of Spain, of regular colonial governments, their whole American dominions were divided into two immense governments, one called the Viceroyalty of New Spain, the other

the Viceroyalty of Peru; the seats of government were Mexico and Lima. The former comprehended all the possessions of Spain in the northern division of the American continent, and the latter comprised all her settlements and territories in South America.

New Spain embraced, under the Spaniards, a much more extensive region than the empire of Mexico, or the dominions of Montezuma and his predecessors: the vast territory called New Navarre, extending to the north and west, and the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora, stretching along the east side of the gulf of California, and also the peninsula of California, on the opposite side of the gulf, and the provinces of Yucatan and Honduras, extending from the bay of Campeachy to beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, were comprised within the territories of New Spain, which did not belong to the Mexican empire. These countries were mostly visited and subjugated by Spanish adventurers, in the early part of the sixteenth century. The peninsula of California was discovered by Cortes, in 1536, and was so entirely neglected, that for a long period it was not known whether it was an island or a peninsula. Toward the close of the 17th century the Jesuits explored it, established it as an important mission, made great progress in civilizing the rude and ferocious natives, and established the same dominion over them that they did over the natives in Paraguay. At length the government, growing jealous of the Jesuits, they were expelled from the Spanish dominions, and Joseph Galvez was sent out to examine the province, who gave a favourable account of the country, and of the pearl-fishery on the coast. - He also discovered several mines, apparently valuable.

Honduras, and the peninsula of Yucatan, attracted attention principally from the valuable dye-woods which they afforded, the logwood tree being produced in greater abundance there than in any other part of America. After having long exclusively enjoyed the profitable logwood trade, the Spaniards were disturbed in it by some adventurers from Jamaica, who commenced cutting logwood at the cape forming the southeast promontory of Yucatan; then in the Bay of Campeachy, and afterward in the Bay of Honduras. These encroachments alarmed the Spaniards, and they endeavoured to stop them, by remonstrance, negotiation, and by force; but after a contention for half a century, the fortune of war, and naval superiority of Britain enabled her to extort from Spain a reluctant consent to the existence of a settlement of foreigners in the heart of her own possessions. Mortified, however, at this concession, she attempted to counteract its consequences by encouraging the cutting of logwood on the west coast of Yucatan, where the wood was of superior quality. To pro

note this object, she permitted the importation of logwood into Spain, without the payment of any duty, by which means this commerce became very flourishing, and that of the English, in the bay of Honduras, declined. East of Honduras were the provinces of Costa Rica, and Veragua, which were much neglected by the Spaniards, as of little value.

The Viceroyalty of Peru, in addition to the Peruvian territories, comprehended Chili, the conquest of which, as we have seen, was first attempted by Almagro, and afterward by Valdivia, both of whom met with a most fierce opposition from the natives, and the latter was defeated and slain; but Villagra, his successor in command, restored victory to the Spanish standard; and finally the district on the seacoast was subdued, the natives continuing masters of the mountainous regions; and for more than two centuries they kept up hostilities with their Spanish neighbours, almost without interruption, and their hostile incursions greatly retarded the settlement of the most fertile country in America, possessing the most delicious climate in the new or old world; for, though bordering on the torrid zone, it is exempt both from the extremes of heat and cold, lying, as it were, under the shade of the Andes, which protects it on the east, and being constantly refreshed by the cooling seabreezes from the west. It also possesses many valuable mines; yet with all these advantages, at the end of more than two centuries from its conquest, its whole white population did not exceed eighty thousand; but since the establishment of a direct intercourse with the mother country round Cape Horn, it has realized its natural advantages, and advanced in importance accordingly.

Attached to the Viceroyalty of Peru, were all the vast regions claimed by Spain east of the Andes, watered by the Rio de la Plata, its branches, the Coloardo, and other streams emptying into the Atlantic. The River de la Plata and the country bordering on it, was first discovered by Magellan, in the year 1520. The Spanish territories east of the La Plata, comprehending the province of Paraguay, and some other districts, were, for centuries, in a great degree undefined, and a subject of dispute with Portugal. Paraguay has been rendered celebrated for the extraordinary missions of the Jesuits, and the authority of Spain over it was never more than nominal. The territory west of the La Plata was divided into the provinces of Buenos Ayres and Tucuman.

The first attempts to subjugate and settle the country bordering on the La Plata, were attended with unusual difficulties and disasters: after the lapse of more than two centuries, there was no settlement of any importance, except that of Buenos Ayres. The province of Tucuman, and most of the country to the south



of the La Plata, is a prairie, or plain of vast extent, and rich beyond conception : being constantly covered with verdure, it supports an immense number of horses and cattle, which are suffered to go at large, and breed, subsisting without the care or oversight of man. This wonderful facility of raising horses and cattle has afforded a profitable trade with Peru, by supplying them with domestic animals, and likewise a lucrative foreign commerce in hides.

The province of Rio de la Plata was established distinct from that of Paraguay, in 1620, and was afterward called Buenos Ayres. The town of Buenos Ayres was founded by Pedro de Mendoza, in 1535, but was abandoned in 1538, and its inhabitants removed to Assumption, where a fort had been built two years before, by Ayolas, and named from the day on which he fought and defeated the natives on the spot where it was erected. Mendoza returned to Spain, and was succeeded as governor by Ayolas, and on his death Irala was chosen to succeed him ; but was soon deprived of his authority by Don Alvarez, who arrived with a commission from Spain. Of the three thousand Europeans who had entered the La Plata, six hundred only remained at Assumption : the rest had fallen victims to the climate, the ferocity of the savages, and the hardships to which they had been exposed. Alvarez was seized by Irala, and sent to Spain in 1544. The city of Assumption was erected into a bishopric in 1547 ; but the bishop did not arrive until 1554, when Irala received a commission as governor. In 1557, Ciudad Real was founded in the province of Guayra, as an encomienda, within which forty thousand Indians were brought into habits of industry ; and a few years after the encomienda of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the province of Chiquitos, which comprised sixty thousand native inhabitants, was established. Irala died in 1557, and named Gonzales de Mendoza lieutenant-general and commander of the province. His death, which was in one year after, was followed by civil dissensions.

In the year 1586 the Jesuits first appeared in Paraguay, and in 1609, father Torrez, their provincial, obtained authority from the governor of the province to form the converted Indians into townships, to be independent of the Spanish settlements. They only acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Spain : this power was confirmed by Philip III. of Spain. During twenty years a great number of the natives were reduced to habits of industry, by the labours of the Jesuits ; but in 1630 they were attacked by the Paulists, or Mamelukes, and in two years sixty thousand were destroyed or carried off. To defend their settlements, in 1639, the Jesuits obtained authority from Spain to embody and arm their Indian converts in the manner of Euro-

peans. The Jesuits employed their converts in other pursuits : in 1668 they rebuilt the city of Santa Fe, and the following year five hundred of them worked on the fortifications and the cathedral of Buenos Ayres.

In 1580 Buenos Ayres was rebuilt by the governor of Paraguay, from which time it gradually emerged from obscurity into an important town, and became the seat of the viceroyalty. The Portuguese attempted a settlement on the north bank of the La Plata in 1679, when Garro, governor of the province of Rio de la Plata, by order of the viceroy of Peru, expelled the Portuguese, and levelled their fort to the ground. This settlement was for a long time a subject of dispute between the two nations, but in 1778 it was ceded to Spain. Civil dissensions arose at Assumption ; Don Diego, the governor, was obliged to flee ; but was reinstated in 1722, yet soon after seized by Antequera, and confined as a prisoner. Antequera had been sent from Lima as a commissioner, to inquire into the condition of Paraguay, and finding the administration corrupt, he undertook to reform it, and to introduce a representative government. He met with resistance not only from the governor, but his patriotic exertions and liberal principles roused the jealousy, and brought upon him the hostility, of the viceroy, who sent a body of troops from Peru to oppose him, and check his innovations. These troops were defeated by Antequera, who entered the city in triumph.

But the governor of Buenos Ayres, having marched against him, and being deserted by his adherents, he fled to a convent, and was afterward seized and sent a prisoner to Lima. In 1725 tranquillity was re-established, but was of short continuance ; a new governor being appointed, a faction refused to admit him into the city ; Mompo, the leader of the malecontents, was seized and sent to Buenos Ayres.

Antequera having been condemned for treason, was executed in 1731, at Lima, which occasioned great excitement at Assumption, as his popularity was so great that he was canonized as a martyr to liberty. The dissensions continued until 1735, when Zabala, governor of Buenos Ayres, succeeded in re-establishing tranquillity, and correcting the abuses which had crept into the government.

The increasing prosperity of the Jesuits began to excite prejudices and jealousies ; various accusations were made against them ; but on examination most of them were found groundless, and they were confirmed in their rights, in 1745, by a royal decree. Their prosperity and power, however, soon after began to decline, and the expulsion of their order from Spain, in 1767, was followed by the subversion of their dominion in America. Their possessions were annexed to the government of Paraguay, at

which time they had seven hundred sixty-nine thousand three hundred fifty-three horn cattle, ninety-four thousand nine hundred eighty-three horses, and two hundred twenty-one thousand five hundred thirty-seven sheep.

The erection of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata led to the establishment of the government at Buenos Ayres, and promoted the prosperity of that city, and all the provinces on the La Plata, and west of the Andes. This measure was followed by one equally liberal and enlightened in 1778, which in a great degree removed the restrictions on commerce, and opened a free trade with the northern country and the interior of Peru. From this period Buenos Ayres began to acquire that importance and rank which it is entitled to maintain, from its valuable position for commerce, and its rich interior country. Its trade has rapidly increased, and the general commerce of the La Plata. It was promoted by a royal ordinance, adopted in 1794, permitting salted meat and tallow to be exported to Spain, and the other colonies, free of duty.

At so early a period as the year 1511 Ferdinand established a tribunal for conducting the affairs of his American settlements, called the Council of the Indies; and in 1524 it was new modelled and improved by Charles V. It possessed jurisdiction over every department of government in Spanish America; framed the laws and regulations respecting the colonies; made all the appointments for America reserved to the crown; and all officers, from the viceroys to the lowest, were accountable to the Council of the Indies for their official conduct. The king was always supposed to be present in this council, and its meetings were held where he resided. No law, relative to American affairs, could be adopted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the council. All appeals from the decisions of the highest tribunals in America, the Audiencia, or Court of Audience, were made to the Council of the Indies.

The colonial system of Spain over her American dominions was founded on the principle that these dominions were vested in the crown, not in the nation; which was assumed on no better authority than the bull of Pope Alexander VI., bestowing on Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries which they might discover west of a given latitude. Hence the Spanish possessions in America were regarded as the personal property of the sovereign. The authority of the original adventurers, commanders, and governors, by whom the country was discovered and subjected to the dominion of Spain, was constituted by, and they were accountable to, the king, and removable by him at pleasure. All grants of lands were made by the sovereign, and if they failed from any cause, they reverted to the crown again. All political

and civil power centered in the king, and was executed by such persons, and in such manner, as the will of the sovereign might suggest, wholly independent, not only of the colonies, but of the Spanish nation. The only civil privilege allowed to the colonists was strictly municipal, and confined to the regulation of their interior police, and commerce in the cities and towns, for which purpose they made their own local regulations or laws, and appointed town and city magistrates. But this single ray of liberty must of necessity be tolerated, and has never been extinct in the most despotic states. The Spanish American governments were not merely despotic like those of Russia or Turkey, but they were a more dangerous kind of despotism, as the absolute power of the sovereign was not exercised by himself, but by deputy.

At first, as has been stated, the dominions of the Spanish crown in the new world were divided, for the purpose of government, into two great divisions or viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru. Afterward, as the country became more settled, the viceroyalty of Santa Fe de Bogota was created, composed of the kingdoms of New Granada, Terra Firma, and the province of Quito, and still later that of Rio de la Plata. A deputy or viceroy was appointed to preside over each of these governments, who was the representative of his sovereign, and possessed all his prerogatives within his jurisdiction. His authority was as supreme as that of his sovereign over every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. He appointed most of the important officers of his government, and supplied the vacancies occasioned by death of those appointed by the crown. His court was formed on the model of that of Madrid, and displayed an equal and often superior degree of magnificence and state. He maintained horse and foot guards, a regular household establishment, and all the ensigns and trappings of royalty. His government was formed on the same model as that of Spain, and the tribunals that assisted in its administration were similar to those of the parent country; the appointments to which were sometimes made by the viceroy, and at others by the king, but all were subject to the deputy's authority, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice was intrusted to tribunals called *Audiencias*, formed on the model of the Spanish court of chancery. One of these courts was established in every province, and consisted of a number of judges, proportioned to its extent, and the business to be done; they had jurisdiction over both civil and criminal causes. The viceroy was prohibited from interfering with the decisions of these judicial tribunals, and in some instances they could bring his regulations under their review, and present remonstrances, or carry the matter before the king and the Council of the Indies, which was the only particular

in which there was any intermediate power between him and the people subject to his authority. On the death of a viceroy the supreme power vested in the court of audience, and the senior judge, assisted by his associates, exercised all the functions of the vacant office. In addition to the Council of the Indies, in which was reposed the supreme power, as to the civil, ecclesiastical, military, and commercial affairs of America, there was established, as early as 1501, a board of trade at Seville, called *Casa de la Contraction*. It took cognizance of whatever related to the commercial intercourse with America, regulated the export and import cargoes and the inspection, the freights of the ships, and the time of the sailing of the fleets, and decided judicially on all matters, both civil and criminal, growing out of the commercial transactions between Spain and her American possessions. The doings and decisions of this board might be reviewed by the Council of the Indies.

The fundamental principles of the Spanish colonial system were different from those of Great Britain, as it respected its American dominions; although this difference will be found on examination to depend almost entirely on the different constitutions of the two countries. Great Britain, as well as Spain, regarded the countries in America, discovered by her subjects, as belonging to the crown, rather than to the nation, and all grants and patents were made by the king, without the concurrence of parliament; and the rights and powers of the grantees in the proprietary governments, were also created by the crown. The charter governments were likewise established by the crown, and the rights and privileges allowed to the colonists, and the prerogatives reserved to the king, were dictated by the will of the sovereign. The authority of parliament, as the organ of the nation, over the colonies, does not at first appear to have been exercised, and although this was afterward attempted, it was never fully allowed or acquiesced in by the colonies. It was the exercise of this authority that led to the difficulties between the parent state and its colonies, which resulted in a separation. In the colonial governments established by Britain in America, very important civil privileges were allowed to the colonists, but their rights were not equal to those of English subjects at home, and the difference was to the same extent as the authority exercised over them by parliament; the prerogatives of the sovereign being at least as great, as respected his colonial subjects, as at home. The Spanish American colonies possessed no political privileges; their only civil rights were purely municipal; the authority of the crown was absolute in the colonial governments, but scarcely more so than it was in the parent state, and it could hardly have been expected that subjects in distant colonies would have been

allowed privileges which were not enjoyed by those at home. As it respects constitutional or political rights, the Spanish colonists enjoyed essentially the same as the subjects of Old Spain, yet the exercise of the power of the sovereign being by deputy, and at a great distance, it was much more oppressive, and exposed to greater abuses. As it respects the equality of privileges, between the inhabitants of the colonies and those of the parent country, the Spanish colonists stood on a better footing than the English. If the colonies were absolutely and entirely subject to the government of the parent state, it was not, perhaps, material to them, whether this governing power resided in the crown, or jointly in the crown and the nation. In either case *they were slaves*.

But the different constitutions of the two nations occasioned a corresponding difference in the government of their colonies. The power of the sovereign in Spain being absolute, the same authority was exercised over his dominions in America; but the authority of the king of England being limited, and the government a mixed one, in which the people by their representatives participated, similar systems were established in the British dominions in the new world. In all their colonies the representative principle was introduced, and local legislatures were established, which exercised the ordinary powers of legislation, the executive power remaining in the sovereign, which he exercised in some of the colonies by deputy, in others granted it to proprietors; and in some of the minor colonies the executive power was exercised by governors chosen by the people, and the judicial power by judges appointed by the governors, or colonial assemblies. Still, however, the king, and ultimately the nation, or parliament, claimed an undefined and undefinable sovereignty over the colonies, where he did not exercise the executive power; also over those where proprietary governments were established. The fundamental principle of the British colonial system was, that the colonies were subordinate states, and that the parent country possessed the right of sovereignty over them; but whether this sovereign power resided in the king, or in parliament, representing the nation, or how it was to be exercised, does not appear to have been determined. Legislation, when unrestrained, constitutes the sovereign power in every state. But while Britain claimed this power over her colonies, she did not, until a late period, presume to legislate for them, further than to regulate their foreign commerce, and a few prohibitory acts respecting manufactures. The sovereignty of Great Britain, whether considered as residing in the king or the nation, was rather negative than positive, as it was never pretended, by the most ardent advocates for the prerogatives of the mother country, that she should exercise for the colonies the general powers of legislation. Nei-

ther the nature nor extent of this negative authority, nor the manner of its exercise, was ever defined, either conventionally or by the practice of the government. The British colonial system was complex, vague, and inconsistent with itself, and tended inevitably to one of two results: the establishment of the power of the parent state to legislate for its colonies "in all cases whatsoever," or their entire independence; happily for the Americans and the world, the latter occurred.

The Spanish colonial system was altogether more simple; as there was no intermediate powers between the sovereign and the people at home, there was no necessity for any in the colonies; the sovereign power, so far as the theory of government was concerned, was the same in America as in Spain; it resided in the king in both, and in both was absolute. Spanish America was originally considered as a kingdom independent in itself, and united to Spain only by both countries being under the government of one king. By the laws of the Indies, all acts relating to the conquest of America were expunged, and it was formally united to the crown of Castile by Charles V. in 1519, and confirmed by several of his successors. It is said by Baron Humboldt that the kings of Spain, by assuming the title of king of the Indies, have considered their possessions in America rather as integral parts of the Spanish monarchy, dependent on the crown of Castile, than as colonies, in the sense in which that word has been understood by the commercial nations of Europe since the sixteenth century.\*

But the colonies, both of Britain and Spain, were essentially different from those of the ancients, and established on new principles. The distant settlements of the Greeks were rather migrations than colonies, similar to the swarms of barbarians from the north which settled in the south of Europe. The parent state not expecting to derive any advantage from its colonies, did not attempt to maintain any authority over them; and the only connexion between them was that arising from their having a common origin. The colonies of the Romans were military detachments, stationed in conquered provinces to keep them in subjection, in which case the authority of the mother country was maintained over them, and the province, which continued dependent. The discovery of America, and the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, gave rise to a new system of colonizing, the object of which was to promote the commerce and prosperity of the parent nation.

Whatever difference there may have been in the *principles* on which the colonies of Spain and those of Great Britain were

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planted and governed, there was little in the policy of the two nations relative to their colonial possessions in America.

Both regarded their colonies as subordinate to the parent state, and attempted to render them contributory to its interest and prosperity. This policy seems to grow out of the relations which subsist between colonies and their mother country; as the original object of planting them, since the sixteenth century, has been to benefit the colonizing country, to drain off a surplus or dangerous population, to draw a direct tribute from them under some form of taxation, or for the interests of commerce.

It was the policy of the Spanish sovereigns, or government, as to their American colonies, to render them, in every way that could be done, *contributory* to the power and prosperity of Spain. In the grants of the country, made to the first adventurers, the Spanish monarchs reserved one-fifth of the gold and silver that might be obtained, and for a considerable period the precious metals were the only objects that attracted attention, either in the colonies or Old Spain. The right of the sovereign to a share of the products of the mines was ever after maintained, and it was the intention of Spain to confine the industry of the colonies to mining, for two reasons: one, the revenue derived to the crown from this source, and the other, to prevent such branches of agriculture as might interfere with the products of Spain. The cultivation of the vine and olive were at first prohibited in America, and afterward allowed in Peru and Chili, in consequence of the difficulty of conveying such bulky articles as wine and oil across the isthmus to Panama; and these colonies were not permitted to export the products of the vine or olive to those parts of Spanish America which could obtain them from Spain; and, with this privilege, that of cultivating tobacco, which was raised in other parts of Spanish America, but under regulations of a royal monopoly. The same jealousy crippled the industry of the colonies in other departments; several kinds of manufactures were prohibited, which it was thought might prove detrimental to the mother country. The commercial restrictions imposed on the colonies were still more rigid and intolerable. In pursuance of the maxim that the colonies were, in every possible way, to be rendered contributory to the interests of Spain, without regarding their own, they were denied all commerce with every other portion of the world; their own productions must all be carried to Spain, in the first instance, wherever might be the place of their consumption, and all their own wants must be supplied by the parent state; and even this direct commerce they were not permitted to carry on themselves; no vessel, owned in the colonies, was ever allowed to carry to Europe the produce of the country to which it belong-



ed. All the trade with the colonies was carried on in Spanish bottoms, and under such regulations as subjected them to great inconvenience. Not only was every species of commerce with America, by foreigners, prohibited under the severest penalties, and confiscation and death inflicted on the inhabitants who had the temerity to trade with them, but no foreigner was suffered to enter the colonies without express permission. Even the commerce of one colony with another was either prohibited, or trammelled with intolerable restrictions.

Thus was Spanish America shut up from the world, crippled in its growth, kept in leading-strings, and in a perpetual state of minority; and whilst chastised with the lash of a jealous and unfeeling master, was insulted by being reminded of his parental affection and relationship. These impolitic and unjust measures, founded in a spirit of selfishness and jealousy, together with the hardships which attend the planting of new settlements, so checked the spirit of emigration, that at the expiration of sixty years from the first discovery of America, the number of Spaniards, in all their settlements, did not exceed fifteen thousand.

An ecclesiastical establishment was instituted in Spanish America, as an auxiliary branch of the government, on a similar model to that in Spain, and was extremely burdensome to a young and growing state. At so early a period as the year 1501, the payment of tithes was required, and laws made to enforce it. The exactions of the clergy were extended not only to every article of produce, but also to those which comprised a portion of manufacturing industry, such as sugar, indigo, and cochineal; and these legal burdens were greatly increased by the bigotry of the colonists, and their fondness for external parade and pomp in religion, which made them easy dupes of the clergy, who drained their wealth from productive branches of industry, to endow churches and monasteries. Pope Julian II. conferred on Ferdinand and his successors the patronage and disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices in America, so that the Spanish sovereign became the head of the church in America, and the administrator of its revenues, a prerogative which he did not possess at home. The bulls of the Roman pontiff could not be admitted into Spanish America until they had been examined and approved by the king and the Council of the Indies. The hierarchy was as imposing as in Spain, and its dominion and influence greater; the archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries, enjoyed large revenues, and the ecclesiastical establishment was splendid and magnificent. The lower orders of the clergy consisted of the curate, or parish priests, the *Doctrineros*, who had the charge of such districts as were inhabited by the Indians, who were subject to the Spanish government, and the *Missioneras*, or missionaries, who

were employed in converting the *Indios Bravos*, or fierce tribes. An inconsiderate zeal for the establishment of monasteries was disclosed at an early period, and, from the influence of the regular ecclesiastics, these institutions were multiplied to a pernicious extent, in a new country, where every encouragement ought to have been afforded to the increase of population.

Most of the clergy in America were regular, and many of the highest honours and most lucrative preferments were in their possession. Great numbers came out as missionaries, and most of them in quest of liberty, wealth, or distinction. To certain orders of missionaries the pope allowed the privileges of accepting parochial charges, and receiving the emoluments, without depending on the bishop of the diocese, or being amenable to him. Some of them, in violation of their monastic vows, openly engaged in commercial pursuits; others amassed wealth by oppressing the natives, whom they pretended to instruct and Christianize; and notwithstanding their vow of continency, many of them were dissolute and licentious, in a degree almost exceeding belief.

The success of the missionaries, in converting the natives, was almost entirely deceptive: they made use of the same unjustifiable means that have been resorted to by the Jesuits in other parts of the world, and with like success. To render the new religion more palatable, and to introduce it with greater facility, they pretended that there was a similarity between the doctrines and mysteries of Christianity and the crude notions of their own barbarous superstitions. Being, in many instances, overawed by the power of their conquerors, and excited by the example of their chiefs, multitudes expressed a reluctant consent to embrace a religion of which they were entirely ignorant, and were instantly baptized by the missionaries. By such means as these, by fraud and force, in the course of a few years after the reduction of the Mexican empire, more than four millions of the natives were baptized; but they remained the same, or at least no better, for such spurious conversion; they were not entirely ignorant of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, but retained all their veneration for their ancient superstitions. This mixture of Christianity with their own superstitious rites, was transmitted to their posterity, and has never been eradicated. One ecclesiastic baptized, in one day, five thousand Mexicans, and stopped only when he had become so exhausted as to be unable to lift up his hands. Other missionaries, less successful, declared that the natives were too little removed above the brutes to become Christians; and a council was held at Lima, which decreed that they had not sufficient understanding to be admitted to the Sacrament of the Eucharist. This decree was abrogated by Paul III., who, in 1537, promulgated a decree declaring them *rational creatures*,

and entitled to the privileges of Christians. That infernal engine of hierarchical power, the Inquisition, was established in America by the pious zeal of Philip II. in the year 1570. The natives, from their incapacity, were exempted from the jurisdiction of this horrid tribunal.

If the Spaniards rendered little benefit to the natives by their attempts to Christianize them, their conduct toward them, in other respects, was severe and oppressive in the extreme.

The views of the Spaniards, with respect to the natives, were entirely different from those of the English, in the American colonies. In the latter, the natives were either induced peaceably to cede their lands, and retire farther into the interior of the continent, or, from the successive hostilities which arose, were exterminated or dispersed. As the European settlements extended, the natives, who had for ages been "lords of the soil," gradually retired, disposed of their lands, or had them wrested from them by war, and sought new abodes, where, depending on the chase, they might obtain an easier subsistence. They melted away before the sun of civilization like the dew of the morning, without leaving any of their number behind, or scarcely a trace of their former existence. Not only thousands of individuals, but numerous tribes or nations, might say with Logan, the Mingo chief, "not a drop of our blood flows in the veins of any living creature," inhabiting the land of our fathers. The English colonists did not originally claim the country on the ground of conquest; and in the subsequent wars that arose, although the natives were defeated and scattered, they were not subjugated; they were too fierce and warlike to submit their necks to the yoke of the conquerors, and become their vassals. As they subsisted by hunting, had no towns, nor any interest in the soil, there was little that attached them to their country, and less that obstructed their migration. The conquests made were only of the country, not of its inhabitants. But the discoverers and conquerors of Spanish America claimed the country on the ground of conquest, and as the natives, particularly in Mexico and Peru, lived in villages and towns, subsisted by agriculture, and had acquired private property in the soil, and were very populous, it was difficult if not impossible for them to migrate; and from the modes of civilized life, and of living in fixed habitations, which had been established, they could not at once revert back to the savage state, and trust to the precarious subsistence of the chase.

The Spanish adventurers not only conquered the country, but subjugated its inhabitants, particularly in Mexico and Peru, and extending the same right of conquest to both, they reduced the natives to a state of servitude. As early as the year 1499, Columbus, to avoid the consequences of a disaffection among his

followers, granted lands, and distributed a certain number of Indians among them, who were required to cultivate a certain quantity of ground each, for their masters. This was the origin of the *repartimientos*, or distribution of Indians, which was afterward introduced into all the Spanish settlements, and was the fruitful source of innumerable calamities, which wasted that unhappy and injured people. Every where they were seized upon, and compelled to follow the armies, to carry their baggage, to work in the mines, to cultivate the earth, to carry burdens, for the want of domestic animals, and to perform all menial and laborious services. Whether employed in the mines, in agriculture, or other situations, they were required to perform stated tasks much beyond their abilities, and being unaccustomed to regular labour, thousands sunk under the accumulated burdens and hardships to which they were subjected by their unfeeling and rapacious masters. Their native spirit was broken, they became humbled and degraded, and the race was rapidly wasting away. Their oppressions and sufferings at length excited the sympathies of many humane persons, particularly among the clergy, who exerted themselves with much zeal and perseverance to meliorate the condition of the Indians. These efforts at length prevailed, and in the year 1542 Charles V. abolished the *repartimientos*, and all the rights which the Spanish colonists claimed in the natives as domestic slaves, and restored them to the privileges of freemen and subjects. These just regulations filled the colonies with consternation, and in Peru they were resisted by force. But the rights of the natives were more apparent than real ; for their condition was only changed from that of slaves of individuals to that of vassals of the crown. It was claimed that, as members of the state, they must contribute something toward its support ; and accordingly a tax was imposed on every male from eighteen to fifty, consisting of personal service, and the extent and time of performing the same were accurately defined. This capitation tax, or tribute, has varied in different provinces, and at different periods ; but in the eighteenth century was usually four shillings sterling per annum ; and, previous to the late political revolution, it was ten francs. They paid, besides, certain fees to the clergy for baptism, certificates of marriage, interments, masses, &c. Among the regulations adopted for the benefit of the Indians, was what was called the *encomiendas*, by which they were granted to certain great landholders, as their proprietors and protectors, not as slaves according to the *repartimientos*, but on such principles as recognised certain rights in the Indians. This measure, like most others in America, was so abused, that though intended for the protection of the natives, it became a fertile cause of increasing their miseries. After the adoption of this system, every

Indian under the dominion of Spain, was either the immediate vassal of the crown, or of some subject who was the owner of the *encomienda*, or the district in which he resided.

The services required of the Indians were of two kinds, employment in agriculture and other branches of necessary industry, and labour in the mines. They were divided into classes called *mitas*, and called into service by turns at regular periods, and served a definite time. The employment in the mines, extracting oar from the bowels of the earth at a vast depth, and conveying it to the surface, and the successive processes of refining it, are not only extremely laborious, but very unhealthy, and have wasted thousands of this degraded and wretched race. The condition of the Indians became worse and worse until the eighteenth century, when many of the original proprietors of the *encomiendas*, and their descendants, being extinct, and the grants not being renewed, relieved them from this species of bondage.

Charles III. was their benefactor, and annulled what remained of the *encomiendas*, and suppressed the *corregidores* who supplied them with various articles at exorbitant prices, and thus reduced them nearly to slavery, by making them their debtors. But the establishment of intendancies, during the ministry of Count Galvez, in the eighteenth century, for the superintendence and protection of the Indians, was the most efficacious measure adopted for meliorating the condition of the natives; and by an active and energetic administration, the most happy results were produced to this much injured race, who, after being robbed of their country, for three centuries, like the Israelites in Egypt, had been compelled to groan under the burdens of hard task-masters. They were still deprived of all the important rights of citizens, and considered as minors, under the tutelage of their superiors, and could make no contract beyond the value of ten pounds. They were prohibited from intermarrying with the whites, from engaging in any commercial transactions, and no other situations or employments were open to them but those of common labourers or artisans. Those who lived in the large towns were governed by Spanish laws and magistrates, but the greater part of them were shut up in villages of their own, and governed by petty Indian magistrates, who were either descendants of the ancient *caciques*, or lords, or appointed by the Spanish authorities; and, in either case, they found it for their interest to perpetuate the ignorance and barbarism of their countrymen; or were too stupid and ignorant themselves to perceive the advantages of civilizing and improving them.

In considering the condition and wretchedness of the Indians in Spanish America, we have not noticed all the consequences or evils which followed the subjugation of the aboriginal inhabitants

of the country, and which were avoided in the English colonies in the new world. The existence of various casts, or mixed races, which now constitute so large a portion of the whole population of the country, is a consequence of the subjugation of the natives. The whole population of the Spanish colonies is divided into classes; the natives of Old Spain, settled in America, were denominated *Chapetones*, or gachupines; they claimed the first rank, and engrossed most of the places of power and profit, merely on account of their birth; the descendants of European Spaniards in the colonies were called *Creoles*, and, although they legally enjoyed the same civil rights as the natives of Old Spain, they were treated as a distinct and subordinate class, and entirely excluded from all situations of any importance. Of the mixtures, the *Mestizos* are the descendants of a white and an Indian; the descendants of an Indian and negro are called *Zembos*, and these casts produce other mixtures, of different shades of colour, and degrees of blood, too various to be divided into distinct classes.

Notwithstanding the avidity for gold of the first adventurers, and the ardour with which they pursued their researches for the hidden treasures, their exertions were attended with little success for a great number of years. It was not until 1545, that the rich mines of Potosi, in Peru, were accidentally discovered by an Indian, in clambering up the mountain; and this event was soon followed by the discovery of the mines of Zacatecas, in Mexico. Numerous mines of gold and silver were afterward discovered at different times, in most of the provinces. For a long period the working of the various mines formed the principal employment of the American Spaniards; all other pursuits being subordinate, if not contributory to this. And such was the exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the new world poured forth their treasures, that, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, according to calculations deemed moderate, a quantity of the precious metals had been carried to Spain, equal to four millions sterling, annually, from the first discovery of the country. This product, great as it was, is small, compared with the quantity which the more extensive operations of the present century have afforded. The products of the mines have been constantly increasing for more than a century; and in Mexico, within that period, have increased more than sixfold. During ten years, from 1690 to 1699, the gold and silver coined at the Mexican mint was of the value of nearly forty-three millions of dollars; and the amount coined for ten years, from 1790 to 1799, one century after, exceeded two hundred and thirty-one millions. The mines were not worked by the crown, but, although attended with immense expense, were carried on by individual enterprise. To encourage adventurers in mining, the person discovering a mine

was entitled to the property in it, provided he would work it within a given period. The discoverer presented his claim to the governor of the province, and if allowed, a grant of land was made to him round the mine, and a number of Indians allotted him for working the mine ; but he must prosecute the business within the time specified, and pay the customary proportion to the crown.

The direct pursuit of the precious metals is the most fascinating of all employments, stimulated by avarice ; and so irresistible and bewitching is its influence, that, like the charm of the rattlesnake, it seemed to turn the heads and change the natural disposition of those who became the victims of its power. Like the passion for deep gambling, it took such entire possession of the mind, that when a person once engaged in this seducing pursuit, visions of imaginary wealth were constantly before his eyes ; whether sleeping or awake, he dreams of mountains of gold ; and having once entered the enchanting path, he cannot return, but is led along, as if by an ignis-fatuus, to the realization of his dreams, or to ruin. The prevalence of such a spirit as this produced a vortex in the public mind, which swallowed up every other interest or pursuit, diverted industry from its natural channels, and occasioned the neglect of agriculture and manufactures, except so far as they were dependent on, and auxiliary to, this prevailing pursuit.

But notwithstanding the engrossing influence of mining, other interests, entirely disconnected therewith, were not wholly neglected, but afforded, in the different provinces, various important articles of exportation. Cochineal, a valuable drug, and an important article of commerce, composed of a curious insect, was attended with profit in New Spain ; quinquina, or Jesuits' bark, the most valuable restorative the three kingdoms of nature produce, afforded a lucrative branch of commerce in Peru, and indigo and cocoa were produced in large quantities, and were important articles of exportation, in Guatemala. In Buenos Ayres hides formed an important staple, and afforded a profitable branch of commerce. Horses and neat cattle, introduced from Europe, increased with astonishing rapidity, and ranging over the vast prairies, lying between the La Plata and the Andes, covered at all times with the richest verdure, they multiplied to an extent almost incredible. They are often seen in droves of thirty or forty thousand, covering the boundless plain further than the eye can reach.

During the reign of Charles V. when the power of Spain was at its height, her manufactures and commerce were extensive and flourishing ; and both received a great and favourable impulse in consequence of the new market which was opened in America.

Her manufactures were sufficient to supply the growing demand of her colonies, in addition to satisfying that at home. Her commerce was equally flourishing ; at the beginning of the sixteenth century Spain had more than one thousand merchant vessels, a number far exceeding that possessed by any nation in Europe. From the destructive foreign wars of Philip II. and the stupid bigotry of his successor, Philip III., who expelled the Moors from his kingdom, amounting to a million of the most industrious of his subjects, Spain became drained of its inhabitants, so that early in the seventeenth century her manufactures and commerce began to decay ; men could not be recruited to keep up her fleets and armies ; her extensive foreign commerce was lost, and even agriculture began to be neglected. The great emigration to the colonies still further drained off the population, and the immense wealth which the colonies poured into the parent state intoxicated the inhabitants, as well as the sovereign, and led them to desert the paths of industry to which they had been accustomed. Thus, at a time when the population and wants of the colonies were daily augmenting, the means of Spain to supply them had decreased in a much greater ratio. She was obliged to have recourse to her neighbours, and to supply her colonies with the manufactures of Holland, England, France, and Italy. She was still, however, as firmly bent on maintaining the entire monopoly of the colonial trade, although it was apparent that foreigners now derived the principal benefit from it. Nineteen-twentieths of the commodities exported to her colonies were foreign fabrics, which were paid for by the products of the mines, received in return, so that the precious metals no sooner entered Spain, than they passed away into the hands of foreigners, and the country was left without sufficient for a circulating medium.

Although wholly unable to supply the wants of her colonies, Spain did not relax in the smallest degree the rigour of her colonial system ; the principle of which was, that the whole commerce with the colonies should be in the hands and under the direction of the crown, a monopoly similar to that of an exclusive company. The regulation of this commerce was intrusted to the Casa de la Contraction, or board of trade, established at Seville. This board granted a license to any vessel bound to America, and inspected its cargo. From these regulations the entire commerce with the colonies centered in Seville, and continued there until 1720. It was carried on in a uniform manner for more than two centuries. The system was, that a fleet, with a strong convoy, sailed annually to America ; this consisted of two squadrons, or divisions, one called the *Galleons*, the other the *Flota*. They sailed from Seville until the year 1720, and after that principally from Cadiz, until 1778, when fourteen other ports



were opened to the trade with the colonies. The galleons destined to Terra Firma, Peru, and Chili, first touched at Cartagena, where not only that province, but also those of Caraccas, Santa Martha, and others in New Granada, were supplied. From Cartagena the fleet proceeded to Porto Bello, which was the mart of all the rich commerce of Peru and Chili. Previous to the time the galleons were expected, the products of the mines and such articles of produce as Peru and Chili afforded for exportation, were annually conveyed by sea to Panama, and from thence across the isthmus, to Porto Bello, part of the way on mules, and part down the river Chagres. After the arrival of the fleet of galleons, and the merchants from Peru and the other provinces, Porto Bello, a paltry and unwholesome village, consisting of negro huts, and a small garrison, immediately assumed a new appearance; its storehouses were filled with merchandise, and its streets crowded with opulent merchants, drawn from distant provinces. A fair was opened that continued for forty days, during which the most extensive commercial transactions took place, and the rich cargoes of the galleons were all marketed, and the specie and staples of the colonies received in payment, and carried back to Spain. The flota, or other squadron, directed its course to Vera Cruz, and supplied New Spain, and all the provinces that belonged to that viceroyalty. The treasures of the mines, and products of the country, were first deposited at Puebla, and on the arrival of the flota were carried to Vera Cruz, where the exchange was conducted in the same manner as at Porto Bello. Both squadrons having taken in their return cargoes, rendezvoused at Havanna, and sailed from thence to Europe in company.

Such was the stinted, fettered, and restricted commerce which subsisted between Spain and her colonies for more than two centuries and a half; and such were the swaddlingclothes which bound the youthful and vigorous limbs of the colonies, calculated to retard their growth, and keep them always in a state of dependence and minority. They were not permitted to act for themselves in the most common and necessary concerns; but must wear such apparel, and consume such meats and drinks as paternal authority saw fit to allow them. This restricted and contemptible commercial system was scarcely less injurious to Spain than to her colonies. The naval superiority of the English and Dutch enabled them to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, which exposed the colonies to suffer for the want of the necessaries of life, and introduced an extensive smuggling trade. It also compelled the Spanish monarch so far to relax the rigour of his system as to permit France, then his ally, to open a trade with Peru; the French carried such quantities of

goods there, that they found their way into all the Spanish provinces. This trade being carried on directly, threatened the destruction of the trade with Spain, and it was therefore prohibited.

By the treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain obtained a concession which secured to her a foothold for commercial purposes in the Spanish colonies in America. Philip V. transferred to Britain, with the consent of France, the privilege or contract which the latter had enjoyed, of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, and the more dangerous right of sending annually one ship of five hundred tons to the fair at Porto Bello. This led to the establishment of British factories at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other places. The residence of the agents and merchants of a rival power in the most important towns, drew aside the veil which had hitherto concealed from the world the interior condition of the Spanish colonies, and excited a spirit of commercial cupidity, which led to an extensive contraband trade. This, at first, was carried on principally from Jamaica, and other British colonies. As might have been foreseen, the privilege granted to the British was at once abused, and greatly extended. Instead of a ship of five, one of nine hundred tons was sent to Porto Bello; and this was accompanied with several smaller vessels, which moored in some neighbouring creek, and clandestinely conveyed their cargoes to the principal ship. The inspectors of the fair, blinded by presents, remained ignorant of these frauds. From the intrinsic defects of the Spanish colonial system, and the weakness of granting the privileges spoken of to the most enterprising commercial nation in the world, the commerce carried on in the galleons, so long the pride of Spain, and even the envy of other nations, was almost annihilated before the middle of the eighteenth century.

Alarmed at the extent and pernicious consequences of the contraband trade, Spain stationed ships of war along the coast most exposed to this illicit traffic, to suppress it. These were called *Guarda Costas*; they checked the smuggling trade to a considerable degree, which led to complaints on the part of Great Britain, and finally to war, on the claim of some outrages committed by the *Guarda Costas*. Spain, however, obtained a release from the *Assiento*, or privilege granted to England, and was once more at liberty to manage her commerce with her colonies in her own way, without restraint. The contraband trade, however, continued; the Dutch and French engaged in it, as well as the English; and to such an extent was it carried, that sometimes when the galleons arrived the markets were glutted, and their cargoes could scarcely be disposed of. The galleons were prevented from sailing by wars, and often retarded by various accidents, and this occasioned a new regulation, by which commerce

with the colonies was carried on by *register ships*, fitted out during the intervals of the sailing of the fleets. The advantages of this commerce were so apparent, that in the year 1748 the galleons were no longer employed, and the trade with Peru and Chili was prosecuted in a direct route, round Cape Horn, in single ships. Still the register ships were all obliged to take their departure from Cadiz, and to return to that port.

The Dutch, from the vicinity of their settlement at Curacao to Caraccas, having engrossed a considerable part of the cocoa trade of that province, Spain, in 1728, granted to a company of merchants an exclusive monopoly of the trade with Caraccas and Cumana; and both the parent state and the colonies derived great benefit from the commercial enterprise of this company.

From the want of more frequent intercourse between Spain and her colonies, it often happened that important events, which occurred in the latter, were known for some time by foreign nations before intelligence of them had reached Spain. To remedy this evil, in 1764 a system of packets was established, to be despatched on the first day of every month, to Havana; from whence letters were sent to Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and so transmitted throughout the Spanish settlements. The packet-boats also sailed, once a month, to Buenos Ayres, to accommodate the settlements east of the Andes. Objects of commerce connected themselves with this arrangement; the packets were vessels of considerable burden, and carried out goods, and brought back a return cargo in the productions of the colonies.

The way being in some degree prepared, the following year, 1765, Charles III. abrogated the restrictions on the trade to Cuba, and other islands to the windward, leaving it open to all his subjects, with no other restrictions but that of their sailing to particular ports in each island. The beneficial effects, both to Old Spain and the colonies, resulting from a relaxation of the ancient laws, being sensibly felt, one relaxation proved the necessity of another, and in 1778 the monopoly was still further done away; and the colonial trade, which had been confined to Cadiz and Seville for two and a half centuries, was permitted to be carried on in fourteen other Spanish seaports, which produced a most important and favourable change, both to the colonies and the revenue of Spain.

The restrictions upon the internal intercourse and commerce of the Spanish colonies were, if possible, more grievous and pernicious in their consequences than those on the intercourse with Spain. From their first settlement all intercourse was prohibited, under the severest penalties, between the different provinces in the South Sea. Peru, Chili, New Spain, New Granada, and Guatemala, were cruelly inhibited from all commerce, and from

all intercourse whatsoever with each other, which would so obviously have promoted their mutual comfort, prosperity, and advancement. At length, in 1774, Charles III. removed this severe and infamous restriction, and opened a free trade between these provinces.

In noticing the commerce of the Spanish colonies, that from Manilla requires our attention. Philip II. established a colony on the Philippine islands. The armament was fitted out from New Spain, and the station selected for a town was called Manilla, on the island of Luconia. This settlement soon engaged in active commercial intercourse with China, which occasioned a number of the Chinese to emigrate to the colony, for the purposes of commerce, and the prospects of gain. They not only supplied the colony with the manufactures of the East, but introduced such quantities as enabled it to open a trade with America. At first this trade, which was attended by the longest course of navigation of any in the world, was confined to Callao, on the coast of Peru, but subsequently it was transferred to Acapulco, on the western coast of New Spain. It finally acquired regularity and system, and became an important branch of the commerce of the Spanish colonies. It supplied them with the merchandise of China and the East Indies, in exchange for their precious metals, and the produce of America. A single galleon, of from twelve to fifteen hundred tons, sailed from Manilla about the first of July, with the southwest monsoon, and generally arrived at Acapulco in three months, with a cargo that often amounted to two millions of dollars, although by law it was limited to half a million. In February or March she returned, and, taking advantage of the trade winds, accomplished the voyage in fifty or sixty days. And, at a later period, a galleon has also been despatched from Manilla to Lima, a longer and more difficult voyage, as it must first discover the coast of Mexico, and then steer southward to Peru, a navigation extremely difficult and tedious. What is most remarkable, this commerce was suffered to be carried on, in direct contravention of the fundamental principle of the colonial system of Spain, which held the colonies entirely dependent on the mother country. It seems to have grown up gradually, until it became so important, and so great a part of the population became interested in it, that it could not be suppressed.

Spain received a considerable revenue from her colonies, notwithstanding the extensive contraband trade which, at some periods, even in time of peace, amounted to one-third of the whole commerce of the colonies, and other frauds practised on the revenue. The revenue consisted of three branches; the first, that which was paid to the king, as lord-paramount, or sovereign of the country; the second, what accrued to him as head of the

church ; and the third, imposts, or duties on commerce. The first comprised the customary, or share, received by the crown, of the product of the mines, called the right of seignior, and the tribute paid by the Indians, called the duty of vassalage. As head of the church, and administrator of its funds, the king received various spiritual revenues, the first fruits, spoils, and the receipts from the sale of the bull of Crusado. This bull was promulgated by the pope every second year, containing an absolution from past offences, and granting certain immunities, such as eating prohibited food during lent, and the like. The monks, employed in distributing these bulls, extolled their virtues with all that zeal and eloquence which interest usually inspires, and which was always found wonderfully efficacious. The ignorant were led to regard it as essential to their salvation at the rate set on it by government, and by such fraudulent means a universal tax was levied on the credulity and bigotry of a whole nation. The morals of the people were thus bartered away by the government, which ought to have been their guardian and protector, for a mess of pottage, a paltry tax. The duties on merchandise were numerous and oppressive, and clogged and embarrassed every commercial transaction, from the wholesale merchant to the petty retail vender. Great discrimination was made between the duties on the manufactures of Spain, and those on the productions of foreign countries. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the revenue raised by Spain in America was estimated at a million and a half sterling. This, however, was only the *direct* revenue, raised in the colonies, and did not include the duties levied in Old Spain, on all the exports to her colonies, and some other branches of revenue.

If the revenue was great, the expenses of the colonial government were equally so, and were wholly defrayed by the crown. The Spanish colonial system was not confined to civil government, but embraced commerce, religion, finance, and a military establishment ; all of which were under the authority and management of the crown. It was also complex, in an extreme degree, in each department ; consequently was encumbered with such a number and variety of offices, tribunals, and boards, as not only occasioned an enormous expense, but rendered it unwieldy, tardy in its movements, and almost unmanageable. Its weight was also increased by the external parade and pomp which it maintained. Every thing was on a large scale ; the expenses of living were great, all salaries were high, and most of the officers of the government received, by perquisites, and in the various ways which human ingenuity could devise, several times as much as their salaries. The viceroys maintained horse and foot guards, a train of household attendants, and all the pomp and dig-

nity of a regal establishment. They enjoyed a salary of thirty thousand dollars in the latter part of the eighteenth century ; but this was a small part of their income ;—by monopolizing certain branches of commerce, the disposal of all the lucrative offices, by presents, and by innumerable frauds and abuses of power, they usually, after continuing in office a few years, returned to Spain with a princely fortune. . It is asserted that a viceroy, at one festival, the anniversary of his *birth-day*, received fifty thousand dollars in presents.



## CHAPTER V.

*Administration of Don Joseph Galvez—Buenos Ayres—fourth viceroyalty created—establishment of Intendancies—civil divisions of the country—Gen. Beresford and Sir Home Popham—attack on Buenos Ayres—view of the government—its different offices—its corruption and oppression—conspiracy of Leon—frauds practised upon the Indians—Tupac Amaru heads an insurrection—is defeated—civil commotion in New Granada—first attempts to revolutionize the province—Miranda's expedition—loyalty of the Spanish creoles.*

THE more enlarged views of policy, which led to the relaxation of the ancient laws, and the adoption of more equitable and just commercial regulations, called attention to the internal condition of the Spanish colonies, and occasioned various salutary reformatations and improvements. The colonial system, founded on false and inequitable principles, defective and oppressive in itself, was rendered more insupportable from the abuses and corruption which every where had crept into the administration. Not only a correction of abuses, but a reformation of the system, was successfully attempted in the latter part of the eighteenth century, during the enlightened administration of Don Joseph Galvez. Having spent seven years in America, as inspector-general of New Spain, and visited most of the remote provinces, he was elevated, on his return to Spain, to the head of the department for Indian, or, more properly, American affairs. He commenced his administration, which forms a memorable epoch

in the history of Spanish America, by a general reformation of the whole system. The increase of population and wealth in the colonies had so multiplied the business of the courts of Audience, that the number of judges were wholly inadequate to a faithful discharge of the duties of the office. He increased the number of judges, raised their salaries, and enlarged their powers of appointment.

From the extension of the settlements great inconvenience was experienced, notwithstanding the establishment of the third viceroyalty of New Granada, in consequence of the remoteness of many of the provinces from the seat of government ; and the further the administration was removed from the seat of authority, the greater were the abuses which attended it. There were provinces subject to the government of New Spain, more than two thousand miles from Mexico, and some appertaining to the viceroyalty of Peru, were still further from Lima. To remedy this evil a fourth viceroyalty was created in the year 1776, comprising the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, St. Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. The seat of government was established at Buenos Ayres, and Don Pedro Zavallos raised to this new dignity, who was well acquainted with the countries over which he had to preside, having long resided in them, in a subordinate station. This division, together with what was taken off at the erection of the viceroyalty of New Granada, reduced the territory of the viceroyalty of Peru to one-third its original extent. The remote provinces of Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, which belonged to the jurisdiction of New Spain, were likewise formed into a separate government, which was conferred on the Chevalier de Croix, who, although not possessed of the title and dignity of viceroy, was wholly independent of the viceroyalty of New Spain. Several of these provinces contained some of the richest mines of gold in America, recently discovered, and this was among the reasons that urged the erection of a new government, which, from its vicinity, might afford the protection and facilities that the mining operations required. Another, and perhaps the most patriotic measure of the Count de Galvez, was the establishment of Intendancies, for the superintendence and protection of the Indians. This measure had a happy effect on the natives ; under the active superintendence of the intendants, whose duty it was to watch over their rights, as guardians and protectors, this miserable race enjoyed securities and advantages of which they were deprived under the tyranny of the subaltern Spanish and Indian magistrates, to whom they had been subjected.

At a subsequent period some alterations took place in the political divisions of Spanish America, so that at the commence-

ment of the political revolution, which has restored all the Spanish dominions on the American continent to independence and liberty, its civil divisions consisted of the four viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and New Granada, and the territories called captain-generalcies of Chili, Venezuela, and Guatemala. These seven distinct governments were independent of each other; a viceroy presided over the four first, and an officer, called a captain-general, over the three last, all of which were appointed by the king; were independent of each other, and directly dependent on the crown. These governments were subdivided into provinces, over which presided a governor, or *corregidore*, and also into intendancies, which formed the jurisdiction of an officer called an intendant. This latter division was principally for that part of government which related to the Indians. The governors and intendants were appointed by the king, but accountable to the viceroy, or captain-general, to whose jurisdiction the province belonged. The provinces were again divided into departments, over which presided a delegate of the governor or officer at the head of the government of the province, and likewise subordinate magistrates, called *alcades*, appointed by the municipalities, denominated *cabildos*. The viceroys and captain-generals possessed both civil and military power, and generally the governors possessed the same; but in some instances they enjoyed only civil authority, in which cases there was a military chief, or officer in the province, called *commandante*, who held the military command. The supreme judicial power was vested in the court of Audience, of which there was one or more in each of the viceroyalties and captain-generalcies; the separate judges of this tribunal were called *oidores*, and their number varied according to the population and business of their jurisdictions. A subordinate judicial authority was vested in the governors, *corregidores*, and their delegates; and the *alcades* also possessed a limited jurisdiction, but could not act unless they were law-professors, without the advice of an *asesor*, or lawyer. The decisions of all these inferior tribunals might be reviewed by the Royal Audience, whose decrees were final, except in some important cases an appeal was allowed to the Council of the Indies.

There were also in some of the seaports tribunals called *consulados*, having cognizance of commercial affairs only, from whose decisions an appeal might be made to the viceroy. In addition to these authorities there were spiritual tribunals, with jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs. At the head of these was the holy Inquisition, whose jurisdiction was undefined, and its proceedings secret, tyrannical, and cruel. Its punishments were inflicted by fine, imprisonment, torture, the gallows, and the stake. In each diocese there was a spiritual court, composed of the



bishop, the fiscal proctor, or lawyer, and the provisor. The ecclesiastical courts, as well as all others, were subject to the control of the viceroy, and consequently were used to advance the ambitious views of the state, as well as the church.

There was nothing like popular influence in either branch of the government; no mode in which the voice of the people could be expressed; nor was there a tribunal or officer who was amenable to, or whose authority emanated directly from, the people. There were no meetings of the inhabitants, except at church, and for public worship on religious festivals, and the press could scarcely be said to exert any influence; so far as it did, however, it was only an instrument of tyranny and oppression. Even the cabildos, or corporations which regulated the internal police of cities and towns, consisting of from six to twelve members, according to their population or business, were entirely independent of popular influence. These officers were called regidores, the governor of the province being ex officio president of the cabildo, and controlled all its acts. The office of regidore was held during life, having a fixed price, which, in Buenos Ayres and Chili, was about five hundred dollars, and was purchased like any other commodity in market. The executive officers of the cabildos, called alquazils, answering to sheriffs and constables in the United States, were sold at given prices, the same being the case in a great measure with the alcades, who were a kind of petty magistrates, or justices of the peace. The administration was corrupt in all departments, beyond any example in modern times. The viceroys, captain-generals, intendants, members of the court of Audience, archbishops and bishops who were appointed by the king, almost without exception were Spaniards; and most of the civil and military appointments were conferred on natives of Old Spain. Down to the year 1810 one hundred and sixty viceroys, and five hundred and eighty-eight captain-generals, governors, and presidents of the royal audience, had been appointed in America, of whom only eighteen were natives of the country, these obtaining their appointments in consequence of having received their education in Spain. Thus, for ages, was Spanish America governed by swarms of foreign officers, who had no other interest than to gratify their employers, and enrich themselves.

The influence of the political revolution in the British colonies, and the effects of commercial freedom which Spanish America enjoyed after the regulations of 1778, gave rise to the first symptoms of a spirit of reformation and political improvement which appeared in the Spanish colonies. Down to this period, and in general, until the breaking out of the revolution in the parent country, and the overthrow of the monarchy by Bonaparte, the Spanish creoles in America, notwithstanding the political oppres-

sion which they suffered, and their personal degradation as a class, were distinguished for their loyalty and attachment to their king and country. About the middle of the eighteenth century a conspiracy was formed in Caraccas, headed by a man named Leon, the object of which, however, was not so much political as commercial, it being the design of the conspirators to break up the company of Guipuscoa, sometimes called the company of Caraccas, who had long enjoyed a monopoly of all the trade of that and several other provinces. The plot did not succeed, and Leon was condemned to death, his house razed to the ground, and a column placed on the spot as a memorial of the horror of his offence, and the fate that awaited all traitors. In 1780 an alarming revolution broke out in Peru, among the natives, seconded by some of the creole inhabitants. Previous to the reformation and correction of abuses which took place during the administration of Count de Galvez, the corregidores practised such intolerable extortions and frauds on the Indians, compelling them to receive their necessary supplies on their own terms, as finally drove them into measures of open resistance. Tupac Amaru, a native Peruvian, of the royal Inca blood, became the leader of the malecontents; and several individuals of influence joining him, the flame of resistance was spread for three hundred leagues into the interior of the country; and so numerous and formidable did the party become, that Tupac Amaru was proclaimed Inca of Peru. The Spanish authorities adopted energetic and vindictive measures to suppress the insurgents; the contest lasted three years, and exhibited many bloody scenes. The malecontents were often successful; but Tupac Amaru did not conduct in his new dignity so as to maintain the attachment of his adherents; their zeal consequently began to abate, and their efforts to relax; and being attacked by the troops of Buenos Ayres, as well as by those of Lima, and most of the Spanish inhabitants declaring in favour of the government, the insurgents were overpowered, and compelled to submit. Tupac Amaru, and most of the principal leaders, were put to death, in a manner cruel and abhorrent to the feelings of humanity in the extreme. The loyalty of the creoles led them to take part with the government, notwithstanding the oppression which they suffered, on an occasion when it was in their power, by joining with the Indians, to have effected a political revolution.

Before this insurrection was suppressed, the Spanish government was alarmed by civil commotions in New Granada. In 1781, some new regulations and additional taxes, adopted by Regente Pineros, the viceroy, were opposed by almost the whole population of the province of Socorro. An armed multitude, amounting to seventeen thousand, marched toward Santa Fe,

crying, "Long live the king—death to our bad governors." The viceroy not being able to oppose them in arms, had recourse to superstition: they advanced without opposition to within about 36 miles of the capital, where, instead of being confronted by an army, they were met by Gongora the archbishop, in his pontifical robes, holding the host in his hands. The suddenness and surprise of this appeal to their religious feelings, filled them with awe and timidity. The archbishop, availing himself of the happy moment, proposed a conference to Don Salvador Plata, their leader, which resulted in an accommodation, and the dispersion of the malecontents. But the terms of capitulation were not adhered to. These indications of a spirit of reform and freedom in the colonies occasioned the greatest jealousy and alarm in the court of Madrid, and the adoption of such severe and harsh measures to suppress it, as rather tended to increase the evil. Printing presses were prohibited, even in towns of forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, and books of almost every description were proscribed, as dangerous and seditious. In New Granada, several persons, merely on suspicion of entertaining revolutionary designs, were subjected to the torture; and similar measures, of a distrustful policy, were pursued in other provinces, all of which tended to increase the discontents of the colonists. Nothing was done to conciliate their feelings, or redress the grievances of which they complained, or which even had the appearance of reforming any of the glaring abuses that every where prevailed. Power and coercion were the only means made use of; the sword, the rack, and the inquisition, were to control the minds as well as the bodies of the colonists, and convince them that they had no greater liberties, no other rights, than those of *submission* to the will of an arbitrary tyranny.

The political events which occurred in Europe, subsequently to 1778, produced a spirit of political inquiry that spread over that continent, and even reached the shores of the Spanish dominions in America, where light and liberty had so long been proscribed and shut out, as the greatest evils that could afflict the human race. Many of the Spanish creoles informed themselves with the history and the principles of the American and French revolutions; and the more they became acquainted with liberty the more lovely it appeared, and the more odious the tyranny of the Spanish colonial government. Elevated by such sentiments, and relying on the assurances of assistance from the British, derived from the proclamation\* of the governor of Trinidad, a number of

\* The following is the proclamation referred to:—"By virtue of an official paper, which I, the governor of this island of Trinidad, have received from the right honourable Henry Dundas, minister of his Britannic Majesty for foreign affairs, dated 7th April, 1797, which I have publish in ope-

creoles at Caraccas, in 1797, formed a plan to revolutionize that province. When on the eve of making the attempt to carry their plans into execution, the conspiracy was discovered, and Don M. Gual, and J. M. Espana, the apparent leaders, escaped to a neighbouring island. Two years after, the latter, having the presumption to return to La Guayra, was seized, condemned, and executed, and thus became one of the first martyrs of Colombian liberty.

It had long been a favourite project of Mr. Pitt to aid the emancipation of South America, and to open a trade with that country. He had frequent conferences with the ex-Jesuit, Juan Pablo Viscardi Gusman, a native of Peru, and an enthusiast in favour of the independence of America, who represented the country to be impatient under the Spanish yoke, and ripe for revolt. He also published in London an appeal to his countrymen, using all the powers of his eloquence in attempting to bring them to a sense of their degraded condition. The British ministry encouraged general Miranda in his designs to revolutionize Venezuela, and aided the premature expedition which he fitted out in 1801; and furnished the funds for that which he afterward fitted out from the United States in 1806, though it was done without

dience to orders, and for the use which your Excellencies may draw from its publication, in order that you may communicate its tenor, which is literally as follows:—'The object which at present I desire most particularly to recommend to your attention, is the means which might be best adapted to liberate the people of the continent near to the island of Trinidad, from the oppressive and tyrannic system which supports, with so much rigour, the monopoly of commerce, under the title of exclusive registers, which their government licenses demand; also to draw the greatest advantages possible, and which the local situation of the island presents, by opening a direct and free communication with the other parts of the world, without prejudice to the commerce of the British nation. In order to fulfil this intention with greater facility, it will be prudent for your Excellency to animate the inhabitants of Trinidad in keeping up the communication which they had with those of Terra Firma, previous to the reduction of that island; under the assurance, that they will find there an *entrepot*, or general magazine, of every sort of goods whatever. To this end, his Britannic Majesty has determined, in council, to grant freedom to the ports of Trinidad, with a direct trade to great Britain.'

"With regard to the hopes you entertain of raising the spirits of those persons, with whom you are in correspondence, toward encouraging the inhabitants to resist the oppressive authority of their government, I have little more to say, than that they may be certain that, whenever they are in that disposition, they may receive, at your hands, all the succours to be expected from his Britannic Majesty, be it with forces, or with arms and ammunition, to any extent; with the assurance, that the views of his Britannic Majesty go no further than to secure to them their independence, without pretending to any sovereignty over their country, nor even to interfere in the privileges of the people, nor in their political, civil, or religious rights."

THOMAS PICTON, &c. &c.

Puerto de Espana, 26th June, 1797.

the assistance or sanction of congress. This expedition failed without accomplishing any thing, and a number of young men from the United States, falling into the hands of the Spaniards, became victims of their own credulity, and the cruelty of tyrannical power. It is said, that during Mr. Adams' administration, the British ministry made proposals to our government to assist in the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, which did not meet a favourable reception.

The failure of Miranda's expedition did not discourage the British government; for in 1806, Spain then being in alliance with France in the war which prevailed in Europe, they fitted out a squadron under Sir Home Popham, which entered the La Plata on the 25th of June, and anchored about twelve miles below Buenos Ayres, where the troops disembarked without opposition.

The inhabitants, and the viceroy Soliemente, were filled with consternation. After experiencing a feeble opposition at Rio Chueto, three miles from the city, general Beresford entered the capital, and took possession of the citadel. Don J. M. Pueyredon, afterward director, at the head of a company of hussars, was the only officer who did any thing to oppose the advance of the English. The Spaniards, on learning the small number of their enemies, determined to expel them. The viceroy had escaped to Montevideo, and Liniers, a French emigrant, but an officer in the Spanish service, passed over to the eastern shore of the river, exciting the people to arms. The viceroy collected one thousand regulars, which he joined with those of Liniers, to whom the command of the united forces was given. With these troops, Liniers immediately recrossed the river, when the inhabitants flocking around his standard, soon enabled him to attack the British with great effect, compelling them, after they had sustained a heavy loss, to surrender, on the 12th of August, 1806. Soon after this event, re-enforcements arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, which enabled Sir Home Popham to reduce Montevideo by storm.

This expedition, as appeared from the trial of Sir Home Popham, was not expressly authorized by the British ministry, but was so far from being disapproved of by them, that it was followed up by a bold and extensive plan of conquest. Two squadrons, each with a large body of troops, one commanded by general Whitlock, the other by general Crawford, were fitted out for the capture of Buenos Ayres; after accomplishing this, Crawford had received orders to proceed around Cape Horn, and capture Valparaiso; and, for the more effectually securing their conquest, to establish military posts across the continent, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso. The object of the ministry was entirely changed since 1797; now it was not to aid the inhabitants in establishing their independence, but to subjugate the country. The

commanders, in their instructions from Mr. Windham, secretary of war, were directed to discourage all hopes of any other change in the condition of these countries than that of their being annexed to the crown of Great Britain.\*

On the 10th of May, 1807, the expedition under general Whitlock arrived at Montevideo, and on the 15th of June following that under general Crawford arrived. General Whitlock, who assumed the chief command, had now under his control about ten thousand of the best troops in the British service, and made immediate preparations for attacking the capital. The viceroy, arriving at Buenos Ayres, was opposed by the inhabitants, and finally deposed by the cabildo. Liniers, being raised to the chief command, was assisted by the inhabitants in making great exertions to defend the capital. Every avenue to the city was obstructed by breastworks of hides, from fifteen to twenty feet thick; small pieces of artillery were planted on the houses, which were barricaded and formed into fortresses, and all the citizens were under arms. The British having landed on the 28th of June, traversed a swampy country of about thirty miles, and presented themselves on the morning of the 5th of July in front of Buenos Ayres. The British general having formed his troops in a line along the suburbs, commenced the attack—and never were men more surprised with their reception. The cannon, planted on the trenches which intersected the streets, poured a destructive fire of grape on the advancing columns, while from the roofs and windows of the houses they were assailed, with appalling effect, by an incessant shower of musketry, bombs, and hand-grenades. As the English advanced further into the city, they exposed themselves to a hotter and more destructive fire; and while thus exposed to be mowed down, the enemy were out of their reach, and in a great measure secure from their fire. The column under general Auchmuty, which entered the upper part of the town, after a sanguinary conflict took possession of a large building where bull-fights were held; and that which entered the south part, led by general Crawford, after losing one half its number, took shelter in a large church; here they defended themselves for some time, but finally were obliged to surrender. The British in this engagement lost one-third of their whole army. The next day an armistice was concluded, by which they agreed to evacuate the La Plata in two months.

Never was there a more complete failure of an expedition, or perhaps a plan of conquest founded on more erroneous conceptions. The British ministry expected that the inhabitants of the country were so uneasy under the Spanish yoke that they would flock to their standards, and instructions were given general Whit-

\* Documents annexed to report of Whitlock's trial.

lock for organizing a military force in the country. But instead of this, they found not a single friend ; all the inhabitants took arms, and manifested a most violent animosity toward them. They refused after the armistice to purchase even a single article of their merchandise, although at the very time they were suffering for the want of them. Had the English come to the aid of the inhabitants in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and establishing the independence of the country, the expedition would in all probability have proved successful, and thus have secured to Britain her primary object—the trade of the country.

Notwithstanding the fatal termination of this enterprise, another expedition still more formidable was prepared for the same object, the destination of which was changed by the breaking out of the revolution of Spain. These, and other attempts made on the coast of the Spanish colonies, induced the government to adopt measures for providing a larger military force in the sea-ports ; and the indications of a revolutionary spirit which had been disclosed so alarmed the court of Madrid, as to occasion new military regulations for the greater security of the capital, and to enable the viceroys and generals of the provinces to support each other in case of civil commotions. It is to the subversion of the monarchy of Spain, by Bonaparte, that in a great measure the world is indebted for the independence of Spanish America, and all the hopes inspired by the successful and patriotic career it has hitherto pursued, for its present condition and glorious prospects. Thus an act of tyranny and usurpation in one hemisphere, was rendered conducive to the establishment of liberty in another, and the emancipation of a large portion of the globe.

# HISTORY

## AND PRESENT STATE OF

### MEXICO.

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#### CHAPTER VI.

*Geographical description of the country—its mountains, rivers, bays, harbours—climate, soil, productions, mines—the mining districts—annual produce of the mines—increase since the revolution—manner of working them—commerce—articles of exportation—duties on importations—manufactories.*

THE Mexican nation, or republic, is composed of the provinces of the ancient viceroyalty of New Spain, the captain-generalcy of Yucatan, the commandancies-general of the eastern and western internal provinces, and the province of Chiapa, which formerly belonged to the captain-generalcy of Guatemala. This territory extends from lat. 15 to lat. 42, north, or about 1875 miles from north to south. On the northern boundary it extends from the Red River to the Pacific, a distance of more than 1000 miles; its least breadth, on its southern boundary, is narrow, not being more than about 200 miles. It is bounded on the north by the territory of the United States; on the east by the United States and the Gulf of Mexico; on the south by the states of the republic of Guatemala; and on the west and southwest by the Pacific Ocean. Mexico, like the countries in South America, is traversed by extensive ranges of mountains, which much resemble the Andes in their general character, but from latitude 18° near the Pacific, to latitude 40° north, these ranges present some peculiar characteristics, which distinguish them from most other mountains in the world. A broad elevated plain, or tract, called table-land, prevails through this vast region, at the elevation of from 6 to 9000 feet above the level of the sea. There are many



intervening valleys, watered by rivers or lakes, that intersect this tract of table-land, extending more than 1500 miles, and terminating at about latitude 40°, where it imperceptibly declines to the north. Many lofty elevations on these ranges, particularly the group in the central plain, or table-land, between Mexico and the city of Cordova, one of which, called the Popocatepetl, or smoke mountain, is 17716 feet in height; and another, called the Star Mountain, is 17371 feet. There are five burning volcanic mountains in Mexico; the Ouzaba, Popocatepetl, Tustla, Jorullo, and Colinia; but they are not often subject to eruptions, and earthquakes seldom occur.

In the 20th degree of north latitude, at an elevation of 15000 feet, is a region of perpetual snow; and in the month of January the region of snow descends to the elevation of 12000 feet, and sometimes snow falls at Mexico and Valladolid, which are more than 300 feet lower. On the declivities of the Cordillera there frequently occur fogs and humid winds. The western descent from the table-lands, toward Acapulco, is gradual, and affords a constant and regular change, from a cold to a hot climate. This descent is so gradual and regular that a road might be made fit for carriages; but the descent on the eastern declivity, toward Vera Cruz, is rapid and steep, and hitherto has been passable only by mules; this descent, however, would be passable for carriages, if the superb causeway, which was commenced about the middle of the last century, should ever be completed.

On the maritime coast of the Gulf of Mexico, between the mountains and the sea, the surface of the country is low, and diversified with hills. The peninsula of Yucatan is principally a level tract of country; in the northeast section of the republic, bordering on the United States, and in the valleys of the great rivers are extensive plains, and level tracts. There are also many large expansions of level land on the borders of the Pacific, both on the coast and in the valleys of the rivers.

The maritime waters of Mexico are extensive and valuable, affording the greatest facilities for commerce and navigation. On the west and southwest the country borders on the great Pacific for more than 2000 miles, and from this coast projects the unrivalled peninsula of California, to the extent of nearly 10 degrees of latitude, in a direction parallel with the coast, forming a most magnificent gulf of that name. On the east, the country borders extensively on the Gulf of Mexico, the great inland sea of the American continent. From this coast, likewise, projects another peninsula, called Yucatan, which is also of great extent, and forms the bay of Campeachy. In addition to the waters of two oceans, the Mexican territories are watered by numerous rivers and lakes; but few of the rivers are valuable for navigation.

The largest is the Rio del Norte, which rises near the head waters of the Arkansas, and, after a course of nearly 1800 miles in a southeasterly direction, discharges its waters into the Gulf of Mexico. In its course this noble river waters an extensive valley, and, like the Mississippi, has its annual freshets.

To the east of the Rio del Norte are the Colorado of the Gulf of Mexico, and the Brassos, which take their rise in the highlands, near the border of the United States, and after a course of 700 miles, discharge their waters into the Mexican Gulf. Further east are the Red River and the Sabine, each of which forms a part of the eastern boundary of the republic.

To the south of the Rio del Norte, the most considerable river is the Tampico, formed by the junction of the two large streams, called the Panuco and Montezuma, which water a great extent of country. The united waters of these two rivers are discharged into the bay or lake of Tampico. The Tula, one of the head branches of the Montezuma, has its source in the mountains, near the valley of Mexico. South of the river Tampico, is lake Tamagaua, which communicates with the Gulf of Mexico by the Rio Tuspa. The next most considerable river is the Rio de Xamapa, which discharges its waters a short distance below Vera Cruz. There are numerous other smaller rivers, which intersect the extensive maritime border of the eastern coast; the most important of these is the Guascualco, which falls into the Gulf of Mexico in latitude  $18^{\circ} 30'$ . There is an excellent harbour at the mouth of this river, and there is said also to be a practicable route for a canal by the head waters of this stream, to the bay of Tehuantepec, on the Pacific Ocean, in lat.  $16^{\circ} 30'$ . The isthmus of Tehuantepec is about 125 miles wide; and from the summit of a mountain on the isthmus both oceans may be seen in a clear day. Further east, are the Tabasco, Ocozingo, and the Rio Chiatlan, all considerable streams, which empty into the bay of Campeachy.

The greatest river that discharges its waters into the Pacific in the Mexican republic, is the Colorado of the west, which rises in the Rocky Mountains, in latitude  $40^{\circ}$  N., near the head waters of the Rio del Norte, and is formed by two branches, of which the eastern is called the Nabojoa, and the western, Zaguuanas, and in its course it receives another large branch, called the Gila. The waters of the Colorado, after running a course of nearly 1000 miles, are discharged into the Gulf of California, in latitude  $33^{\circ}$  N. and are said to be navigable for sea vessels 300 miles. The next most considerable river is the Santiago, which unites with the Pacific in latitude  $21^{\circ} 30'$  N. The principal head branch of this river is Rio Larma, which has its source within 20 miles of the valley of Mexico, and passes through lake Chapala,

ts entire course being nearly 600 miles. The whole coast of the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico is intersected with rivers, some of which are navigable, and afford good harbours. The Chimalapa is the most important, from the circumstance of its uniting with the bay Tehuantepec, already mentioned. The largest lake in Mexico is the Chapala, situated in latitude 20 N., and covers 1225 square miles. The river Santiago pours out of this lake. There are five lakes in the valley of Mexico; Chalco, at the southern extremity of the valley, covers 50 square miles; this lake has no outlet, and is separated by a dike from a long narrow lake, called Xochimilco, which approaches within four and a half miles of the capital. Lake Tezcucó, which was formerly much larger than it is at present, lies north of Chalco, and contains 77 square miles; the waters are shallow, generally not more than from nine to sixteen feet deep, and at some places much less. Lake San Christobal lies less than a mile from Tezcucó, in a northwest direction, and covers 27 square miles; and three miles further northwest, is Lake Zumpango, which covers 10 square miles. The river Guantitlan, the present source of the Montezuma, formerly emptied itself into this lake; but to prevent inundations its course was diverted out of the valley. Mexico suffered severely from inundations during its early history, and to obviate this evil it was proposed, in 1607, to turn the waters of the Rio Guantitlan and those of Lake Zumpango out of the valley, and, after several unsuccessful attempts, this great work was completed in 1783. The whole length of the drain is twelve miles and four-fifths; at the top it is from 280 to 360 feet wide, but narrow at the bottom; and the depth for more than two miles is from 100 to 300 feet; and for more than half a mile from 150 to 200 feet; this canal is called the drain of Huchúetoca, and has since been extended to lakes San Christobal and Tezcucó. The other lakes are Pascuaro, a beautiful sheet of water near Valladolid, and Panas and Mextillan, in Durango.

The principal port on the Mexican coast of the Atlantic, is the ancient one of Vera Cruz, the nearest Atlantic port to the city of Mexico. The harbour of Vera Cruz is very insecure, although formerly the port where the Spanish galleons or flota entered. To the north of Vera Cruz is the much frequented port of Tampico, situated on the south side of the river of that name, 312 miles northeast of the city of Mexico; and on the opposite side of the river, or bay, is the port of Altamira. From Rio Tampico, the Mexican coast, which extends nearly 800 miles in a northeasterly direction to the mouth of the river Sabine, is indented by many natural harbours, but there are only a few settlements. To the south of Vera Cruz are the ports of Alvarado and Guascal-

co at the isthmus of Tehuantepec and Campeachy, on the peninsula of Yucatan.

The principal ports on the Pacific, are the bays of Tehuantepec and Acapulco, in north latitude  $19^{\circ} 12'$ , and San Blas, in north latitude  $21^{\circ} 32'$ , situated on a bay of the same name, which receives the waters of the great river Santiago. Above San Blas, in the Gulf of California, there are many good harbours, but few considerable settlements.

*Climate.*—The climate of that part of Mexico which is included within the tropical regions, has but two seasons, the wet and the dry; the rainy season commences the beginning of June, and lasts for four or five months; the remainder of the year is dry and pleasant. The first rains are accompanied with violent electrical explosions, and on their approach the inhabitants of the seaports on the Pacific coast usually retreat to the highlands, where the climate is known to be the most humid. The lowlands of the coast within the tropics possess a hot climate, and are the most unhealthy to strangers from northern latitudes. The coast of the Pacific is warmer than that of the Gulf of Mexico in the same degree of latitude, with the exception of the peninsula of Yucatan, which is warm, dry, and very healthy. The highlands at the elevation of four or five thousand feet above the level of the sea, enjoy perpetually a soft spring-like temperature, which never varies more than eight or nine degrees. The climate of this region is very salubrious, but it is often enveloped in thick fogs. At the elevation of seven thousand feet, another climate commences, the mean temperature of which is about 60 degrees. The city of Mexico is in this region, which is healthy, and yields abundantly the productions of both tropical and temperate regions.

The mean temperature of the table-lands, within the tropics, at an elevation of about one thousand feet above the level of the sea, is  $77^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit. From the peculiar geographical character of this country, it possesses, in the same parallel of latitude, all the varieties of climate, from the regions of perpetual frost, to the continual and intense heat of a tropical sun. This is an advantage enjoyed by few countries in the world, and would have appeared strange and incredible to the ancients, who supposed the tropical regions to be uninhabitable, in consequence of their intense heat. The climate in the tropical regions of Mexico possesses almost perfect uniformity as to heat and cold.

On the coasts, particularly on the Pacific, the tropical heat prevails, and, near Acapulco, the climate is the hottest and most unhealthy in the world; on the table-land, at an elevation of from about 4000 to 5000 feet, there prevails perpetual spring; the temperature being uniformly soft and spring-like, and seldom va

ries more than nine degrees. Here the mean temperature, throughout the whole year, is from 60° to 70°, and the extremes of heat and cold, and the pleasing varieties of the seasons, are wholly unknown. Many sections of the table-lands suffer severely from drought, and this is particularly the case with much of the country bordering on the Gulf of California, where there are extensive arid districts, condemned to perpetual desolation. The northern and northeastern sections of the federation enjoy a climate similar to the United States, healthy and productive. The country bordering on the Pacific, extending to the 42d degree of north latitude, belongs to the Mexican Union. This region is much milder than in the same degree of latitude on the Atlantic, and enjoys a delightful and salubrious climate, a fertile soil, and is rich in natural, agricultural, and metallic productions.

*Productions.*—The table-land is generally good; and, when it is not too arid, very productive; all the fruits and grains of the northern parts of America and Europe are produced at the elevation of 6000 feet above the level of the sea, whilst the low country, bordering on the coast, yields in proportion all the productions of the tropics. Maize, a sort of Indian corn, is common to both, and is extensively cultivated in the low country, two crops being raised annually. It is the principal staple of the country, and when the crop fails, Humboldt says “there is a famine in Mexico.” Wheat is cultivated with success on the table-land, rye and barley yield abundantly, and where it is practicable to irrigate the soil, it affords almost incredible burdens. The quality of the wheat is excellent. The sugar-cane is also successfully cultivated on the table-land, which likewise produces, in great profusion, all the vegetables and fruits of the temperate climates of America and Europe, and at the same time are growing, in the lower sections, all the fruits of the tropics, in equal abundance.

Cotton is cultivated with success on the high lands, as well as the low. The olive and the vine both succeed well, but are not extensively cultivated; and the country is favourable to the production of tobacco, indigo, and silk; but the two last articles are entirely neglected, and the first has suffered much from the restrictions of the Spanish government. The potato is raised in the high country, and the yam and sweet potato in both high and low; rice, the banana plant, and manioc root, are produced abundantly in the low country, and are important articles of food, except with the natives, who subsist principally on Indian corn. The banana is cultivated by cuttings, or shoots, set into the ground, and is estimated to yield a quantity of nutritive food, in proportion to that of wheat, as 133 is to 1, and of potatoes, as 44 is to 1. The fruit ripens the 10th or 11th month, and is prepared for use in various ways; it is dressed like the potato, dried and pound-

ed into flour, or preserved like figs, by exposure to the sun, which gives it the appearance and odour of smoked ham. The vanilla, a species of pimento, forms another very essential article of Mexican agriculture; it abounds on the eastern declivities of the table-lands, in the intendancies of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca. It is generally cultivated by the Indians. The medicinal root, jalap, which derives its name from the district of Jalapa, is found in shady valleys, near the mountains, and delights in a temperate climate. The cochineal insect, one of the richest articles of Mexican commerce, is also reared extensively in Oaxaca. A large proportion of the country between San Luis and Tampico is laid out as grazing farms, where are raised great numbers of horses, mules, cattle, and sheep. The great valley of the Rio del Norte, is also said to be very favourable for grazing, and the agricultural productions of temperate climates. There are many other sections of the Mexican federation equally favourable for grazing, and the country is well supplied with domestic animals, such as horses, cattle, mules, sheep, goats, and swine.

The table-lands of Mexico are intersected by many rich and fertile valleys, affording inexhaustible resources for agriculture. Among the most important, is that of Mexico, in which is situated the great city of the same name; being 230 miles in circumference, and having an elevation of 7400 feet above the level of the sea. This valley encloses five lakes, which communicate by a drain, or canal, with the river Montezuma. There are many other fertile valleys interspersed among the table-lands, among which the great valley, watered by the river Santiago, and its branches, is represented to be one of the richest, most fertile, and highly cultivated districts in Mexico.

*Mines.*—The metallic treasures of Mexico surpass those of any other country for their abundance and excellence. Baron Humboldt says, that "there are three thousand mines of the precious metals already discovered in Mexico;" and he supposes that in the northern sections of the country great mineral wealth will yet be discovered in the rocks of secondary formation.

The following are the thirteen most considerable mining districts in Mexico:—

1. Guanajuato, near a city of the same name.
2. Catorce, in the intendancy of San Luis Potosi.
3. Zazatecas, near a city of the same name.
4. Real del Monte, in Mexico.
5. Bolanos, in Guadalupe.
6. Guadalupe, in Durango.
7. Sombrerete, in Zacatecas.
8. Tasco, in Mexico.
9. Balcones, in Durango.

10. Zimapan, in Mexico.
11. Fresnillo, in Zacatecas.
12. Ramos, in San Luis Potosi.
13. Parral, in Durango.

The tract of mountains in Mexico, which produces the greatest quantity of silver, is situated between the parallels of  $21^{\circ}$  and  $24^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude; and it is remarkable that the metallic riches of Mexico and Peru are placed in both hemispheres at about the same distance from the equator. The mine of Valenciana, at Guanajuato, is supposed to be the richest in Mexico, and has furnished, in a common year, from four to six millions of dollars in silver, and from two to three millions of dollars in gold. The annual produce of the mines of Mexico was estimated, before the revolution, at twenty-two millions of dollars, (about ten times more than is afforded by all the mines in Europe,) of which Guanajuato, Catorce, and Zacatecas, yield eleven millions. In years of their greatest prosperity, the mines of Mexico have produced annually twenty-two millions of dollars in silver, and about one million in gold, and in 1796 the silver mines attained their maximum, and yielded twenty-five millions six hundred and forty-four thousand dollars. The gold is produced principally by washing the earth and sand. Some native gold is found in veins in the province of Oaxaca; but the greater part is obtained in veins of silver ore. The silver ore is not rich in any of the Mexican mines; masses of native silver have been found, but very rarely; the average proportion of silver is three or four ounces in sixteen hundred ounces of ore. At the commencement of the eighteenth century the entire coinage of gold and silver, in Mexico, was only about five millions of dollars annually; since which period the product has been constantly increasing, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, amounted to six times that quantity. The increase and extension of the mining operations were astonishingly great from 1790 to the commencement of the late revolution. The cause of this increase Humboldt attributes "to the increase of population on the tableland, the progress of knowledge and national industry, the freedom of trade conceded to America in 1778, the facility of procuring at a cheap rate the iron and steel necessary for the mines, the fall of the price of mercury, the discovery of the mines of Valenciana and Catorce, and the establishment of the Tribunal de Minería."

The mining operations are carried on by individuals. When a person discovered a mine, and his claim to the discovery was established by the proper tribunal, the king granted him a district of land around the mine, in the direction of the vein; and formerly granted to him also a certain number of Indians to work

the mine. The proprietors were obliged to pay one-tenth of the product to the king, and one and a half per cent. besides, together with the coinage and seigniorage. The working of a mine is a most extensive concern, and attended with immense expense, and consequently requires a vast capital. In the mine of Valenciana there were, before the revolution, eighteen hundred workmen in the interior of the mine; an administrator, with a salary of twelve thousand dollars; an overseer, a number of under-overseers, and nine miners. The expense of powder alone, for this mine, has amounted to about eighty thousand dollars, and the steel, for the implements, to twenty-seven thousand. When Humboldt visited this mine in 1803, a new draught-pit was opening, which was to be sunk to the astonishing depth of one thousand six hundred and eighty-five feet into the bowels of the earth; it was eighty-seven feet in circumference, and estimated to cost one million of dollars. At this time it was sunk six hundred and three feet, and it was calculated to take twelve years to complete it. The mines are sometimes obliged to be abandoned, in consequence of the influx of water, and pumps, of a vast size and breadth, are used to raise the water from the shafts, of immense depth. A pump was lately cast at Cincinnati, in the United States, for a mine in Mexico, of one thousand feet in length, consisting of pieces of ten feet each. The profits of the mines are very great; there have been individuals whose income from them has been one hundred and ninety thousand dollars annually, and some of the great proprietors have enjoyed a revenue of nearly three hundred thousand dollars.

The war, which deranged all kinds of industry, was particularly fatal to the mining interests; the machinery in most of the mines having been destroyed, and the business wholly abandoned. It is said that in 1821 the entire coinage in Mexico did not exceed six millions of dollars. Since the establishment of the present government great exertions have been made to revive the mining operations, for which the republic is indebted in an eminent degree to Mr. Alman, the Secretary of State, and one of the most enlightened statesmen in Mexico. He very justly considers the business of mining as one of the most important interests of Mexico, regarding it, however, only in the light of an extensive manufacture, which could supply the most important staple of the nation: at the same time, by the employment of a large population, open a market for the products of the soil, and thus promote the interests of agriculture. Alman was one of the deputies sent from Mexico to the Cortes of Spain in 1820. Whilst in Europe, he visited Paris and London, for the purpose of forming companies for working the mines. In the latter place he succeeded in establishing a company called the "United Mexican Mining



**Association.**" By the last report of the secretary it appears that three of these companies have been formed in England, and one in Germany, for mining purposes in Mexico, and that the mines of Guanajuato, Valenciana, Del Monte, Rayas, Cata, Sirena, and Catorce, are now in operation, and large capitals invested.\* The mines of Conception and Temascaltepec have been drained by tiers of lifting pumps, operated by steam. The machinery for the latter mine was made in New-York, and is of thirty horse power; and three hundred yards of cast-iron pipe was contracted for at the foundry in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1825, for the mine in Catorce. Its cost is 10,000 dollars. The want of wood near many of the mines is an objection to the use of steam-engines, and animal power has to be employed. During the year past a company was formed in Baltimore, and an adequate capital subscribed for purchasing and working some valuable mines in the valley of Temascaltepec, about 100 miles from Mexico. They have been examined by several persons from the United States, who give them a preference over those purchased by the British companies, on account of the water power which can be applied to work the various machines. They have engaged their machinery at West Point, which is to be finished and shipped from New-York in April, 1826.

During the colonial system, a duty of 1-1 1-2 per cent. was paid on the products of the mines, which, in 1822, was reduced to 3 per cent. Some of the members of the present Mexican congress doubted the expediency of this measure, thinking that the duty on the exportation of specie should even be raised higher than its former rate, to prevent the country being drained of the precious metals. This occasioned the appointment of a committee to examine into this important subject, who have lately submitted to the congress a very able report. They accord in their views with those of the secretary, and express a decided opinion, that, considered in reference either to the revenue, or the retention of the precious metals in the country, to raise the duty on the exportation of gold and silver is a measure highly inexpedient. To prevent specie from having a free circulation, by retaining it in the country by heavy duties, would have the effect of rendering it less valuable in Mexico than in other parts of the world;—this would not only prove detrimental to working the mines, but have a very pernicious influence on the commerce and manufactures of the country. Gold and silver in Mexico ought only to be regarded as the products of a valuable and extensive manufactory; consequently, not only its interest, but that of the country, should induce the government to open, for the products of this manufactory, the market of the world.

\* North American Review for October, 1825.

The just and enlightened views of the Mexican congress on this subject, is an honourable testimony to their wisdom, and affords the strongest evidence of the rapidly increasing prosperity of the nation. Under the auspices of a free government, possessing such sound and liberal principles, the mining operations in Mexico will in a few years become as extensive and productive as at the most favourable periods during the colonial government ; and at no distant period the products of the mines will undoubtedly exceed what has ever yet been realized. Whilst this will ensure the prosperity of Mexico, it will promote an extensive commerce with the United States. The revival of the mining operations has given activity to the districts in which the mines are situated, and restored to the almost desolated towns a part of that population of which the war, and the suspension of the mining interests, had deprived them. At the celebrated mine of Valenciana, the Anglo Mexican company, in the summer of 1825, were employing fifteen hundred Indians, and the number was constantly increasing. The shaft was drained to the depth of 270 yards, and almost 1200 cargoes of ore, 300lbs. weight each, were obtained weekly. The city of Guanajuato, in the vicinity of this mine, containing previous to the revolution, 80,000 inhabitants, had been reduced to 15 or 20,000 ; but its population, since the commencement of the present mining company, has doubled, and is still rapidly increasing. The mineral treasures of Mexico are literally inexhaustible, and the powerful impetus which will be given to industry and enterprise, by a free and enlightened government, a free ingress of foreigners, and freedom of commerce, must in a few years produce astonishing results in the mining interests of Mexico. The career of prosperity which is opening to the Mexican nation is highly gratifying to the citizens of the United States, and cannot fail of having an important and beneficial influence on our commerce and manufactures. Mines of iron, lead, copper, and quicksilver, abound in Mexico, but have always been neglected, so that iron and quicksilver, of which great quantities are used in the mines, have been imported. During the late war, such was the scarcity of iron, that it sold for forty dollars per hundred, and steel as high as two hundred and sixty dollars.

*Commerce.*—The commerce of Mexico is now free to all nations in amity with the republic. The external commerce is principally carried on from the ports of Tampico, Vera Cruz, Alvarado, and Campeachy, on the Gulf of Mexico ; and Acapulco and San Blas, on the Pacific. The foreign commerce of Mexico is carried on chiefly in foreign vessels, principally in those of the United States and Great Britain. On the western coast, in addition to the Manilla commerce, a coasting trade is carried on

with Guatemala, principally from San Blas, and a small trade with Guayaquil, Lima, and Chili; and although the ports on the Pacific coast are extremely good, the coasting trade is inconsiderable.

It is a singular fact, which is strongly demonstrative of the want of commercial enterprise among the Mexicans, that whilst the British and the citizens of the United States traverse one half of the globe to pursue a profitable whale fishery, in their own waters, the Mexicans have never engaged in this pursuit. The Secretary of State of the present government, in a report to Congress, in Nov. 1823, adverts to this subject, and suggests the propriety of granting to foreign vessels, fitted out on the Mexican coast, the same privileges as are granted to native citizens, as an encouragement to the trade. Under the colonial system, the contraband trade with Mexico was extensive, often amounting, even in time of peace, to one-third of the regular commerce. It was carried on principally with the ports of Campeachy and Vera Cruz. Early in the nineteenth century the importation into Mexico, including the contraband trade, was to the amount of twenty millions of dollars, and the exportations, exclusive of specie, amounted to six millions. The mines produced about twenty-three millions, which, after deducting eight or nine millions on the account of the government, was sufficient to liquidate the balance of trade, and leave one million in the country.

The principal articles of exportation at Vera Cruz, on an average, several years before the revolution, were as follows:—

Gold and silver coined and wrought,	-	\$17,000,000
Cochineal,	- - - - -	2,400,000
Sugar,	- - - - -	1,300,000
Flour of different sorts,	- - - - -	300,000
Indigo,	- - - - -	280,000
Provisions,	- - - - -	100,000
Tanned Leather,	- - - - -	80,000
Sarsaparilla,	- - - - -	90,000
Vanilla,	- - - - -	60,000
Jalap,	- - - - -	60,000
Soap,	- - - - -	50,000
Campeachy Wood,	- - - - -	40,000
Pimento of Tobasco,	- - - - -	30,000

The imports embraced the following articles:—

Paper, (three hundred thousand reams,)	-	\$1,000,000
Linens, Cottons, Woollens and Silks,	-	9,200,000
Brandies,	- - - - -	1,000,000
Cocoa,	- - - - -	1,000,000
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Quicksilver,	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$650,000
Iron,	-	-	-	-	-	-	600,000
Steel,	-	-	-	-	-	-	200,000
Wine,	-	-	-	-	-	-	700,000
Wax,	-	-	-	-	-	-	300,000
The importations of Vera Cruz, estimated at							15,000,000
The exportations by that port, estimated at							22,000 000

The official statement of the Consulado of Vera

Cruz made the exportations of 1802 amount,							
in precious metals, to	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$48,800,000
In agricultural products,	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,147,000
Total							\$57,947,000

The importations of that year amounted to							\$24,100,000
In 1803 the exports were, in precious metals,							15,554,00
In agricultural products,	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,368,000

Total							\$20,922,000
The imports amounted to	-	-	-	-	-	-	22,975,000

The duties on merchandise, imported into America under the colonial system, were heavy ; and consisted of 9 1-2 per cent. on what was called free effects, or articles of the produce or manufacture of Spain ; and 7 per cent. on goods and produce of foreign countries on its landing in America, having first paid 15 per cent. in Spain. The present government established a tariff of 25 per cent. on goods imported, and the minister of finance, in his report to the congress in 1823, complains that the articles of merchandise are not correctly classed, and also proposes to reduce the duty on imports to 22 or 23 per cent. including the consulate duty. The present duty is on the estimated or supposed value, and often amounts to 80 per cent. on the first cost of the article. In Mexico there is an additional duty of 10 1-2 per cent. on goods sent to that city ; in other towns there is an internal duty, which is not uniform ; in some it does not exceed 4 per cent. on the amount of actual sales. The expense of transportation of goods from Tampico to Mexico is from one dollar and twenty-five cents to two dollars and fifty cents per twenty-five pounds ; and from Vera Cruz to Mexico, from one to two dollars per twenty-five pounds. A mule carries from three to four hundred pounds, according to the state of the roads.

Next to the enjoyment of liberty, and free institutions, one of the most important advantages which Mexico will derive from her independence will be the freedom and activity given to her

commerce, which will greatly promote the national prosperity. A free government, free press, and free trade, cannot fail of invigorating every department of national industry. The remarks made by Humboldt, when the enjoyment of these primary advantages was not foreseen, will now appear more just, and be likely soon to be realized: "But by allowing a free course to the national industry, by encouraging agriculture and manufactures, the importation will diminish of itself, and it will then be easy for the Mexicans to pay the value of foreign commodities with the productions of their own soil. The free cultivation of the vine and the olive on the table-land of New Spain; the free distillation of spirits from sugar, rice, and the grape; the exportation of flour, favoured by the making of new roads; the increase of plantations of sugar-cane, cotton, and tobacco; the working of the iron and mercury mines, and the manufacture of steel, will perhaps one day become more inexhaustible sources of wealth than all the veins of gold and silver united. Under more favourable external circumstances, the balance of trade may be favourable to New Spain, without paying the account, which has been opened for centuries between the two continents, entirely with Mexican dollars."

The imports that are best adapted to the Mexican market are said to consist of European, American, and Indian cotton and linen goods; French, Spanish, Italian, Indian, and Canton silks; paper, some military goods, French and Spanish wine and brandy; quicksilver, cocoa, and cinnamon. To this list may be added ships, both for the public service, and for commercial purposes.

In addition to the maritime commerce, a very valuable and extensive internal trade has lately been opened between the citizens of the western borders of the United States, and those of the internal provinces of Mexico. It is supposed that this trade is capable of great extension, and that it might hereafter become a source of great profit and convenience to the inhabitants of both countries. In the year 1825 the congress of the United States passed an act authorizing the survey of a road from the state of Missouri to Mexico, and for treating with the Indian tribes for their consent to have the road pass through their country. This consent has been in some cases obtained, and the survey partially made during the past year. An agent of the Mexican government has recently arrived in the United States to promote this great object, equally important to both countries. No propositions have been submitted to the government of the United States by this agent, nor is it known whether the Mexican republic contemplates continuing the road from the line of the United States. There can be no doubt that within a few years a road will be opened from the territories of the Union into the internal provin-

ces of Mexico ; and that this will strengthen the bonds of friendship, and promote an extensive inland trade between the two republics, is equally certain. This trade, at present, consists in the exchange of such manufactured articles of the United States as are adapted to the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants of those internal regions, for the precious metals, and some of the staple productions of the country.

*Manufactures.*—The situation of the towns on the table-land of Mexico, so far removed from the coast, and the difficulty of transporting merchandise over rugged mountains, greatly encourages the establishment of manufactories, and even renders them absolutely necessary to the comfort of the inhabitants in those elevated regions. The value of the manufacturing industry of Mexico, previous to the revolution, was estimated at from seven to eight millions of dollars ; but this, with every other branch of industry, has suffered during the struggles of that protracted contest. The intendency of Guadalajara produces cotton and wool in great abundance, and is one of the principal seats of the manufacture of cotton and woollen cloths. This branch is also carried on to a considerable extent in Puebla and Queretaro. The manufacture of powder was, under the colonial government, a royal monopoly ; but nearly three-fourths of the quantity consumed in the country was made and sold in a contraband manner. This manufacture is important, and must increase, as the consumption of the mines is very great. Hard soap is manufactured in Mexico, Puebla, and Guadalajara, and in the former city plate is a most important manufacture. Services of plate are made in Mexico to the value of thirty-seven thousand dollars, and which, in style and elegance of workmanship, would rival the finest in Europe. The coinage of money, in the mint of Mexico, is really an important manufacturing interest ; and, at its different branches, employs four hundred workmen. It was established in 1535, and in 1733 was placed entirely under the direction of the government. It is estimated by Humboldt, that, since its establishment, it has coined four hundred and eight millions of pounds sterling.

The most profitable manufacture in Mexico is that of tobacco, which is pursued extensively in some towns, and was formerly a royal right ; at one segar manufactory in Queretaro three thousand persons are employed, and the establishment in Mexico employs twice that number. Hats, shoes, and saddlery, are important branches of manufacture in the city of Mexico, and in all the principal towns ; most of the towns are also supplied with potteries and silversmiths, and the demand for silver plate is very great, both for the use of churches and families. This arises, in some measure, from the difficulty of transporting China and glass

ware from the coast, over a mountainous country, with rough roads. Cabinet work, of inferior quality, is manufactured from cedar and pine; coachmaking is also carried on to a considerable extent. For the want of streams the mills in Mexico are for the most part worked by animal power, and are in every respect inferior to the flour mills of the United States. From this circumstance, the manufacture of flour can never be carried on to any great extent, for exportation, if wheat should be ever so abundantly raised. Mexico is plentifully supplied with domestic liquors, called pulque and *vinomezcal*, which are produced from the maguey plant, extensively cultivated in Mexico for this purpose. The pulque is the sap of the maguey, and is obtained by cutting the central leaves during the time of efflorescence. One hundred and fifty bottles of juice are obtained from an ordinary plant in one season. After undergoing fermentation it receives an agreeable sour taste, resembling cider; but its savour is fetid, like putrid meat, and very offensive to those not accustomed to its use; the consumption, however, is very great, and even foreigners in a short time become attached to it, and prefer it to any other drink. The *vinomezcal* is the brandy of the maguey; it was prohibited during the colonial government, as being prejudicial to the Spanish brandy trade. Glass and paper manufactories have been established with great success at San Luis Potosi, and at the capital. Cotton machinery has been successfully set in operation, on the same plan of that used in the United States.\*

\* North American Review for October, 1825.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Intendancies—Mexican States—Texas—principal towns—Mexico, Guadalajara, Puebla, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Queretaro, Oaxaca, San Luis Potosi—roads and canals—government—religion—Iturbide—military and naval resources—finance and expenditure—population and character of the inhabitants—education, and institutions of learning.*

PREVIOUS to the late revolution, the viceroyalty of Mexico was divided into the following intendancies: Mexico, Puebla, Guanajuato, Valladolid, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Oaxaca, Meridia, Vera Cruz, San Luis Potosi, Durango, La Sonora, New Mexico, Old California, and New California. Since the revolution the province of Chiapa, which formerly belonged to the captain-generalcy of Guatemala, has been attached to the Mexican territory, and now constitutes one of the states of the federation.

The Mexican union now comprises seventeen states, and the population, together with the chief towns in each, will be found exhibited at one view in the following table:—

<i>States.</i>	<i>No. of Inhabitants.</i>	<i>Chief Towns.</i>
Mexico,	1,508,900	Mexico.
Puebla,	1,212,495	Puebla.
Guanajuato	813,150	Guanajuato.
Michoacan,	563,874	Valladolid.
Xalisco,	944,867	
Zacatecas,	230,298	Zacatecas.
Oaxaca,	801,076	Oaxaca.
Yucatan,	695,732	Meridia.
Tabasca,	78,056	Hermosa.
Chiapa,	93,750	Chiapa.
Vera Cruz,	156,740	Vera Cruz.
Queretaro,	754,992	Queretaro.
San Luis Potosi,	174,957	San Luis Potosi.
Interior of the east,	180,000	
Interior of the north,	209,828	Chihuahua.
Interior of the west, including } Old and New } California,	227,455	Cinaloa.
Tamaulipas,	166,824	New Santander.

Most of the territory comprised within the limits of the above-mentioned states, consists of the table-lands and the maritime



borders, with the exception of the province of Texas, and that part of the interior of the west which is situated beyond the Colorado of the Gulf of California. Those two extensive districts of the Mexican territory differ so much in their general geographical character from the table-land of Mexico, that they demand a separate and particular description.

The province of Texas comprises that vast extent of country between the Rio del Norte and the western boundary of the United States. This extensive region was claimed by the United States as part of Louisiana, but this claim was relinquished to Spain by the Florida treaty. According to a computation which some have made, this vast territory comprises an area of 240,000 square miles; it embraces an extensive maritime border, and is well watered by a number of large and valuable rivers, the principal of which are the Colorado, the Brassos, and the Red river, which forms part of its eastern boundary. It possesses an excellent climate, and a soil equal to any part of western America. The policy of relinquishing our claim, which many competent judges considered well founded, to a country of such great extent and fertility, so favourably located for settlement—a country capable of supporting millions of republican citizens in affluence, and which can be of no great value to any other nation,—(as from its situation, if it is ever settled, its population must come chiefly from the United States,)—was justly questioned by many enlightened and patriotic citizens at the time of the ratification of the Florida treaty; nor have the subsequent events in Mexico, nor our own experience, removed the doubts, nor proved the wisdom of the measure. This territory is now receiving some few settlers from the United States; but were it annexed to our confederacy, it would soon be divided into two or three states, and filled with an enterprising and industrious population.

The country beyond the Colorado of the west, which belongs to the Mexican republic, is likewise of great extent and fertility, enjoying a fine climate, equal to the countries on the borders of the Mediterranean, in Europe; it is probably destined, at no distant period, to be adorned with beautiful villages and magnificent cities, surrounded with highly cultivated and fertile fields, the abodes of an enlightened, industrious, and enterprising population.

*Principal Towns.*—The city of Mexico, the capital of the federation, is situated in the great valley of the same name, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 25' 45''$  N. The centre of the city is nearly three miles west of the salt lake Tezcuco. The extent of the town is computed to be a square of between four and five miles. The site is almost a uniform level. The city is built on piles, is very compact, and surrounded with a wall. The streets are sufficiently

wide, and run nearly north and south, and east and west, intersecting each other at right angles ; they are well paved, having flagged side-walks; formed of flat stone. The public squares are spacious, and surrounded by buildings of hewn stone, and of very good architecture. The public edifices and churches are vast and splendid, and the private buildings are generally built of solid materials, having a magnificent appearance, and being usually three or four stories high, with flat terrace roofs, and many of them ornamented with iron balconies. The public buildings are numerous, and there is said to be not less than one hundred and five cupolas, spires, and domes, within the limits of the city. There are fifty-six churches, besides the cathedral, which is a stately stone edifice, occupying one side of the great square, and stands on the ruins of an ancient Mexican temple. It has a front of five hundred feet by four hundred and twenty. From the towers of the cathedral the whole basin of Mexico may be seen, surrounded by hills and mountains ; the lakes and the rich meadows that border on them, the churches and spires of the neighbouring villages, the cultivated fields, fine gardens, and, nearly lost in the distance, the snowy summits of the volcanic mountains of Puebla, afford one of the most delightful, variegated, and grand prospects in the world. In addition to the cathedral, many of the churches are neat and handsome buildings, and splendidly ornamented ; many of them are attached to convents, which are very numerous, amounting, it is said, to no less than twenty-three monasteries, and fifteen nunneries. The other public buildings and institutions consist of the viceroyal palace, situated on the principal square ; it is built on the spot occupied by Cortes, after the conquest of the city, directly opposite the palace of Montezuma. It is a building of great extent, and is composed of a number of squares and inner courts, with separate staircases and suits of apartments. There is a botanic garden attached to this building.

The mint is a spacious stone edifice, three hundred and sixty feet in front, by two hundred and sixty deep ; there are not less than thirty persons employed in the offices of the different branches ; there are fifteen engravers, five essayers, and two hundred labourers, and about one hundred mules in the stables. There is a university and a mineria, or school of mines ; the former is accommodated with a spacious building, and is a well-endowed institution, and founded as early as 1551. The mineria is provided with a building, in which is a collection of minerals, and a good philosophical apparatus. This institution was designed to educate young men, and qualify them to become useful superintendents of mines. There is also in Mexico an academy of the fine arts ; several inferior colleges and large schools, and many

valuable private libraries. The principal manufactory in Mexico is the one for making segars, in which 5 or 6000 persons are employed at this branch of business, and a large building is occupied near the suburbs of the city. The market place of Mexico is well supplied with meats, fruits, and vegetables of both the tropical and temperate climates, at a moderate price ; fish only are dear and scarce.

The city of Mexico is abundantly supplied with water, from two great aqueducts, the longest of which brings the water from the springs of Santa Fe, near the chain of mountains that separates the valley of Mexico from that of Lima. This aqueduct is 33,464 feet in length, supported on arches of stone and brick, plastered over. The other aqueduct conducts the water from Chapoltepec to the city, and is 10,860 feet in length. There is a spacious public walk in Mexico, called the Alameda, which is planted with rows of trees, with a fountain in the centre, supplied with water from one of the great aqueducts ; the capital is also accommodated with a well-regulated theatre. Mexico communicates with the lakes Chalco and Xochimilco, by a canal ; and there are five great causeways, or avenues, leading to the city, which are lined with rows of large trees. The country around Mexico abounds with small towns, and well-built villages, interspersed with fertile fields, gardens, and orchards. A great part of the land that intervenes between the two lakes, Tezcucó and Chalco, is surrounded by ditches, laid out into gardens, and cultivated by the Indians, and on which are raised a great quantity of vegetables and flowers, suited to the Mexican market. The floating gardens, so often described, have been discontinued since the construction of the canal Huehuetoca, which drains the valley and prevents inundations. The population of Mexico was estimated, in 1801, to be 137,000 ; of which 67,500 are whites, and 69,500 were people of colour ; the population is now estimated at between 150 and 160,000. The distance from Mexico to Vera Cruz is 207 miles ; to Acapulco, 198 miles ; to Oaxaca, 237 miles ; to Santa Fe, in New Mexico, 1,320 miles. The city was founded in 1325, according to Humboldt.

Guadalaxara is now considered the second city in the Mexican republic. It is situated in latitude  $21^{\circ} 9'$  north, 450 miles north-west of the city of Mexico, on a delightful and fertile plain, near the Bararya river. Its present population is estimated at 70,000.

Of the other considerable cities is Puebla, situated in latitude  $19^{\circ}$  N. at an elevation of 7308 feet above the level of the sea ; on the south side of a hill, covered with wood to its summit. The plain that surrounds the town is well cultivated, and highly productive in grains and fruits. This plain is bounded by a chain of hills, presenting, alternately, cultivated fields and luxuriant

forests ; and the view is terminated by the volcanoes of Puebla, clothed in eternal snows. The city is compactly built, and the houses are all of stone, large and commodious. The public buildings consist of a cathedral, a town-house, and numerous churches and convents, it being said that there are more than one hundred spires and domes in the city. The population is stated to be 60,000. The Popocatepetl, the loftiest mountain in North America, is not far from this city, the height of which is 17,760 feet above the ocean. Puebla lies 90 miles east by south of the city of Mexico.

Guanaxuato is situated among the ravines of the mountains, about 180 miles northwest of Mexico, was founded in 1554, is well built, with spacious houses of hewn stone, but the streets are narrow and crooked. The population of the city and the neighbouring mines, is computed to be 35,733. The inhabitants of Guanaxuato are represented to be very intelligent, hospitable, and industrious. This town is celebrated for the rich mines in its vicinity, which are undoubtedly the most productive of any in North America. The extent of this rich vein of ore is more than 15 miles, in a direction from southeast to northwest ; and within this distance there are upwards of 100 shafts opened. These mines formerly supplied with ore, and kept at work, 2000 amalgamating mills, and have produced silver to the amount of 7,727, 500 dollars annually. The most productive of these mines was that of Valenciana, which raised a town about it of 22,000 inhabitants ; now, however, reduced to 4000, in consequence of the vast excavation of the mines being filled with water.

Zacatecas, situated in a mining district, 300 miles north by northwest of Mexico, contains, according to Humboldt, 33,000 inhabitants. Queretaro is a large and well-built manufacturing town, situated in a fertile valley, near the rich tract of country called Baxio, with a population of 30,000 inhabitants. Oaxaca, lies near the east bank of Rio Verd, 237 miles south by southeast of Mexico, and contains 24,000 inhabitants. San Luis Potosi, a neat well-built town on the head of the Rio Panuco, contains about 15,000 inhabitants. Among the remaining interior towns, are Valladolid, containing 18,000 inhabitants ; Durango, situated in a mining district, at the elevation of 6,560 feet above the level of the sea, is the capital of a province of the same name, and contains a population of 12,000 inhabitants.

Chihuahua, the capital of the province of Chihuahua, a large city, is represented by late travellers to contain 30,000 inhabitants, and to be about 400 miles north of Durango. Santa Fe is situated in latitude  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north, on the east bank of the Rio del Norte, about 1000 miles northwest of the city of Mexico, with a population of 9000, according to late travellers. The

chief town in Yucatan is Meridia, with a population of 10,000. Tepec, a large and beautiful town, is situated a few miles from San Blas, a seaport on the Pacific. Vera Cruz is a seaport, lying on the gulf of Mexico, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 12' N.$ , is built on an arid plain, and is destitute of running water ; but is a handsome, regular built city, and contains a population of about 16,000 inhabitants. The fortress of San Juan de Uloa, is on an island near the town. The maritime custom-house of Vera Cruz was established in 1530. Vera Cruz has rather a bad anchorage, than a harbour ; and all the eastern coast is exposed to hurricanes during the winter.

Acapulco is on the Pacific, in latitude  $16^{\circ} 50' N.$  ; its harbour is one of the best on the Pacific coast, but the situation is very unhealthy, and the population is much reduced from what it formerly was. The town is protected by an extensive and formidable fortress, called the castle of San Carlos. A maritime custom-house was established at Acapulco, as early as 1562. In addition to the two seaports which we have mentioned, it appears by recent information that there are nine other places, on both oceans, invested with port privileges. Alvarado, Campeachy, Tampico, Altamira, Sotto La Marina, and Refugio, on the Atlantic coast ; and Mazatlan, Guaimas, and San Blas, on the Pacific.

*Roads and Canals.*—The roads in Mexico are deficient, and very bad. There are three principal roads—that of Vera Cruz, of Acapulco, and of the interior. The superb road, or causeway, undertaken by the consulado of Vera Cruz, was finished in all the difficult passes of the mountains, from that place to Perote, and from Puebla to the capital ; the intermediate distance between Puebla and Perote, being tolerably good. This road was not only neglected in consequence of the war, but many of the bridges were broken down, and the pavement taken up, to prevent the march of armies ; and the torrents from the mountains have washed the road into gulleys. These injuries have been partially repaired, and money raised to complete the road over the Pinal, the most difficult part of the route from Perote to Puebla.

The important road from the capital to Acapulco is in a state of ruins, having received no repairs since the commencement of the revolutionary war. In many places it is impassable, even for mules ; deep and rapid rivers are to be forded for the want of bridges, when fatal accidents often happen to travellers and mules. The government, sensible of the importance of this road, have adopted measures for repairing it ; but it is expected, at a future time, to give it a more commodious direction.

The famous canal of Huehuetoca is the only one in Mexico. It

was designed to afford an outlet to the waters of the river Guantitlan, to prevent their flowing into the lake Zumpango, which discharged its waters into lake Christobal, and the latter into Tezcuco, which inundated the capital. Subsequently a canal has been partially opened to convey the waters of the Zumpango to the great Canal of Huehuetoca, and another to convey the waters of lakes Tezcuco and Christobal to the same canal; but to effect this object it is necessary that the great drain of Huehuetoca should be deepened so as to reduce its level to that of the lake Tezcuco.

Since 1814, the Cortes of Spain decreed the opening a canal by means of the rivers Guasacualco and Chimalapa, to connect the waters of the two great oceans, which would give a new direction to the commerce of a large portion of the world. They charged the execution of this great enterprise to the consulado of Guadalajara; and afterward believing that that corporation could not accomplish this great work, it was proposed to invite foreigners to invest their capital in it. Since the establishment of the present government in Mexico, proposals have been made by foreign houses, to execute this vast work, which have been submitted to the congress. As the government is disposed to favour this object, there are grounds to believe that this great enterprise, calculated to work a greater revolution in commerce than was immediately occasioned by the discovery of America, will be commenced under circumstances insuring it final success.\*

*Government.*—The Spanish colonial system was in its theory, or principles, a most absolute and despotic government, and rendered more oppressive by the corruptions and abuses of power, which had been introduced into every department of the administration. Some account of this system is given in the sketch of the history of Spanish America, previous to the revolution, which we will not repeat here. The colonists were deprived of all political rights, scarcely excepting what was strictly municipal; they were denied all the advantages of commerce and manufactures, and even agriculture was subjected to discouraging and onerous restrictions. The colonial system was founded on the principle that the colonies were in a state of minority and tutelage, and were to be governed, not for their own benefit, but for the advantage of their parent, who, without regard for the future wellbeing of her offspring, in the exercise of parental authority, thought only of rendering it most conducive to her own immediate interest. Among the abuses of the system was the practice, which had long prevailed, of conferring all offices on European Spaniards, to the entire exclusion of the creoles, or Americans, notwithstanding it

\* Report of Mexican Secretary of State, in 1823.

was declared, in the original compact between the king and the first settlers, that after the first discoverers and conquerors, the settlers, and those born in the provinces, were to be preferred in all appointments and public employments.\* This practice seems to have resulted from the consideration that the colonies were not governed for their own advantage, but for the benefit of the parent state. But whatever may have been the cause of this unjust and impolitic practice, it was the fertile source of the division of the white population into two parties: the natives of Spain and those born in America, and of the long-established and inveterate animosities existing between them. All the officers of government being sent from Spain, the inhabitants could view them in no other light than as their oppressors, and as having been imported for that express purpose. The possession of power, and the favour of the government, rendered the Europeans haughty and insolent, as is always the case with a privileged class, and this tended still more to exasperate the feelings of the creoles. Hence the long, bitter, and sanguinary war of the late revolution.

If there ever was a people in a state of political bondage, of oppressive and degrading servitude, it was the Spanish colonies. Fortunately for them, for the cause of liberty, and the honour of America, circumstances favoured their emancipation, and *they are now free*. The struggle has been long, arduous, and bloody, characterized by a spirit of bitterness and animosity, which spread desolation over the fairest portions of America, and in some districts almost swept away the entire population. The independence and liberty of Spanish America has been dearly purchased; it has been bought with the best blood of the country; and this has flowed freely. In Mexico, after a destructive war for twelve years, the royal government was finally overthrown. But this only established a new and ephemeral tyranny, in the person of Iturbide, who had been the instrument of crushing the Spanish despotism. Whilst he was at the head of affairs, the government acquired no stability, and only presented a constant struggle for power on his part, and resistance on the part of the congress. Aided by numerous partisans, and having the army at his command, he finally succeeded, and established himself a despotic ruler. But his reign was as short as it was inglorious. The people were not satisfied with a change of masters; they wished for freedom, and the right of self-government, and had they failed in this, the vast sacrifices of the revolution would have been lost. The capricious tyranny of Iturbide soon occasioned general disaffection; and being disgusted with the retrograde movement in the revolution, the people resolved that it should go forward to its consummation. Iturbide was overthrown, the old congress was

\* Laws of the Indies.

convened, and soon a new congress was elected, composed exclusively of the friends, not only of the independence of Mexico, but of a republican government—of a government of the people.

Soon after the congress was convened, in November 1823, a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution, and on the 19th of the same month, they reported a "constitutive act of the Mexican nation," which, after undergoing some slight alteration, was adopted in February following. This act contains the principles of the government of the Mexican nation; but seems to suppose that these principles are to be promulgated in a different form. The government thus established, is a confederative republic, and not only in its general outline, but in its subordinate divisions of power, and minute features, has a striking similarity to the constitution of the United States. The most essential difference in principle between the Mexican constitution, and that of the United States, is in the third article, which establishes the catholic Roman apostolic religion, and declares that the nation will protect it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other. This is very different from our constitution, which declares that "congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and certainly inconsistent with the liberal and enlightened principles of the constitution in which it is embodied. It is supposed, however, that the condition of the population, and the influence of the clergy was such in Mexico, as not to admit of a more liberal provision on the subject of religion. There is one other particular in which the constitution differs from that of the United States, which we will notice. The congress is authorized in times of national danger, to create a dictator, for a limited time, or in other words, "to grant extraordinary powers to the executive, for a limited time, upon a full knowledge of the cause."\* There is, probably, no actual danger in this provision; yet at the same time it may be safely asserted, that no such principle would be sanctioned by the people of the United States.

Since the establishment of the present system, the government has been organized, has acquired stability, and been gradually completing the great objects and reforms of the revolution, and repairing, as fast as time and the condition of the country would admit, the dreadful evils of the revolutionary struggle. The system, like the United States, comprises a general or national government, and separate state governments; and the latter have generally been organized since its adoption. It does not appear, from the constitutive act, whether the senators of the general congress are to be chosen by the legislatures of the states, or by the

\* Art. 13. Constitutional Act.



citizens ; but the number is fixed at two from each state, and it is presumable that they are to be chosen by the states in their corporative capacity.

*Military and Naval Resources.*—In 1822 the military force consisted of 10,764 troops of the line, and 30,000 militia ; the militia has been greatly increased, and has undergone a new organization since the establishment of the republican government, and is now supposed to be very numerous. The army has likewise been increased, and placed on a better footing. The estimated expense of the war department for 1825, to sustain the army on the footing ordained by congress, was twelve millions of dollars.

The attention of the present Mexican government was early directed to the establishment of a navy, and a considerable naval force has, by its efforts, already been acquired. The expenses of the naval department were officially estimated for 1825, at three millions of dollars. In June of that year, the Spanish ships of war, the *Asia* of 74 guns, and the brig *Constante*, which sailed from Callao, entered the port of Acapulco, and voluntarily surrendered themselves to the Mexican government. The *Asia* has since been conducted round to the Atlantic side. One 74, and several frigates and ships of war arrived at Mexico from England, the latter part of the year 1821, and several vessels for their service have been built in the United States, so that at this time the Mexican navy has become fully adequate to meet any naval forces Spain can send into the American seas. It is stated as a fact, that the Mexican government offered the command of their navy to our distinguished naval officer, commodore Porter.

The naval forces of Mexico and Colombia are concentrating at Carthagena, and it is supposed that an expedition of their united forces will be sent against Cuba, or some other of the Spanish dominions.

*Finances and Expenditure.*—Previous to the revolution, the revenue of New Spain from the beginning of the nineteenth century, amounted to about 20,000,000 of dollars ; of which 5,500,000 arose from the duties on the produce of the mines ; 4,000,000 from the government monopoly of tobacco ; 3,000,000 from the customs and alcabalas ; 1,500,000 from the tribute, or capitation tax, paid by the Indians ; and the remainder from an excise on the domestic liquor called pulque, the sale of powder, stamps, cards, and papal indulgencies ; from the post-office, the farming of cock-fighting, and some other small sources of revenue. At least one-fourth of this large revenue was expended in the military establishment for the defence of the country, which consisted of 10,000 regular troops, and 20,000 provincial militia. Of the regulars, 4000 were cavalry ; who, together with the infantry, were

stationed at the military posts to check the incursions of the Indians, and, for some years before the revolution, to keep down the spirit of the people. The geographical features of the country are such as to render it easily defensible against an external enemy. That part of the establishment which consisted of the militia was little more than nominal.

The revolutionary struggle not only greatly increased the expenditure, but greatly impaired the revenue, and destroyed public credit. Whilst Iturbide was at the head of the government the treasury was exhausted, and he was constantly harassing the congress to provide ways and means to pay the army, and relieve the exigencies of the treasury; and when the present government was established, it found the treasury empty, and the revenue in the most deplorable condition. According to the report of the financial minister in March, 1823, the only resource of the treasury was the sale of 300,000 dollars worth of tobacco, to satisfy the numerous demands against the government. The present administration, at the head of which is the distinguished patriot Guadeloupe Victoria, are making the most noble and patriotic exertions to retrieve the condition of the revenue, by introducing a most rigid system of economy on the one hand, and by improving and increasing it on the other; by which means they hope to extricate the government from its pecuniary embarrassments, and place its finances on a safe foundation. In a report of the present minister of finance, made in November 1823, after unfolding the deplorable condition of the treasury and finances, he says:

"This melancholy and alarming picture induced the minister to represent the state of the finances in the manner he did in his memoir of the second of June. The present executive has used every means to redeem the nation from this critical and deplorable state. They adopted a totally different system—they suspended entirely the forced loans, and heavy contributions, about to be enacted—stopped the emission of paper money, and adopted the most rigid economy in every branch of the administration; giving themselves an example of simplicity and frugality. The most beneficial consequences have resulted from this conduct: but the prosperity of the country is retarded by the dissensions that exist in the provinces. It cannot be said that for the last six months any one has been compelled to loan money; nor have any heavy burdens been laid upon the people. If the merchants have generously and gratuitously furnished the government with funds, they have been compensated by receiving a tenth of the product of the customs; and of 52,357 dollars, received in the months of April and June, they have been paid 36,143 dollars; and the debt will be entirely discharged this month. The paper money has been in part reduced by receiving a sixth part in pay-

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ment of duties ; so that the dollar, which was not worth more than twenty-five cents, is now worth seventy-five—a certain sign of the state of public credit.”

From the first of April to the end of last September, the receipts of the Treasury were, - - - \$1,213,513 04  
Disbursements in the same period, - - - 1,200,681 17

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Due on the civil and military lists, - - - 12,831 87  
305,927 05

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Debts, - - - 293,095 18  
Payments made to redeem the paper medium  
within the same epoch, were - - - 732,168 10

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Moneys received from Mr. B. Vigors Rich-  
ards on account of a loan, - - - 88,009 05

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351,061 03

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Debt contracted in the preceding twenty-five  
months, - - - \$5,936,549 08

The minister proposes, as sources of revenue, to retain the monopoly on tobacco, which formerly has produced 4,000,000 of dollars ; the duty on stamps, estimated at 300,000 dollars ; the excise on pulque and other liquors, which has produced nearly 700,000 dollars, but in 1822, yielded only 203,939 dollars ; and the duties on gold and silver. The revenue from this last source, formerly the principal one, is greatly diminished, from the depressed state of the mines ; the tenth, formerly exacted, was reduced, in 1822, to three per cent. He proposes a duty of 50 cents upon each head of black cattle that is slaughtered ; 25 for each sheep, and 50 for each hog ; he also proposes to increase the duty on domestic liquors ; to abolish the alcabalas, or duty on the sale of produce and merchandise, as being oppressive, and yielding but little to the revenue ; to dispose of the property of the inquisition, and that formerly belonging to the Jesuits, which had not been sold, estimated at 2,405,645 dollars. The post-office and lotteries, which had been separate departments, he proposes to unite into one, to save expense, and to reduce the expenses of the mint, which, for the six preceding months, had been an expense to the government of 21,835 dollars. The minister proposes to reduce the tariff, or imposts on imports, to 22 or 23 per cent. including the consulate duty. At that time the impost was 25 per cent. exclusive of the consulate duty. He is in favour of restrictions on foreign importations, and thought the articles of

merchandise incorrectly classed in the existing tariff. The revenue from imports, from the first of April to the first of September in 1823, he states at 971,345 dollars, an increase of 177,884 dollars, over the revenue during the same period of time the preceding year. He proposes to abolish the duty on exports, as it respects articles of most importance, which he enumerates, and finally recommends the collection of the revenue on the model or plan of the United States.\*

The following statement exhibits the receipts and expenditures for the six months preceding the report, and the estimated receipts, with the proposed changes in the system for one year, and also the estimated expenses. According to this statement, the revenue exceeds the expenditures a little more than one million.

The receipts of the Treasury for the last six months amount to - - - - - \$6,418,814

The disbursements were as follows :—

Expenses of the monopolies of tobacco	
and gunpowder, and of the mint, -	\$2,893,403
Expenses of all the other departments, -	2,697,630

Total expenditure for six months, -	5,591,033
Contingencies, - - - - -	827,781

		\$6,418,814
Receipts for one year, - - - - -		12,837,628

*Proposed augmentation :—*

On tobacco, - - - - -	648,836
On stamps, - - - - -	268,135
On imports and exports, - - - - -	500,000
On excise on pulque, and other liquors, and on meats, -	1,000,000
	<u>\$15,254,599</u>

*Expenses :—*

Foreign affairs, - - - - -	360,878
Administration of Justice, - - - - -	159,023
Treasury, - - - - -	3,351,485
Army, - - - - -	9,922,782
Navy, - - - - -	473,014
	<u>\$14,267,182</u>

By an official report of the minister of finance, in 1825, the whole expenses of the current year are estimated at 18,000,000

\* Report of the Minister of France, Nov. 1823.

of dollars, and the revenue only amounting to 10,600,000 dollars, leaves a deficit of more than 7,000,000 of dollars; to supply this, the report proposes the establishment of the rents on the manufacture of tobacco, and the duties on gold and silver in bullion and coin, which it is supposed will nearly supply the deficit.

*Population and Character of the Inhabitants.*—The population of Mexico has been derived from three sources, or races, the Europeans, the Indians, and the Africans or negroes. The population at present consists of two great divisions, the whites, and the people of colour. The former is subdivided into natives of Spain, called chapetones, or gachupines, and those born in America, creoles. The white population, previous to the revolution, was estimated at 1,200,000, of which only 70 or 80,000 were natives of Europe, about one-fourteenth part of the white inhabitants. Since the independence of the country, and establishment of a free government, affording equal political rights and privileges to all classes, this distinction is disappearing, and in a few years must be wholly lost. The people of colour comprise the greater part of the population, and form three divisions; the Indians, the Africans, and the casts or mixt races. The number of Africans is very small, less than in any other part of America under the torrid zone, and has been estimated not to exceed 6000. The Indians have been constantly decreasing, and the casts continually increasing, and have been estimated at 2,400,000, comprising at that period nearly one half of the whole population. There are various casts, but the Mestizos, or descendants of a white and an Indian, compose the principal part. Their skin is of a pure white colour, with a peculiar transparency; their beards thin, their hands and feet small, and they have an obliquity of the eyes. The offspring of a Mestizo, and a white, differs very little from a European. The descendants of an Indian and negro are called Zambos, and the descendants of a white and a negro are called mulattoes.\* There are various other casts, or mixtures, with different shades of colour, and different degrees of European blood. The whiteness of the skin, or rather the pureness of the blood, formerly determined the rank of every person, and this was a matter of so much importance, that families often obtained from the high court of justice an official declaration, establishing their whiteness, or European blood.

The population of Mexico was estimated by Humboldt, in 1803, at 5,763,750; and it is now estimated by the best authorities, after deducting 500,000 for the destruction of the revolution, to be about 6,500,000. To this may perhaps be added the population of Chiapa, amounting to 128,000.

\* Edinburgh Encyclopædia: article Mexico

The creoles, in general, possess good natural talents, and a great facility of acquiring knowledge; they are extremely mild and courteous in their manner, kind and benevolent toward each other, and hospitable to strangers. They are very patriotic, and much attached to the cause of independence and liberty. Their besetting sin is gambling. They possess most of the property, hold the principal offices of the government, and in the army, since the establishment of the republic, and comprise most of the professional men and the merchants, as well as those that are fond of literature and science.

The people of colour comprise the labouring classes, and a considerable part of the troops; many of them are orderly and industrious, and make good citizens and soldiers. Some of this class acquire property, and are respectable, and many of them have been much devoted to the cause of liberty and their country, whilst others are indolent, ignorant, wretched, and filthy. This is said to be particularly the case with part of the population of the city of Mexico, where a portion of the inhabitants, called *Leperos*, are notorious beggars, thieves, and pick-pockets, and much addicted to drunkenness. All classes of the people are said to be fond of smoking to excess—females, as well as the men and the boys. This custom appears to be common to most of the Spanish American countries.

*Education and institutions of learning.*—Under the dark shade of despotism, when there was neither a free press, nor free inquiry; when it was the policy of the government to keep the people in ignorance, little could be expected of science or learning. But even the reign of despotism did not prevent occasional sparks of science from being elicited, which often kindled into a blaze. The creoles possess very lively and active intellects, and apprehend the principles of science with facility; and, with all the disadvantages under which they have laboured, they have afforded some good scholars, who have done honour to the age in which they lived. In the capital, the mathematical sciences, chemistry, mineralogy, and botany, have been cultivated with success. In mathematics, they can boast of the illustrious names of Velasques, born in 1732, a self-taught astronomer; of Gama, his fellow-labourer, and Alzate, all of whom possessed genius of the highest order; in chemistry M. Sesse, and M. Echeveria, were distinguished for their extensive acquirements; and in sculpture they can boast of M. Tolsa, whose equestrian statue of Charles V. is considered as superior to any similar work extant, except that of M. Aurelius at Rome. Alzate, a man of ardent genius, published a literary gazette at Mexico, to diffuse a knowledge of the physical sciences, and excite a spirit of learning among his countrymen. The mathematics were extensively

taught in the university of Mexico, and also in the Minería, or school of mines. Besides these, there are several colleges, academies of fine arts, and schools; and it has been said that Mexico had more sound scientific institutions than any other town in America, not excepting the United States. Many of the young creoles visited Europe, for the purpose of travelling, or to complete their education, and thus acquired a taste for literature, the arts, and the sciences.\*

During the colonial system in the cities, most of the people were taught to read and write; but in other settlements instruction was greatly neglected. Since the revolution a different policy prevails, and a new impulse has been given to education and the diffusion of knowledge. The dynasty of ignorance has ended, and the reign of intelligence commenced, under favourable auspices. The policy of the old government was to keep the people in ignorance; that of the present is entirely different; it declares, that "without education liberty cannot exist; and that the more diffused is the former, the more solidly cemented will be the latter."† The solemn annunciation of this important truth has induced the government, amidst all its pressing concerns, and pecuniary embarrassments, to do every thing in its power to promote an object so essential to the prosperity of the republic. Provision has been made for the establishment of primary schools, which are intrusted to the city councils. They have generally been established; but in some places they have not, for the want of funds, and in others they are almost useless, from the incapacity of the teachers and the lowness of salaries. In the capital a society has been founded under the patronage of the government, for the purpose of introducing the system of mutual instruction, or Lancasterian plan of education; and a school has been established in a convent, capable of containing 1600 scholars. It is the design of government to have other societies formed in the different cities on the same model, and for the same objects as the one in the capital. This has been done in Guadalajara, Guanaxuato, San Luis Potosi, and other large towns, where schools on the Lancasterian plan of mutual instruction have been established, which promise to be extensively useful. The government has not neglected the higher branches of education, but has appointed a committee of enlightened men to inquire into the condition of the universities, colleges, academies, and libraries, which will enable the congress to adopt the proper measures for their melioration and encouragement. It appears by the report of the secretary of state, that the government is affording every encouragement in its power to increase the means and facilities of edu-

\* Ed. *Encyclo. Ar. Mexico.*

† Report of Mexican Sec. of State, Nov. 1823.

cation ; and many of the citizens are nobly seconding their exertions. An investigation having been made into the condition of the old colleges and universities, some of them will be restored, but conducted on different principles, and others re-established on an entirely new plan. In San Luis Potosi, 42,000 dollars have been subscribed by the inhabitants for the erection of a college, and similar exertions are also making for the establishment of a college at Guanajuato. There is also a college now in operation in Zelaya. Measures have been adopted for preserving the records and documents in the archives of the colonial government. The plan is to assort and arrange them, and make a copious index, so that any document can readily be found. This service is to be performed under the direction of the secretary of state. The documents and papers of the department of excise afford an index, which, together with the printed tracts on the subject, make eighty-two volumes. From the branches of finance, ecclesiastical benefices and indulgencies, four thousand five hundred and ninety-six documents have already been deposited in the secretary's office.\* Among the means for the diffusion of knowledge, which owe their origin to the new order of things, that of the establishment of newspapers is by no means the least important. The government has also adopted another regulation, which is worthy of imitation ; it has ordered that in each city there shall be established, in the city-hall, a public reading room, to be supplied with the laws and public documents by the government, and with newspapers, and other valuable periodical works, by small subscriptions among the inhabitants.†

*Religion.*—Protestant nations have left Roman catholic countries (with perhaps the exception of France) at a distance behind them, in the moral and intellectual sciences, in politics, the diffusion of knowledge, and those improvements which promote the freedom and happiness of individuals, and the prosperity of nations. Hence it is inferred, that the Roman catholic religion is not favourable to intellectual and scientific exertion. There are two reasons for this ;—the first is, that its spirit is intolerant, and calculated to stifle mental inquiry and exertion ; the second, that it is a religion of external forms and ceremonies, pompous and imposing, which serve to engross the attention, and, by confining the mind to external objects, withdraw it from intellectual. In a word, it is calculated to enslave the mind, and when that is fettered, little improvement can be expected.

From the early settlement of Spanish America, the established hierarchy has been both an instrument and a cause of oppression. Whilst it strengthened the despotism of the government, it added

\* North American Review for October, 1825

† Report of the Secretary of State.



a darker and deeper shade to it. Clothed with power, and armed with the inquisition, its influence was great, and always exerted on the side of the government, and was a principal cause of the ignorance of the people. The ecclesiastical establishment in Mexico was formed on the same model as that of Spain, and had its full train of dignitaries. The inferior clergy were divided into three classes; the *curas*, who were parish priests, employed in the settlements; the *doctrineros*, who had the charge of districts inhabited by Indians, subject to the Spanish government; and the *missioneros*, who were employed in converting the *Indios Bravos*, or wild tribes, not reduced under the Spanish yoke. Many of the inferior clergy suffered extreme poverty, whilst the incomes of some of the high dignitaries exceeded that of many of the sovereign princes of Germany. The archbishop of Mexico enjoyed an income of 121,875 dollars, and several of the bishops but little less; at the same time that some of the priests, in the Indian villages, received only the pittance of from 80 to 100 dollars. The clergy in Spain, previous to the revolution, amounted to about thirteen or fourteen thousand, one half of which were regulars, and wore the cowl.\*

The clergy were violently opposed to the revolution, and the firmest supporters of the Spanish government, until the Cortes undertook to reform the ecclesiastical establishment of the peninsula; they then declared against it, and became in favour of a revolution, from an apprehension that the new regulations in Spain would be established in Mexico. Their influence was by no means the least considerable in bringing about the plan of *Iguala*.

Whilst the revolution has regenerated Mexico, and swept off the colonial despotism, with all its train of corruptions and abuses, it has as yet done but little to relieve the nation from the thralldom of an established hierarchy, and the worst of all despotisms, that of superstition.

It is declared, in the third article of the constitutional act, "that the religion of the Mexican nation is, and shall be perpetually, the catholic apostolic Roman. The nation protects it by just and wise laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other." This provision but little accords with the free, just, and liberal principles of the constitution of which it composes a part, and casts the only dark shade on the luminous political horizon of the nation, and its fair prospect of a splendid career of moral, political, and social advancement. The Mexican congress is an enlightened body, and we may suppose that, like Solon, when giving laws to Athens, it thought this provision was as perfect as the nation was prepared to receive. Whilst this constitutional principle remains,

\* Edinburgh Encyclopædia, article Mexico.

it will obstruct the free exercise of religion, the freedom of inquiry, and the enjoyment of the rights of conscience; but will not prevent the government from reforming the ecclesiastical establishment, and correcting its inveterate abuses, the growth of time and despotism. This necessary work of reformation has already been commenced; and a spirit of liberality and toleration is increasing.





L. Sta Anna



# HISTORY

## OF THE

### REVOLUTION IN MEXICO.

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#### CHAPTER VIII.

*Causes which led to the revolution—junta of Seville sends deputies to America—junta established in Mexico—conspiracy against the viceroy—regency of Cadiz—Hidalgo raises the standard of revolt—takes Guanajuato—the viceroy attempts to conciliate the people—spirit of the revolution spreads rapidly—military preparations of Hidalgo—organizes his army—revolutionists are excommunicated—Hidalgo threatens the capital—he retires—is attacked by the royalists—retreats to the town of Guanajuato—is defeated with great loss—betrayed—taken prisoner, and executed.*

THE causes of the revolution in Spanish America are not found in any change of policy on the part of Spain, nor in any essential variation in the sentiments of the Americans respecting the parent country. A people who enjoyed no political rights could be deprived of none; no disputes, therefore, could arise respecting the rights of the colonies, and the prerogatives of the crown, as existed between Great Britain and her American possessions. The flames of civil war were not kindled in the Spanish colonies by resistance to a tax on tea, or a denial of the unqualified right of taxation, claimed to be binding on the colonies "in all cases whatsoever"—since to this they had for three centuries quietly submitted. Although the North American and French revolutions may have shed some rays of light over these countries, yet the causes of their recent civil changes are to be sought for solely in the peculiar condition of Spain, and the total derangement of her monarchy.

Leaving out of the account the unfortunate attempt at La Paz, the bloody drama of the revolution first opened in Colombia, and as the struggle there was most protracted and severe, and its final success having been the means of the emancipation of the other colonies, Colombia seems to possess a more commanding revolutionary character than any of her sister republics. Consequently, in the history of the contest in Colombia, we shall endeavour to give a full and satisfactory account of the causes and events of the revolution, as it respects Spain and her colonies generally; and, as to the other republics, confine our narration in a great measure to local occurrences.

Spain had for more than a century been on a decline when, in 1808, a finishing stroke was given to her degradation, by the ambitious designs of the emperor Napoleon. Not satisfied with having reduced the peninsula to a condition little above that of a conquered state, and with draining off its resources to support his wars, Bonaparte made one of the boldest attempts recorded in history, to seize on the country, and transfer the crown to his own family. Partly by fraud, but more by force, he obtained possession of the persons of Ferdinand VII., his father, and most of the royal family, caused them to pass over into France, and detained them at Bayonne, where, in May 1808, the father was constrained to abdicate to his son, and the latter to renounce his crown to Joseph Bonaparte.

And as all the regulations respecting Spanish America must be approved of by the Council of the Indies, a decree of that council transferred the dominions of Spain, in America, to king Joseph, in confirmation of the cessions at Bayonne. Bonaparte sent agents to America to communicate to the Spanish chiefs, and through them to the people, the political change which had taken place, and to demand their allegiance. All the Spanish chiefs, with the exception of the viceroy of Mexico, seemed willing to yield to this revolution, and acknowledge the supremacy of their new sovereign; they being all assured of retaining their places. At this period it was the *people*, and not the royal governors, who showed their loyalty; they were shocked at the thought of being transferred like so many cattle, to another master, and that master Napoleon Bonaparte, who had done so much to oppress their parent country. They were indignant, too, at the foul treatment which their sovereign had received. An unusual ferment was excited among the people; the proclamations of Bonaparte were burnt, and his agents glad to quit the country to save their lives. This spirit prevailed, in a greater or less degree, throughout Spanish America.

A similar spirit soon disclosed itself, also, in old Spain, and a general revolt of the inhabitants against the authority of the Bona-

partes, occurred in the peninsula. Intelligence of this reached Mexico on the 29th of July, 1808. It immediately raised the feelings of the people into the highest enthusiasm. In Spain, juntas were established in the different provinces, for their government and security. The junta at Seville styled itself the supreme junta of Spain and the Indies; several other of the provincial juntas claimed the like superiority, which led to dissensions in the peninsula, and distracted the Americans, so that they knew not which to acknowledge, as entitled to their allegiance. Before the enthusiasm had subsided in Mexico, the deputies sent by the junta of Seville arrived in America, to demand the sovereignty of the country; and, to induce the colonies to yield obedience to the junta, the deputies represented that its authority was submitted to throughout the whole of Spain.

Such was the hostility of the people against the French, and their loyalty and zeal toward their sovereign, that they seemed ready to acknowledge the authority of any tribunal in Spain, although self-created, which claimed their allegiance in the name of their king. A meeting was called of the civil and military officers, and a general disposition prevailed to recognise the pretensions of the Seville junta; but during the debates on the question, despatches were received from the junta of Asturias in Spain, denouncing the ambitious views of the junta of Seville, and warning the Mexican government against acknowledging its pretensions. The regency which Ferdinand had established at Madrid, on his leaving the country, also claimed the supreme power in Spain and America. These numerous tribunals in Spain, claiming the supreme authority, and the obedience of the colonies, and denying each other's claims, produced distrust among the Americans, and placed them in a perplexing dilemma. The power of the monarchy was overthrown or suspended, and there being no government in Spain, not even a government *de facto*, which could claim their obedience, or which afforded them protection, their situation suggested the necessity of providing for their own security, by the establishment of some provisional government. The *Cabildo*, or municipality of Mexico, on the 5th of August, 1808, presented a memorial to Iturrigaray, the viceroy, for the assembling a junta, from which we make an extract:

"Juntas of the government, and respectable bodies of the cities and kingdoms, are no more than in exact conformity to the law, which ordains that all arduous cases shall be considered of in general assemblies. As in existing circumstances, in consequence of the seizure of the king, the sovereignty is vested in the nation, in order that its interests may be consulted, the united authorities, together with the municipalities, which are the heads of the peo-

ple, do exactly the same as would the monarch himself for the general welfare.

"Mexico has in view the same principles that influenced Seville, Valencia, and the other cities of Spain ; and she is empowered, in like manner as the above two faithful capitals, to do what she conceives is advisable in such urgent circumstances.

"These examples point out what ought to be done—to organize a governing junta, composed of the royal audiencia, the archbishop, municipality, and deputies from the tribunals, ecclesiastical and secular bodies, the nobility, and principal citizens, as well as the military. This junta shall deliberate on the most weighty subjects that concern us, which shall be determined conformably to our interests.

"The junta is necessary ; for, although we are at present free from the urgent danger which threatened us on the side of France, we, nevertheless, ought not to neglect our means of defence, till we receive such positive advices, as may place us perfectly at ease. It is at the same time necessary to satisfy the wishes of the people, by restoring to them those means they formerly had of appeal to the Council of the Indies, or to the person of the king ; and, finally, many amendments ought to be made in the nomination to secular and ecclesiastical dignities. These are the only means, in consequence of the absence of the monarch, by which the kingdom, being thus united, may overcome all its difficulties.

"This union of authorities is likewise necessary, as being the best means to produce unanimity in the minds of the people ; which will prevent the fatal consequences which must arise throughout the country from disunion. Every one will then be happy ; their patriotism and wishes will be united by love, enthusiasm, and a sense of the public good.

"The city, consequently, thinks that the time is arrived for adopting the same means as have been carried into effect in Spain. The junta which your excellency is to form, for the present, of the authorities and respectable bodies above-mentioned, when the representatives of the kingdom are assembled, will carefully examine its interests, &c.

"But the two fundamental points on which the junta is to act, ought not to be forgotten. The first is, that the authorities retain the full extent of their power, in the same manner as if the derangement which we deplore in the monarchy had not taken place ; that is, that your excellency shall still hold the same power which the laws grant, and that the same be observed with respect to the other tribunals. The second is, that in order to fill up the immense void which exists between the authority of your



excellency and the sovereign, the proposed junta is to be had recourse to."

The viceroy felt himself embarrassed in his situation, and knew not how to act. His advanced years, and want of vigour, rendered his conduct indecisive and temporizing. He was inclined to grant the prayer of the petitioners, thinking the measure reasonable and just ; but was afraid of the Spaniards, who he knew were violently opposed to it. In this dilemma, he proposed to resign his authority. The Spaniards, knowing his inclination to favour the views of the popular party, taking advantage of his indecision and weakness, formed a conspiracy against him, and, by bribing the officers commanding the guards, about four hundred of the conspirators entered the palace of the viceroy, at midnight, on the 15th of September, 1808, seized him and his lady, and committed the latter to a nunnery, and the former to the prisons of the inquisition. The conspirators consisted, principally, of the Spanish merchants in Mexico, and were secretly favoured in their designs by the court of audience : the annunciation of the imprisonment of the viceroy was connected with a suggestion of the appointment of his successor by the royal audience.

A central junta, possessing the supreme and national authority, was established in Spain, composed of deputies from all the provincial juntas. The violent proceedings in Mexico were not only approved by the central junta, which received the intelligence whilst in session at Seville, but the junta manifested great joy that the viceroy, who had favoured the wishes of the creoles, had been deposed and imprisoned, without considering the danger of the example, or the evidence it afforded of the feebleness of all sentiments of subordination. These high-handed measures of the European faction greatly exasperated the creoles against the Spaniards in Mexico, and tended to produce disaffection toward the rulers of Spain. The authority of the central junta, although illegal, (as the laws required that in case of a suspension of the royal functions, the government should be vested in a regency,) was, nevertheless, submitted to by the colonists, and large sums of money remitted from America to Spain, which enabled the Spaniards to carry on the war against the French. The appointment, by the central junta of Spain, of the archbishop, a mild and popular man, to the viceroyalty, greatly conciliated the affections of the Mexicans, and preserved tranquillity, notwithstanding much indignation continued against the Spaniards, who had been engaged in the conspiracy. This indignation was increased by the honours lavished on the European faction, and their insolent conduct toward the Americans, which this occasioned. In this state of things the people were alarmed by the removal of the archbishop, and the intrusting the powers of government, until the ar-

rival of the new viceroy, to the court of audience, the members of which the inhabitants regarded as their enemies. Victory had followed the imperial eagles in Spain, the Spaniards had been every where defeated, the French occupied nearly the whole of the peninsula, and the central junta were dispersed. Some of its members retired to the Isle of Leon, where the archbishop of Laodicea, who had been president of the central junta, published a paper, ordering a regency to be formed, and naming the three persons who were to compose it.\* This regency published a proclamation, addressed to the Americans, and pretending to possess supreme authority in Spain, claimed dominion over the colonies, and promised to redress their grievances. The authority of the regency was considered as entirely illegal, and as little better than self-created. Caraccas and other provinces refused to acknowledge it.

The regency, commonly called the regency of Cadiz, named Don J. Venegas as viceroy of Mexico, and conferred fresh honours and additional rewards on the Spanish faction, which, like fuel added to an enkindling flame, contributed to spread disaffection through the whole country. The troops, which in time of war are constantly stationed between Mexico and Vera Cruz, to repel an attack on the coast, after Iturrigaray was deposed were ordered into the interior. A regiment of cavalry was sent to Queretaro, and three captains in that regiment, named Allende, Aldama, and Abasolo, were natives of the town of San Miguel el Grande, situated near Guanajuato, 210 miles from Mexico.

In the vicinity of the town of San Miguel, is that of Dolores, in the state of Guanajuato, in which resided Don Miguel Hidalgo Castilla, a clergyman, distinguished for his talents and learning, for his liberal sentiments, and his extensive general intelligence. He had taken great pains to instruct and better the condition of the Indians, which gained him their attachment, and, from the urbanity of his manners and the beneficence of his conduct, he was popular with all classes of the inhabitants. A particular friendship subsisted between Hidalgo and Allende, Aldama and Abasolo. Hidalgo, perceiving the general disaffection of the people throughout the viceroyalty, and the prevailing animosities against the Spaniards, conceived a plan of general insurrection, for the overthrow of the colonial government. The time said to have been fixed upon for the rising was the first of November, 1810. His plan was communicated to his three friends, Allende, Aldama, and Abasolo, who readily joined Hidalgo, and, by their activity and exertions, sentiments of disloyalty were rapidly and extensively disseminated. Every circumstance was laid hold of which might tend to inflame the animosity of the natives against the

\* Manifesto of the Congress of Rio de La Plata.

Spaniards, and alienate them from Spain. The disaffection had been spread extensively, and the plan in a great degree matured, when one of the conspirators, a canon of Valladolid, on his deathbed discovered the plan to a priest of the name of Gil, residing at Queretaro. This information was conveyed to some of the members of the *audiencia*, and led to the arrest of the corregidor, Dominguez, who was falsely charged with being engaged in the conspiracy. Alarm was instantly spread among the conspirators, who, fearing that their plan was discovered, hastened its execution. Allende was the first to raise the standard of revolt; he assembled, at St. Miguel, a few soldiers, who were attached to him, and set out for Dolores. The disaffected flocked to his standard in his route, so that when he arrived, on the 14th of September, 1810, he was at the head of 800 men. Hidalgo, the same day, preached to the Indians, and pointed out the oppressions which they had endured from the Spaniards, since the first discovery of the country; the tyranny and rapacity of the Spanish chiefs in America, and the present distracted condition of Spain, without any settled government, exposed to anarchy, and the danger there was that it would fall under the dominion of France, and America be either delivered up to the French or the British, which would destroy the holy catholic religion. He concluded his discourse by calling on the Indians to arm in defence of their religion, and to redress their grievances. A summons to arms came with an odd grace from the pulpit, but nevertheless was obeyed implicitly, and with alacrity. The Indians flew to arms with fury, and, uniting with the recruits of Allende, they proceeded, with Hidalgo at their head, to San Miguel, and commenced hostilities by plundering the houses of the Spaniards. Here two squadrons of the regiment of cavalry of Reyna, to which Allende had belonged, joined the insurgents, and Hidalgo immediately marched to Zelaya, where he was also joined by the principal part of the regiment of infantry of Zelaya, and by part of a regiment of horse.

Thus re-enforced, Hidalgo proceeded to Guanajuato, a populous and wealthy town, containing at this time 80,000 inhabitants, and situated 180 miles northwest of Mexico. The governor of the intendancy, Riano, attempted to oppose him, but, his troops having declared for the revolutionists, he retired with two hundred Spaniards into a building, and fired on the assailants. Having no troops for the defence of the town, it fell into the hands of Hidalgo on the 29th of September, 1810, and was an acquisition of no small importance, as he found in the treasury five millions of dollars, consisting of specie and bar silver.

Venegas, the new viceroy, arrived in Mexico on the 16th of September, 1810, and in a public meeting of the principal in-

habitants, proclaimed the honours and rewards which the regency had bestowed on the conspirators against Iturrigaray, who were regarded by the inhabitants as the enemies of their country, and the emissaries of Spain. In a few days the viceroy obtained intelligence of the insurrection, and of the success of Hidalgo. He immediately despatched Count de la Cadena to Queretaro, a populous town, and an important military position. The inhabitants of this town, amounting to nearly 80,000, were in favour of the revolutionary cause, and were desirous of joining Hidalgo, which was an additional reason why the viceroy was anxious to prevent its falling into the hands of the insurgents, which he did by a timely arrival of royal troops. Venegas, alarmed at the threatening aspect of the insurrection, and the extent of the disaffection, attempted to conciliate the people, and on the 23d September, 1810, issued a proclamation, referring to the decree of the central junta of Spain, in 1809, which declared the colonies to be equal with the mother country, and promised that the cortes would soon make such reforms in the government of America, as would promote its prosperity, and satisfy the reasonable wishes of the people.

Hidalgo, in the first exercise of his high functions of a chief or ruler, abolished the tribute paid by the Indians, which so animated their hopes and attachments, that they flocked from all parts to join him, and he soon found himself at the head of a numerous body of men. To oppose the revolutionists, Venegas formed several corps or *guerrillas* of Spaniards, who however, from their violence and rapacity, injured the royal cause, and he was obliged to disband them. He also established corps of militia, not entirely composed of Spaniards, which he called *patriotas*. The spirit of the insurrection spread rapidly from town to town, producing general disaffection, and the revolutionary cause extended and strengthened daily. The town of Lagos, celebrated from the fact of a great fair being held there every five years, and Zacatecas, from its situation near some of the richest mines in Mexico, and many others, declared in favour of the revolution. Hidalgo remained at Guanajuato, long enough to introduce a little discipline among the multitude who had collected around the revolutionary standard; forming them into corps, and appointing the necessary officers. He also established a mint, fabricated cannon of wood, and one of brass, with this inscription engraved upon it, *el Libertador Americano*, the liberator of America. His greatest difficulty was to obtain arms, for his multitude of creoles, Indians, and mixed bloods, who resembled a caravan, more than a regular army, had only a few muskets, but were armed with pikes, knives, hatchets, blunderbusses, slings, and all sorts of weapons. Hidalgo marched from Guanajuato to Valladolid, and

entered the town on the 20th of October, 1810. There he was received as a deliverer, and greeted with shouts of joy and gratitude by the inhabitants. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the town conferred upon him the highest honours, and treated him with every mark of distinction; but what was more important to Hidalgo, they presented to his military chest 1,200,000 dollars. Two regiments of militia were formed, and joined the popular leader. Hidalgo fell back on Indaparapeo on the 2d of October, where he called a military council, to improve the organization of his army; numerous promotions were made; Alende was appointed captain-general; Aldama, Balleza, Ximenes, and Arias, were appointed lieutenant-generals; and Abasolo, Ocon, and the two brothers Martinez, field-marschals. Hidalgo was proclaimed generalissimo of the Mexican armies; and as such, reviewed the troops, which were now divided into eight regiments of one thousand men each. Mass was performed on the occasion, and a solemn *Te Deum* sung. Regulations were adopted for the pay of the army; three Spanish dollars a day was to be the pay of each infantry colonel and captain of cavalry; each cavalry soldier was to receive one dollar, and each infantry soldier half a dollar per day. Hidalgo assumed the ensigns and habiliments of his new dignity; his military dress was blue with red facings, embroidered with gold and silver; and a black sash embroidered with gold. A medal, with an image of the Virgin de Guadaloupe, highly venerated by the Mexicans, was worn on his breast, and the colours were white and blue, in resemblance of the banners of the ancient emperors of Mexico, and as a memento of the former independence of the country.

Having made the necessary arrangements, Hidalgo, at the head of a vast army, commenced his march toward the capital, and on the 27th of October, 1810, entered the town of Toluca, 36 miles west of Mexico.

A storm was now gathering over the capital, which was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the revolutionists; disaffection prevailed extensively in the city; the populace, and a considerable part of the higher orders, hated the Spaniards, and detested the government. The royal forces were at a distance from the capital, and from each other; Don F. Calleja was stationed at San Luis Potosi, with a brigade, 300 miles from Mexico. Count Cadena had 3000 troops at Queretaro, and the viceroy had but a handful of men for the defence of the capital against Hidalgo, and to overawe the inhabitants. The fall of Mexico was apparently inevitable; but at this alarming conjuncture, the viceroy, not being able to rely on the military rulers, called on the ecclesiastical: as he had not the power of the sword, he called to his aid the power of superstition. He applied to the archbishop

of Mexico, and the officers of the inquisition, to obtain a bull of excommunication against Hidalgo, and all his followers, as rebels and heretics. Accordingly, excommunications, with all the form and solemnity of hierarchical craft, were fulminated against them, denouncing them as apostates from the holy church, and rebels against the state; and as obnoxious to the vengeance of both the state and church, and the wrath of the Almighty. To support their denunciations, the inquisition declared, that accusations had been made against Hidalgo ten years before, to the holy office; but that he then had the address or good fortune to escape the punishment which his crimes merited. Hidalgo, by a manifesto, replied to the excommunications of the archbishop, and the edict of the inquisition; proclaimed his own sentiments of belief, and exposed their inconsistency and absurdity. These excommunications had no effect on Hidalgo's troops: for being himself a priest, he seized the spiritual weapons of his adversaries, and turned them on themselves. He persuaded his adherents that the sentence pronounced against them, proceeding from their enemies, could have no effect; and that the excommunication would, undoubtedly, fall on the heads of those who pronounced it, as a punishment for their presumption. But these terrible weapons of the church were not without their influence on the people; the inhabitants of Mexico, and the provinces which were not yet infected with the spirit of the insurrection, were perfectly tranquil, and seemed petrified with terror.

The viceroy had sent his aid-de-camp, colonel Truxillo, with 1500 men, to Xtlahuaca, to check the advance of the insurgents, which were afterward re-enforced by 500 more; and when Hidalgo entered Toluco, the royalists fell back on Lerma, 27 miles only from Mexico. Here Truxillo formed a bridge across the river Lerma, and intended to dispute the passage with the revolutionists; but Hidalgo, having crossed the river at a different place, Truxillo retired to an eminence, called *El Monte de las Cruces*, where the patriots attacked him, and drove him from his position. Whilst on his retreat to Mexico, Hidalgo sent envoys to Truxillo, with proposals for him to join his party; he admitted the deputies within his lines, and then ordered his soldiers to fire on them. The royalists continued their retreat, and entered the capital on the 30th of October, having, in their flight, left their artillery behind. The intelligence of the defeat of the royalists, at Monte de las Cruces, reached Mexico, accompanied with the report, that the revolutionists were entering the city, which produced great alarm; and the consternation was increased by intelligence that Morelos, a priest at the head of a body of independents, had taken possession of several towns in the south of Mexico, and that Villagran, another popular leader,

at the head of a large force, was marching toward the capital. Whilst the opposers of the government were thus numerous and increasing, there were but about 2000 royal troops at the capital, and no information had been received where the main army of the royalists under count Cadena was.

Under these circumstances, perceiving little prospect of defending the capital, the viceroy and the Spaniards were preparing to retire to Vera Cruz should the enemy prevail. Venegas, however, prepared to make the best defence he could, and drew up his troops between two public walks, within the city, but stationed his artillery at the entrances into the town. On the 31st of October, 1810, the independents were observed, by the inhabitants, with secret joy, (as their hearts were with them,) descending the hill Santa Fe, as it was supposed, to attack the viceroy, who was at the head of his troops, prepared to meet them. Hidalgo sent general Ximenes with despatches to the viceroy, who met him in a magnificent carriage, attended by forty horsemen, three miles from the city, and delivered his message, which was not answered, nor its contents ever known, as the viceroy took care to conceal them from the people. In the city, alarm and anxiety, hope and fear, pervaded every breast, and all supposed the capital would be stormed; the great body of the inhabitants wished for the success of the independents, but they dared not express their sentiments, or make known their feelings. After an anxious night, all were surprised the next morning to see the assailants retiring. The cause of this was at the time inexplicable, nor has it ever been fully explained; but it is supposed that Hidalgo had received information of the defeat of the patriot general, Sanchez, at Queretaro, and of the junction of the royal troops, under Calleja, with the army of count Cadena, and that these united armies were advancing, by forced marches, for the relief of the capital. Some, however, have attributed the retreat of the independents to the moderation of Hidalgo, and his natural antipathy and horror at the violence and devastation of war.

Hidalgo retired in confusion to a hill, which overlooks the village of Aculco and an extent of country on the north and east. He placed his cannon on the sides of the hill, which was of nearly a rectangular form, and drew up his troops in two lines, stationing his undisciplined Indians between them. Here he was attacked on the 7th of November, by Calleja, who had previously reached the capital, with the main part of the Spanish army. The royalists advanced to the attack in five columns against the north and east side of Hidalgo's encampment. There were 6000 of the royal troops, disciplined veterans; and being well armed and equipped, and making a splendid martial appearance, they so frightened the Indians that they fled the instant the firing com-

menced. This disconcerted the regular troops, who making but a feeble defence, abandoned the position in disorder. They were pursued by the royalists with great fury, and immense slaughter ; 10,000 of the independents, in the official report of Calleja, were said to have been killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The patriots retreated to the town of Guanajuato, which is situated on an eminence, and fortified by a defile, through which the road passes leading to the town. Here they were attacked by Calleja, on the 24th of November, and driven from their position, with the loss of twenty-five pieces of their cannon, of which the Liberator was one. Some of Hidalgo's troops, exasperated by the attack and success of the royalists, put to death two hundred Spanish prisoners. The royalists, the next day, stormed and took the town, and delivered it up to the pillage and rapacity of the soldiers for two hours ; and the day following, as the closing scene to this tragical drama, all the officers who had been taken, and many other prisoners and citizens, were shot. Among the latter, were the mineralogists, Chovel, Davalos, and Valencia. A proclamation was issued by the Spanish general, ordering all arms and ammunition to be delivered to the government within twenty-four hours, on the pain of death, and threatened all with the same punishment who supported the rebellion, or entertained opinions favourable to it.

From Guanajuato, Hidalgo marched toward Guadalajara, which is 450 miles from Mexico ; and during his route had numerous skirmishes with parties of the royal army, and in many of which the patriots were successful. Hidalgo entered Guadalajara, a populous town, containing at that time 90,000 inhabitants, and immediately despatched Mercado, a priest, against the port of San Blas, which capitulated, and a large number of cannon fell into the hands of the patriots—Mercado sent forty-two pieces to Hidalgo, at Guadalajara. At this time, the authority of Hidalgo was acknowledged in the then intendancies of Valladolid, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, and part of Sonora. Whilst Calleja was in pursuit of Hidalgo, the royalists, under general Cruz, defeated the independents at Zamora, which enabled him to take the town of Valladolid, where a scene of the most dreadful cruelty and bloodshed was exhibited. Hidalgo choosing an advantageous position, 33 miles from Guadalajara, encamped his army, which was protected on one side by a hill, and on the other by a small river : the bridge across the stream he fortified, and erected batteries on the summit of the hill, and two to defend the army on the left. In this position Hidalgo waited the approach of Calleja, with the determination to give him battle. The royal general did not decline the engagement, but as soon as he arrived, made preparations for attacking the independents in their position. He



divided his army into two columns, one of which stormed the batteries on the hill, and took them; the other column attacked the left of Hidalgo's encampment, and was repulsed. But whilst retiring to its first position, it received a re-enforcement, and engaged the cavalry of the patriots, who, perceiving its retrograde movement, had attempted to surround it. Hidalgo now made a charge on the royal cavalry, which being supported by the grenadiers, repulsed him with great loss. Calleja in person stormed and carried the battery which alone prevented his penetrating into the enemy's camp; and at the same time, Emparan attacked and routed the cavalry of the independents. Consternation now spread through the camp of the patriots, which rendered unavailing all further exertions to retrieve the fortune of the day.

This defeat occurred on the 17th of January, 1811. Calleja sent general Cruz to recapture San Blas, which he found already in possession of the Spaniards, by means of a counter revolution, brought about by the curate of the town. Having rallied the remnant of his army, Hidalgo marched to Zacatecas, where he found a considerable quantity of cannon, there being a foundry in the town. Here he made a new coinage of silver, still retaining the "image and superscription" of Ferdinand VII. The independents marched to San Luis Potosi, where Hidalgo was reinforced by several corps of guerrillas, which he formed; and from thence he moved toward the town of Saltillo, in the military government of the western internal provinces, and about 600 miles from Mexico. Calleja had reached San Luis Potosi, in pursuit of Hidalgo: a body of royalists, under Arredondo, had arrived at Altamira, and the governor of the western internal provinces had sent troops to hem in and cut off the retreat of Hidalgo. It was his intention to have escaped with such of his partisans as would follow his fortunes, to Louisiana, in the United States, and to resume the war for the revolution of the country, when more favourable circumstances might occur. The situation of the popular chief, surrounded with enemies on all sides, was critical, and his escape attended with sufficient hazard, without a Judas to betray him into the hands of his enemies. He was, however, destined to be the victim of treachery. Don Y. Elisondo, who commanded a body of independent troops, had the baseness to attempt to purchase a pardon for himself, by arresting Hidalgo; and having drawn several officers into his plan, he attacked him at Acatita de Bajan, whilst pursuing his course unsuspecting of danger, through a friendly district of the country, from which circumstance he was easily overcome. Hidalgo and his followers were made prisoners, on the 21st of March, 1811; fifty-two of them were executed on the field of action, the next

day; and ten more, including Hidalgo, were sent to Chihuahua, where they were put to death on the 27th of July following; Hidalgo having first been divested of his clerical orders.

## CHAPTER IX.

*The war continued by several patriot chiefs—they are attacked at Zitaquaro—they create a junta—surrender and massacre at Zitaquaro—success of Morelos—destruction of Quauilla—Morelos is defeated—massacre of prisoners by the royalists—Morelos convenes a congress—they frame a constitution—arrival of Mina—he penetrates into the country—Apadoca appointed viceroy—attempts to conciliate the inhabitants—siege of Remedios—capture and execution of Mina—fall of Remedios—civil dissensions among the patriots—Guadaloupe Victoria.*

THE fatal and sad termination of the career of Hidalgo and his associates did not terminate the revolution, or discourage the other chiefs engaged in it; which is evidence that its spirit had taken deep hold of the minds of the people. The most active and powerful of the revolutionary leaders, who remained, were Don Y. Rayon, a lawyer, Don N. Villagran, and Don J. Morelos, a priest. Rayon had taken a station at Saltillo, to favour Hidalgo's retreat; and on learning of his defeat and capture, he fell back on Zacatecas, having in his march defeated a body of royalists, under Ochoa. Here he released three Spanish prisoners, and sent them to the viceroy, with proposals for an accommodation. His terms were, that a congress should be formed, consisting of half Spaniards and half Americans, to decide on the best means of putting an end to the war, and restoring tranquillity to the country. The viceroy returned no other answer but that, if he would lay down his arms, he should be included in the general *indulto*, or amnesty, which the cortes had granted in 1810. This act of the cortes promised a total oblivion of all that had taken place during the revolution, to all who should lay down their arms, and desist from aiding the rebellion. But this act of oblivion had been so totally disregarded by the Spanish chiefs in

America, and only used by them as a snare to entrap those they wished to destroy, that instead of conciliating the disaffected, it had tended to inflame their minds against a government, which could be guilty of such base duplicity and treachery. In Mexico, so entirely destitute were the people of any confidence in the faith or promises of the viceroy, that he was obliged to get the church, or *cabildo eclesiastico*, to endorse his proclamation, and to attempt to persuade the people that his promises were not designed to ensnare them.

"On this account," says the *cabildo eclesiastico*, in a pastoral charge addressed to the clergy, on the 17th of May, 1812, "his excellency the viceroy, the worthy and legitimate representative of our catholic and most Christian king Ferdinand VII. has had the unparalleled goodness, not only to authorize us to be the guarantees and trustees of the indulto, or general pardon granted to the insurgents, but also to permit us to grant to you likewise the power, reverend brethren, as by these presents we do, to offer, promise, and assure, in the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in the name of the Virgin of Guadalupe, protectress of this kingdom, and in the name of the Christian and catholic king Ferdinand VII., and of his viceroy in these kingdoms, that a general pardon shall be duly granted to all those who, repenting themselves of their past faults, are now willing to lay down their arms," &c.

Rayon, being pursued by Calleja, retreated into the intendancy of Valladolid, now state of Michoacan; and the patriot colonel Lopez, at the head of a party of guerrillas, fortified the town of Zitaquaro, where he was attacked on the 22d of May, 1811, by a body of royalists, under Torre and Mora, who were repulsed with loss, and the two commanders slain. This victory encouraged the independents to act on the offensive, and Lopez marched against Valladolid, which he attacked on the 4th of May; but was repulsed by Truxillo, who commanded the royalists in that place. Rayon joined Lopez, and established his headquarters at Zitaquaro, where he was attacked by the Spanish general Emparan, on the 30th of June. The conflict was extremely sharp and bloody, and resulted in the complete route of the royalists, with the loss of 800 men, and all their baggage. Emparan retired with the remnant of his forces to Toluca, and the patriots, elated with the victory, again attacked Valladolid on the 23d of July, but with no better success than before.

The cause of the revolution was now evidently gaining ground; and it was supposed that a plan for a general revolt throughout Mexico was maturing, and would soon take place. The viceroy received many threats and denunciations. Numerous persons were arrested and accused of being concerned in the conspiracy;

a part of whom were brought to trial ; six were condemned and sentenced to be executed, and six others sentenced to hard labour at Puerto Rico ; two women were among the number found guilty of conspiring against the government, and condemned to imprisonment. These condemnations took place in the month of August. At this period Rayon established a junta for the government of the country, consisting of himself, Doctor Berdusco, and Don J. M. Liceaga, which nominally at least, acknowledged the authority of Ferdinand, and published their acts in his name. Calleja, the moment he received intelligence of the creation of this junta, issued a proclamation from his headquarters at Guanajuato, offering ten thousand dollars each for the heads of the junta, and the viceroy, greatly alarmed at this measure of Rayon, regarding it as the harbinger of a general rising of the people, ordered Calleja to make an immediate attack upon the insurgents at Zitaquaro. This town is 120 miles from Mexico, situated in a valley, and surrounded by high mountains. It contained 10,000 inhabitants ; and the principal object in attacking it, was to seize the members of the junta. For this purpose Calleja ordered Polier, commanding at Toluca, to drive the independents from their position on the Tenango mountain, previous to his attack on Zitaquaro, to cut off their retreat. Calleja attacked Zitaquaro, on the 2d of January, 1812, and the place being strong by nature, and well fortified, made a resolute defence, but was taken by the royalists after three hours of hard fighting.

"The rebels," says Calleja in his official account of the action, "had added to that state of natural fortification in which Zitaquaro was placed, all that art, despair, and eight months continued labour could contribute. The defeat of the two preceding expeditions had so much encouraged the people, that even women and children now united in repelling our attack. All, however, has yielded to the intrepidity of the army under my command. The enemy being completely routed, fled away in every direction, leaving the surrounding country covered with their dead and wounded. The rebels, *cabecillas*, Rayon, Liceaga, and Berdusco, had previously made their escape, and taken the road toward Tasco ; nor has it been in my power to pursue them, my troops being already exhausted with fatigue, and the roads in a very bad state.

"The quantity of military stores is immense which we found in the town. I will send your excellency an exact list of them, as well as of the cannon which we took from the enemy. I now merely confine myself to that information more immediately necessary to convey to your excellency, that it is owing to the valour and exertions of my officers as well as of my men, that the engagement was so short. Their good conduct in this attack has

exceeded even what they have displayed on former occasions, and our loss has been inconsiderable.

"My stay here will be as short as possible, and before my departure I will erase every vestige of the town from the face of the earth, that I may, by this means, punish the criminal instigators of so barbarous, impolitic, and destructive an insurrection, and give an example of terror to those who might otherwise be willing to support it."

The contest had now assumed a character peculiarly savage and horrible; the war was not only a war of death, but of desolation. Vengeance and destruction seem to have filled the minds of the royal chiefs, who were as weak as they were destitute of every sentiment of justice or humanity, in supposing that "examples of terror," and destruction, would restore tranquillity to a distracted country. After the capture of Zitaquaro, Calleja published a decree, depriving the Indians of that department of their property and immunities, declaring the property of all Mexicans who had taken any part in the insurrection, or who fled from the city on the entry of the royal troops, to be forfeited; transferring the capital of the department to Marabatio, and ordering the town of Zitaquaro razed to the ground, allowing the inhabitants six days only to leave it, with their moveables, which they were permitted to take "as a proof of mercy;" and threatening the same destruction against any town which should harbour either of the members of the junta. The scene of horror and distress which this decree, conceived in the true spirit of Vandalism, produced, surpassed the power of imagination, much more that of description.\*

The fall of Zitaquaro, and the dispersion of the patriots, did not terminate the struggle: nor did the dreadful examples of terror induce the independent chiefs to throw down their arms, and sue for peace and pardon. Morelos, Villagran, Canas, Aldamar,

\* The following are some of the articles of the decree referred to:—

"1st. It is decreed that the Indians of Zitaquaro and its department, shall be deprived of their property, as well as of those immunities and privileges which the extreme beneficence of the government had granted them.

"2d. This forfeited property, as well as that of those South Americans who have taken part in the insurrection, who accompanied the rebels in their flight, or who left the city at the entrance of the king's troops, to be placed in the public treasury.

"3d. Monarchical government being hated by the inhabitants of this criminal town, who have supported three engagements against the king's forces, and having found the heads of many of our chiefs, who sacrificed their lives for the public good, placed on poles at the entrance of the town, we decree that every building in Zitaquaro shall be razed to the ground, or destroyed by fire. Every inhabitant to leave the town within six days; and, as a proof of mercy, I permit them to take their moveable property.

"CALLEJA."

and other popular leaders, still commanded corps of guerrillas in different parts of the country. The members of the junta took refuge at Zultepec, a town situated on a steep mountain, about 90 miles from Mexico ; from whence they proposed to the viceroy terms of accommodation, which received as little attention as the proposals of Hidalgo and Rayon. The terms of reconciliation were contained in an address of the junta to the Spaniards, of the 29th of March, 1811, in which they recapitulated their grievances, and proposed a plan, in case the royalists did not choose to comply with their terms of accommodation, for carrying on the war, in a manner less barbarous and destructive.

Morelos possessed an efficient army, and was obeyed throughout nearly the entire southern coast of Mexico. He had defeated the royalists in various skirmishes and engagements, one of which was bloody and decisive, fought on the 19th of August, 1811, at Tixtla ; after which, he besieged Acapulco, with a small part of his army, but marched with the main division toward Mexico. He took possession of the town of Izucar without opposition ; and, in the mean time, a division of his army commanded by general Bravo, defeated the Spanish general Musitu, and took possession of the town of Quautla Amilpas, 75 miles south of the capital. Morelos also occupied the towns of Huexapan and Tasco. The Spanish colonel Soto attacked the town of Izucar on the 17th of February, but was repulsed with loss, and himself so dangerously wounded, that he was obliged to retire from the command. He was succeeded by Llano, who on the 22d renewed the assault, and was also repulsed ; yet he succeeded in gaining possession of a hill, from which he bombarded the town. In this attack were employed the first troops which had been sent from Spain to Mexico, since the commencement of the revolution. Calleja attacked Morelos in the town of Quautla Amilpas, on the 19th of February, 1811, and, after a severe action of six hours, was compelled to retire. Exasperated at this defeat, Calleja swore vengeance against the town of Quautla and its inhabitants, and made great preparations for renewing the assault. Llano was ordered to raise the siege of Izucar and join him, who on his march defeated several parties of guerrillas. In the mean time the patriots, who had been re-enforced, assisted by the whole population of the town, were making the utmost exertions for its defence. The rage of the Spanish general is in some degree evinced by a letter which he wrote to a friend whilst encamped before Quautla on the 15th of March, 1812.

" We will precipitate this town and its inhabitants into the very centre of hell, whatever exertions or fatigue it may cost us. The enthusiasm of these insurgents is unparalleled. Morelos, with a prophetic countenance, gives his orders, and whatever they may

be, they are always punctually executed. We continually hear the inhabitants swear that they will be buried under the ruins rather than deliver up the town. They dance around the bombs as they fall, to prove that they are fearless of danger."

The town of Quautla is situated on an eminence, in a plain, and commands a view of the adjacent country. It had been so strongly fortified by Morelos, that Calleja was obliged to relinquish the plan of conquering it by storm, and to attempt to reduce it by a siege. This having been continued for some time, provisions began to fail, which induced Morelos to make a sally, in the hope that this might enable the parties of guilleras, which were harassing the besiegers in the rear, to convey provisions into the town. On the night of the 23d of April, field-marshal Matamoros, with one hundred horse, forced the enemy's line, but no supplies were procured by the movement. The town not being able to hold out much longer, for the want of provisions, as a last effort, Morelos attacked the enemy's camp on the 27th, aided by the guilleras; but the patriots were repulsed, with the loss of nearly one thousand men. After the siege had lasted seventy-five days, the precise time of that of Mexico, when taken by Cortes, and all hopes of obtaining provisions being extinguished, Morelos resolved to evacuate the place, and on the night of the 2d of May, 1811, the independents marched out of the town, together with most of its inhabitants. A corps of 2000 infantry formed the advance, next 250 horsemen, followed by nearly 5000 lancers and slingers, between whom and the rear guard, which consisted of a corps of fusileers, was placed the inhabitants, comprising nearly the entire population of the town. Calleja soon discovered the movement of the independents, and commenced a spirited attack upon them, which occasioned a most shocking slaughter among the unarmed, and in a great degree unprotected inhabitants, who were fleeing for their safety. Four thousand of the patriots were slain, principally the unfortunate inhabitants of Quautla. Calleja, in his account of the slaughter, says, that the dead bodies of the enemy covered the ground for twenty miles in extent, and that he lost only twenty men.

Morelos retreated to the town of Chilapa, which he took by storm; Tehuacan next yielded to him, and Orizaba shared the same fate. Here he set fire to the tobacco in the royal magazines, of the value of several millions of dollars. On the 25th of November Morelos attacked and captured the town of Antequera, the capital of the intendency of Oaxaca, where the patriot officers, Palacios, Tinoco, Lopez, and Armenta, had been shot by the royalists. Morelos resolved to retaliate, and executed, on the spot, lieutenant-general Gonzales Saravier, brigadier-general Bonavia, and two colonels, of the Spanish prisoners in his pos-

session. The remains of Lopez and Armenta were then disinterred, conveyed in triumph and deposited in the cathedral. Morelos soon after captured Acapulco, and a numerous corps of guerrillas under Guadalupe Victoria, stationed at different positions between Xalapa and Vera Cruz, cut off the communication between the latter place and the capital.

Rayon having made an unsuccessful attack on Toluca, retreated to Tenango, 54 miles southwest of Mexico, situated on a mountain, from which, in the beginning of June 1812, he was driven by the royalists, who succeeded in avoiding the batteries that defended the ascent to the town. All the prisoners, taken by the Spaniards, were shot. The national junta, which had taken refuge in the town of Zultepec, withdrew from that place, and either accompanied the army under Rayon, or remained in towns in the neighbourhood of it, and to which it afforded protection. Near the close of the year 1812, Don J. M. A. Toledo, who had been a member of the cortes in Spain for Mexico, arrived in the United States, and in conjunction with Don B. Gutierrez, then at Washington, in the capacity of commissioner, or agent, from the new government in Mexico, to the government of the United States, formed a plan for invading the eastern provinces of New Spain, from the United States. They engaged some citizens of the United States to join the expedition, and set out for the *Provincias Interas*: and having entered the Spanish territories, were re-enforced by some guerrillas; they obtained some advantages over the royalists, and took San Antonio de Bejar, the capital of the province of Texas. But they were attacked in January, 1813, and completely dispersed by Don N. Arredondy, military commander of the internal provinces. Toledo made his escape to the United States. An attack was made by Morelos on Valladolid in December, 1813; but the royalists being re-enforced by a body of troops under Llano, the independents were defeated, and retreated to Pascuaro, whither the royalists pursued them, and an engagement took place on the 7th of January, 1814. The battle having commenced before the dawn of light in the morning, unfortunately two divisions of Morcos' troops fought each other until the appearance of light discovered to them the fatal mistake, which paralyzed all their efforts, and rendered them an easy conquest to the enemy. Matamoras, Morelos' lieutenant, a very active and brave officer, and seven hundred men were made prisoners. Morelos made every effort to save Matamoras, and offered to exchange for him, and his staff, five hundred Spaniards which Matamoras had himself taken a short time before. But the bloodthirsty royalist general declined this offer; and immediately ordered Matamoras and the seven hundred prisoners shot, which he must have known would expose



the lives of the Spanish prisoners, in the possession of the patriots at Acapulco, whom Morelos by way of retaliation put to death.

The Spaniards at this time had a powerful force ; the royal army consisted of four strong divisions, and from the vigorous conduct of Calleja, who was now appointed viceroy, they drove the revolutionists from the principal part of the country. Morelos, Rayon, Doctor Cos, and some others of the patriot chiefs, however, kept the field, and occupied a considerable part of the provinces of Guanajuato, Valladolid, and Zacatecas ; Liceaga fortified a position on the Lake Chapala, where he repulsed the royalists in several attacks made to dislodge him.

In hopes to revive the spirits of the inhabitants, Morelos called a congress, consisting of forty members, which opened its session at Chilpanzingo, 90 miles south of Mexico, and was afterward removed to Ario, about 130 miles from the capital, where it declared Mexico independent, and constituted a triplicate executive, consisting of Morelos, Liceaga, and Cos. From thence the congress was transferred to Apatzingan, in the province of Valladolid.—There, on the 23d of October, 1814, they offered to the people a democratic constitution, and on the 25th issued a decree, prescribing the oath of allegiance to all who were to enjoy the benefits of the new government. These proceedings increased the rage of the royal governors, and the constitution and decree were publicly burned at Mexico on the 25th of May following, and the punishment of death denounced against all who should retain in their possession any copies of the constitution, or refuse to deliver them to the government. Morelos found that the establishment of a congress, and the resignation of his power to it, instead of promoting, injured the cause, and greatly embarrassed his operations. When he, or any of the generals, proposed any military plan of action, the long discussion which it must undergo in the congress, not only occasioned delay, but often defeated the object, and finally led to mutual jealousy and distrust between the civil and military authorities.

Many privateers were fitted out under the authority of the new government, which supplied the armies of the patriots with arms and ammunition, through the port of Boquilla de Piedra, on the Gulf of Mexico. Being no longer able to maintain himself in the intendancy of Valladolid, and receiving intelligence that Toledo and general Humbert had arrived with arms and ammunition at Elpuente del Rey, situated between Xalapa and Vera Cruz, which was fortified by the independents, Morelos determined to retire into that province, and the congress and a large portion of the inhabitants resolved to accompany him.

The expedition had more the appearance of a large caravan,

or the migratory incursions of those nations of the north of Europe, which overran the Roman empire, than that of a regular army on its march. The royalists pursued and hovered round this vast multitude, armed and unarmed, but made no general attack. Morelos had separated himself from the main army, to cover the retreat, and with a body of cavalry lay at a place called *Tepecuacilco*, of which the royalists obtaining information by their spies, attacked him by surprise, and after a short conflict, he was defeated and made prisoner, on the 5th of November, 1815. Morelos was carried to Mexico, deprived of his clerical orders, accused of heresy, but acquitted of that charge by the inquisition. On the 22d of December, he was shot in the back as a traitor, in the village of San Christobal, 18 miles from the capital, the viceroy not daring to execute the sentence in the city, for fear it would excite the people to rise.

The congress convened at the city of Tehuacan, in the province of Puebla, where Teran, an independent officer, commanded a considerable body of troops. Here, on the 17th of November, they sent to Calleja a despatch, imploring him to spare the valuable life of Morelos, which he did not condescend to answer. The loss of Morelos was irreparable; the congress had great difficulty in supplying his place as a member, and president of the executive department; the place was demanded by Teran, whom the congress did not seem disposed to appoint, and serious disputes arose. Teran being provoked, and taking advantage of the existing disputes, dissolved the congress by force, in December, which arbitrary act proved very fatal to the cause of the patriots. There was no longer any national authority, unity of power, or concert of action; but the military officers in the different provinces acted as independent chiefs, and the war languished until the arrival of general Mina, in the autumn of 1816. Mina was a nephew of the celebrated general of that name, so distinguished for his patriotic devotion to his country, and the constitutional cause in Spain, and the long and successful resistance he made against the French and the Spanish royalists. He sailed from Liverpool with a small expedition, in May, 1816, having 7000 stand of arms, and equipages for 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry, and arrived in the United States in June. Here he obtained some officers, and additional muskets, some pecuniary aid from Baltimore and New-Orleans, to help out the expedition, and sailed for the Gulf of Mexico. Having suffered much in the passage from unfavourable weather and disease, he landed at Galvestown in November, where he was joined by Aury, the commander of the privateers in that quarter, and by some of the inhabitants. Hastily organizing his forces, he proceeded to Soto Marina, and entered the place without opposition. Here he constructed a fort,

and left a small garrison for the protection of his military stores, and on the 24th of May commenced his march for the interior of the country.

At this time the revolution was at its lowest ebb, and little or no resistance was openly made to the Spanish government, except in the internal provinces ; there were, however, some guerillas, in other parts, that kept the field. Calleja had been succeeded, as viceroy, by Don Juan R. de Apadoca ; and the new viceroy departed from the policy of his predecessors, who had attempted to govern solely by fear and terror. Sensible that the cruel and bloody career of Calleja was not calculated to restore tranquillity to a distracted country, where all was war and desolation, he resolved to try a different line of conduct, and attempt to conciliate the affections of the inhabitants, and to regain their confidence. This conciliatory policy was attended with great success, and almost put an end to the revolution, in the capital and that part of Mexico. But the spirit of independence was suppressed, not extinguished, and it was revived by the invasion of the country by Mina. When he commenced his march, his whole force, including officers, was 308 men ; with which he encountered a body of the enemy on the 8th of June, 1817, near Valle del Mais, routed them, and entered the town. He made no stay, but continued his march with great expedition, being desirous to unite with the independents in the interior, and on the 14th of June he encamped at the hacienda Peotillas. Here he was attacked by a force greatly superior, but his heroic band, few in number but brave in spirit, directed and encouraged by their gallant leader, not only defended themselves, but compelled the enemy to abandon the field with a heavy loss. In this action Mina proved himself to be a brave and skilful officer, and acquired the highest confidence of his followers. Continuing his march, on the 18th he stormed and took the town of Real del Pinos, although defended by a garrison exceeding his own force ; and on the 24th of June he reached Sombrero, where he found the forces of the independents, having marched 660 miles in thirty-two days. His troops had endured the greatest fatigue, and almost every hardship and privation ; but being animated by their commander, young, gallant, and popular, who shared himself in all their sufferings and wants, no murmurs or complaints were heard. When Mina arrived at Sombrero, he had 269 men, rank and file. Here he wrote to the junta which had been established, acquainting them with his object in invading the country, and offering his services in the cause of independence ; he also wrote to Padre de Torres, who was regarded as commander-in-chief of the patriots.

Mina learnt that a body of royalists, amounting to 700, were in the vicinity, and leaving the fort under the command of Don Pe-

dro Moreno, he marched in conjunction with a guerrilla, commanded by Ortis, of 100 men, to meet the enemy. His whole force amounted to 400 men, with which he did not hesitate to engage the royalists, drawn up at the hacienda de los Llanos. So spirited and vigorous was the charge of the independents, led on by Mina, that the enemy yielded before them and fled in disorder, with the loss of half their number left on the field. After the troops were refreshed by a few days repose at Sombrero, Mina and Moreno penetrated as far as Xaral, 60 miles from Guanaxuato, and surprised and took the place, in which they found immense booty.

On his return to Sombrero, Mina received intelligence of the surrender of Soto la Marina to the royalists, commanded by Arredondo, governor of the internal provinces. Following up their success, the Spaniards invested Sombrero. The patriots made an obstinate defence; but it being evident the place could not hold out much longer, Mina left the fort and proceeded to general Torres, in hopes of obtaining some troops for the relief of the besieged, in which he did not succeed. A few days after he left the place, the patriots were compelled to evacuate it, and had no other means of escape but by cutting their way through the lines of the enemy. Fifty only survived, who joined their leader at Los Remedios, the headquarters of general Torres. The royalists under general Linan, marched against Remedios, and invested the place on the 31st of August, which was defended by Torres, assisted by some of Mina's officers. Mina, at the head of a body of cavalry, marched toward Guanaxuato, and captured the hacienda of Biscocho, and the town of San Luis la Paz. He also advanced against the town of San Miguel, and commenced an attack upon it, but retired on receiving information that a strong force of the enemy was marching to the relief of the place. He retreated to the valle de Santiago, where he was joined by many patriots, so that he soon was at the head of one thousand cavalry. With this force Mina set out for the relief of Remedios, but learning that the besiegers were stronger than he had supposed, he deemed his force insufficient for the purpose, and retired to the mountains near Guanaxuato, being pursued by Orrantia. The Spaniards carried on the siege of Remedios with great vigour; yet Mina continually harassed them with his cavalry, and cut off their supplies. But at length he was attacked by Orrantia at the hacienda of La Caxa, and defeated with a heavy loss. He retired to a small town called New Puebla, twelve miles from the scene of action, and attempted to rally the fugitives, who had escaped, but with little success, as most of them returned to their homes. In this forlorn condition he proceeded to Xauxilla, to obtain from the government of the independents, which was then

fixed at that place, some troops to resume his military operations. He proposed attacking Guanaxuato; and after considerable opposition to his plan it was agreed to, and he was supplied with a small body of troops. With this force he marched to the valle de Santiago, where he was re-enforced by a few men from Xalapa, waiting to join him; but the approach of a detachment of royalists compelled him to withdraw from the valley. By a rapid movement through the mountains, he descended in the rear of the royalists, and marched to La Caxa; and from thence he proceeded by a rapid march across the country during the night, to an obscure place called La Mina de la Luz. Here he received some re-enforcements, which increased his little army to 1400 men, with which he did not hesitate to attack the city of Guanaxuato, although entirely destitute of artillery. As might have been foreseen, the attack was unsuccessful, and after burning the machinery of the mine of Valenciana, he retired, and ordered his men to their different stations, retaining sixty or seventy only under his immediate command. The bold career of this brave and intrepid young officer and patriot was soon terminated. He was surprised and captured by the Spanish general Orrantia, at Venadito, on the 27th of September, 1817. Apadoca the viceroy gave orders for his immediate execution, and he was conducted to the headquarters of Linan, commanding the royal army before Remedios, where he was condemned, and shot on the 11th of November.\* The capture of Mina not only occasioned great joy among the royal chiefs in Mexico, but was regarded as so important an event by the Spanish government, that Apadoca was honoured with the title of *Conde del Venadito*, and Linan and Orrantia received marks of distinction for having rendered so great a service to their country.

The royalists now directed all their efforts in prosecuting the siege of Remedios; and Torres finding his ammunition failing, evacuated the place on the night of the 1st of January, 1818. The evacuation was so unskillfully conducted, that nearly all of the garrison were killed or made prisoners, and the inhabitants of the town, of all ages and both sexes, unarmed and unprotected, were involved in one common ruin, and nearly all massacred.

The death of Mina, the fall of Remedios, and the loss of the garrison, presaged the speedy overthrow of the cause of independence, and encouraged the royalists to redouble their exertions for the consummation of an object so devoutly to be desired. The town and fortress of Xauxilla, the seat of the government of the revolutionists, was invested by 1000 men under Aguirre; and the place was compelled to surrender, after being gallantly defended for three months. The government was removed into

the province of Valladolid, where it was surprised in the month of February, 1818, by a party of royalists, and the president made prisoner. The popular government, however, still maintained a precarious existence, its members being obliged to remove from place to place, to avoid falling into the hands of the Spaniards, having no troops sufficient for their protection. To increase their difficulties, they were involved in civil dissensions. Torres, after the fall of Remedios, had conducted in so capricious and tyrannical a manner, that it had been found necessary to deprive him of his situation as commander-in-chief, by a formal decree, which he resisted. Don Juan Arragon, a French officer, who came into the country with Mina, was appointed to succeed Torres, and both parties had recourse to force, to settle the dispute. The approach of the royalists ended this unhappy contest, and Torres was obliged to yield, and place himself under the protection of the government. This occurred in July, 1819, and from this period the war languished every where; the royalists occupied all the fortresses, and every town, and the revolutionary party appeared to be almost entirely crushed. General Guerrero, however, a brave and enterprising officer, Arago, and a few others, continued to keep the field at the head of guerrillas, and roamed over the mountains; and Guadalupe Victoria, an assumed name, but one which has since become illustrious in Mexico, after long maintaining himself in the intendancy of Vera Cruz, as the only resource left, disbanded his troops, and sought refuge in the mountains from royal vengeance, by which means his life was preserved for the redemption of his country.

In 1821, after the revolution in Spain, deputies were sent from Mexico to the cortes at Madrid, to propose terms of accommodation to the new government. On the 3d of May the subject was brought before the cortes, by count Ferreno, which resulted in a reference to a committee consisting of deputies of the Peninsula, and of America, who, in conjunction with the executive, were to consider and propose such measures as they might deem best calculated to "terminate the dissensions which prevailed in the various parts of America." Whilst the subject was before this committee, news arrived of the insurrection of Iturbide. The discussions which this event occasioned, enabled the American deputies to show to the cortes the impracticability of the transatlantic possessions of the monarchy being governed by the same system and laws as the Peninsula. The Mexican deputies offered a resolution, instructing the viceroy of New Spain to propose to Iturbide a suspension of hostilities until the project of a government for America could be decided on, which was rejected.

The committee devoted their attention to the subject with zeal and assiduity corresponding with its importance. They had fre-

quent conferences with the ministers, and at length succeeded to their mutual satisfaction in maturing a plan of government for the colonies, which, on being submitted to the king, met with his utter disapprobation : this caused the ministers to decline acting further at that time upon the subject. In consequence the committee reported that nothing could then be done but to excite the zeal of the ministers, and request them to present to the cortes, as soon as possible, the fundamental measures which they may deem calculated to complete the pacification of the revolted provinces. But this unsuccessful result did not discourage the Mexican deputies from submitting to the cortes and the executive another plan for the government of America. This plan was, that America should be divided into three parts. Mexico and Guatemala were to form one jurisdiction, New Grenada and Venezuela another ; and Peru, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, the third ; each of these jurisdictions were to have a cortes, possessing, with certain limitations, the same powers as that of Spain. In each division the executive power was to be exercised by a delegate, named by the king, removable by him at pleasure, and wholly irresponsible to the American cortes. He was to act in the name of the king, having the power to appoint four ministers or secretaries, one of the interior of finance, one of justice and grace, one of war, and one of marine. In each government there was to be a supreme judicial tribunal and council of state, and the commerce of Spain and America was to be regulated as between one colony and another. Mexico stipulated also to advance Spain a large amount of money, as a gratuity, but further negotiation was broken off by the Colombian commissioners disclaiming any participation in the scheme, and insisting on the acknowledgment of their independence as the only basis of any accommodation with Spain.\*

\* See Letter of Mr. Brent, charge de affairs of the United States at Madrid, to the Secretary of State.

## CHAPTER X.

*Royal authority re-established—influence of the clergy—their views changed by the revolution in Spain—second revolution planned—plan of Iguala proclaimed—viceroy deposed—disaffection of the people—Victoria joins Iturbide, who takes Queretaro—success of the revolution—arrival of O'Donoju—treaty—Mexico the capital surrendered to the revolutionists—cortes assembled—different parties—regency appointed—disputes between Iturbide and the cortes—Iturbide declared emperor—ambition of Iturbide—proposes to establish military tribunals—project defeated by the cortes.*

THE struggle might now be considered as terminated, and the royal authority as re-established throughout Mexico. This unfortunate issue of the revolution was mainly to be attributed to the opposition of the clergy, whose influence had always controlled the conduct of a large majority of the inhabitants. When the revolution first broke out, and the standard of independence was unfurled by Hidalgo, the shouts of liberty spread from river to river, and from mountain to mountain, until they reached the shores of the two oceans; and the whole country was electrified by the patriotic flame. The people were evidently ripe for a general rising; but this noble spirit was checked by the clergy, who viewed in a revolution, originating from, and to be sustained by the people, if not the overthrow of their power, at least great danger of it, and they immediately sounded the tocsin of alarm. The church was in danger, the inquisition, and the Roman apostolic catholic religion. All the engines of a powerful hierarchy were put in requisition, and all the spiritual weapons of the church directed against the revolution. Disloyalty to the Spanish government was not only treason, but heresy, the greatest of all sins. Ancient prejudices were renewed, the scruples of the conscientious appealed to, the fears of some were excited, and the ignorance and superstition of the many taken advantage of, to oppose the progress of the revolution, and aid the cause of royalty. The want of an efficient government, and unity of authority, dissensions among the patriot chiefs, and the want of discipline in their armies, and experience in their commanders, were the causes of many of the disasters which retarded the progress of the revolution, and contributed to its unfortunate termination; yet with



all these difficulties, had not the rising current of popular feeling been checked by the influence of the clergy, and religious prejudices been brought to oppose the cause of liberty and independence, the first revolution would have succeeded ; and its early champions, instead of being rewarded for their exertions and patriotism with a halter, would have been viewed as the redeemers of their country, and have received the highest honours on earth, the homage of a free and grateful people.

But even as it was, we are not to suppose that their exertions were wholly lost, and that their blood flowed in vain. A desperate struggle of ten years, for liberty, in which the best blood of the country had been spilt, and the creoles and Indians suffered incredibly from the cruel tyranny of the Spanish rulers, had exasperated the people against their oppressors, alienated their minds from Spain, shaken ancient prejudices, and diffused much intelligence among the inhabitants, which enabled them to understand their rights, and rendered them more uneasy under the Spanish yoke. During this long contest too, much experience had been acquired by the patriots, and they had discovered the causes of their disasters and miscarriages. Notwithstanding, therefore, the revolution had failed, it had scattered the seeds of independence through the valleys, and over the mountains of Mexico, which could hardly fail, in due time, of springing up and producing fruit which would ripen to maturity. Had not the second revolution been brought about in the manner it was, tranquillity could not long have been preserved, as the spirit of independence would have soon disclosed itself among the people.

It is a curious fact, that the same cause which overthrew the first revolution in Mexico, should have produced the second. This cause was the exertions and influence of the clergy ; they denounced the revolution at first, and afterward encouraged it, without however becoming advocates for liberty, or changing their motives. The constitutional revolution in Spain, which broke out in the isle of Leon, the establishment of the cortes, the various innovations made by them, particularly the confiscating the estates and reforming some of the higher orders of the priesthood, alarmed the clergy in Spanish America, and at once changed their attachment for the mother country into jealousy and hatred. Their affection for Spain proved to be nothing more than an attachment for its ecclesiastical despotism, and the moment this was endangered, and there was a prospect of Spain becoming free, they lost all regard and veneration for the parent country, and, from being its zealous advocates, became its open opposers. The cortes were openly denounced from the pulpit, and their patriotic measures, for the reformation of a corrupt and oppressive system, were declared to be tyrannical, and calculated to

overthrow all civil order, and destroy the holy catholic religion. Considering the government of Spain as now being in the hands of disorganizers and impious men, they declared that a separation was the only means of preserving the catholic religion ; and not only openly advocated a revolt against the Spanish government, but assisted in devising and preparing the plan for giving effect to the revolution. The new order of things in the Spanish peninsula not only changed the views of the clergy in Mexico, but many of the European Spaniards, who had been the most zealous opponents of the revolution, were so indignant at the conduct of the cortes, and so hostile to the constitutional system, as to prefer the separation of Mexico from Spain, to its being governed by the constitution of the parent country, and falling under the dominion of the cortes.

The Spanish revolution, which entirely failed of securing the freedom of the peninsula, was the means of establishing the independence and liberty of Mexico ; and had the singular effect of converting the clergy and many of the European Spaniards, in America, who had been the most violent opponents of the revolution, into its most zealous advocates. A considerable part of the two classes which supported the royal cause, having turned against it, it had no other reliance but the officers of the government and the military. The Spaniards, and the clergy who were at this time in favour of a revolution, had very different views from the creoles ; the first class wished for the independence of Mexico, in hopes to preserve in America that system of despotism, which they perceived overthrown in Spain, and thus secure a refuge for Ferdinand VII. ; the clergy were in favour of a separation, from an apprehension that the reforms and restrictions of the prerogatives of the priesthood, which had been made in Spain by the constitutionalists, would be introduced into America ; whilst the creoles and Indians were anxious to throw off the Spanish yoke, and thereby avoid its oppressions, and to establish a free government. The latter, however, had little agency at first in the second revolution, as it was planned and executed by those who, though friendly to the independence of the country, were opposed to its enjoying the benefits of liberty and free institutions, securing equal rights to all classes of the people.

The principal difficulty with the clergy and Europeans who were in favour of a revolution, was to select a proper military leader, as an instrument of carrying their plan into execution. At length they fixed on Don Augustin Iturbide, who, although a creole, had been zealous in the royal cause, and, as an officer of the king, had fought against the independents with as much animosity as any of the Spanish chiefs. He had been successful in his military career, and had acquired the reputation of a brave and

faithful officer ; and his situation at that time was very important, as he had been appointed by the viceroy to command the army designed to attack and disperse several popular chiefs, who, with about 1500 adherents, had fortified an almost inaccessible mountain, between Mexico and Acapulco, and thus to give the last blow to the revolution. The European Spaniards considered him attached to their party ; the clergy thought he would maintain their power and privileges, and all the enemies of liberty and of the equality of the different classes of the population, regarded him as opposed to the establishment of a free government, and a fit instrument to bring about a revolution, which should separate the colonies from Spain, and at the same time maintain the monarchical system and the power of the hierarchy.\*

The Spaniards and priests engaged in the plot supplied Iturbide with some funds, which he augmented by seizing on a convoy of specie of nearly a million of dollars belonging to the Manila merchants, whilst on his march against the insurgents. Instead of attacking the independents, under Guerrero, he formed a junction with them, and attempted to explain this event to the viceroy, by representing that the patriots had united with him, claiming the protection of the government in pursuance of the proclamation which he had issued. In the mean time, the revolutionists in the capital had despatched agents to all the provinces, and had been extremely active in disseminating revolutionary sentiments ; and the great body of the clergy, together with many of the Spaniards, now employing their influence in favour of a revolution, in a short time the minds of the people were prepared to throw off the Spanish yoke. The united armies proceeded to Iguala, where on the 22d of February, 1821, Iturbide submitted to the officers a plan of independence, which being unanimously approved of, copies of it were immediately despatched to the viceroy and the governors of all the intendancies. This project of independence, called the plan of Iguala, proposed that Mexico should be independent of Spain, and be governed by a limited monarchy, the crown first to be offered to Ferdinand, and then to the other members of his family in regular succession, subject to the condition that the monarch must reside in Mexico, and take an oath to preserve inviolate the constitution which might be established by a congress, to be called for that purpose. It also guaranteed the security of the Roman catholic religion, and the immunities of the secular and regular clergy ; the indissoluble union of the European Spaniards and the creoles, or natives ; it likewise provided for the security of the rights of person and pro-

\* Different views have been given of the origin of this revolution so far as respects the part acted by Iturbide ; had he proved a patriot, his original motives would have been considered as pure.

perty, and abolished all distinctions of classes ; Spaniards, Creoles, Indians, Africans, and the various casts, were to be citizens of the monarchy, and alike eligible to places of honour and emolument. It provided that, for the support of this new system, an army was to be raised, entitled the army of the three guarantees, to preserve the holy apostolic catholic religion, the independence of Mexico, and the union between the Spaniards in Mexico and the Mexicans.

The appearance of the plan of Iguala opened the eyes of Apadoca, and expelled from his mind every doubt as to the defection of Iturbide, and his revolutionary designs. He immediately prepared to counteract the plans of the revolutionists, and to maintain the authority of the government, but was arrested in his exertions by the royalists, who thinking him not possessed of sufficient nerve, or wanting in military talents, for such a crisis, deposed him, and elevated to his station Don Francisco Novella, an officer of artillery. Iturbide's plan of the revolution was dissatisfactory to the European Spaniards, who were alarmed at tying the hands of the monarch, and calling a congress to impose on him a constitution, and also at the principle of equality among the different classes, as proposed. The rights and interests of the clergy being sufficiently attended to, they were satisfied with this plan, and the Europeans were obliged to acquiesce. They were also informed that the calling of a congress to establish a constitution was a necessary feature in the plan to reconcile the creoles to it, without whose assistance they could not expect to succeed.

This plan was submitted by Iturbide to his officers, on the first of March, 1821, they being requested to express their opinions freely on the subject, and assured of the privilege of acting as they saw fit. The plan was unanimously approved of, and such was their enthusiasm that it was proposed to create Iturbide lieutenant-general, and march immediately to the capital to carry it into effect. And although at this period Iturbide dreamed of "sceptres, diadems, and royal state," yet, like Cesar, he pushed away the crown; he not only declined the promotion, but declared, that the greatest moderation ought to be observed, and that it was his intention to carry his plan into effect, if possible, without resorting to hostilities. The next day Iturbide proposed to the army an oath to support the proposed plan, which, having been taken, he addressed them in the following language :—

"Soldiers—You have this day sworn to preserve the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion ; to protect the union of Europeans and Americans ; to effect the independence of this empire ; and, on certain conditions, to obey the king. This act will be applauded by foreign nations ; your services will be gratefully acknowledged by your fellow-citizens ; and your names will be in-

scribed in the temple of immortality. Yesterday I refused the title of lieutenant-general, which you would have conferred upon me, and now I renounce *this* distinction, (tearing from his sleeves the bands of lace, which distinguished a colonel in the Spanish service.) To be ranked as your companion fills all my ambitious desires," &c.

This address shows, that the arts of a military usurper are the same, whether a Cesar, a Bonaparte, or a Spanish colonel—affected moderation, pretended patriotism, and flattering the soldiers with notions of companionship and equality.

The Americans disapproved of the plan of Iguala, as they were opposed to a monarchical form of government, and still more to a prince of the house of Bourbon; but nevertheless favoured the revolution, considering that they should not be bound by this plan, and believing that a convention, elected by the people, would be authorized to depart from it, and to form such a constitution as would be most acceptable to the great body of the people, and best adapted to their condition. Many also foresaw that, when the wheels of the revolution were once set in motion, circumstances would be likely to occur, calculated to give to them a popular direction; as experience has demonstrated that those who give the first impulse to revolutions cannot always control their events, or govern their results.

The disaffection of the inhabitants to the Spanish government being almost universal, had only been repressed by the influence of the clergy, and that powerful class having now not only withdrawn their opposition, but taken an active part in favour of the revolution, it was accomplished without a severe struggle, by the force of public opinion. It was a *revolution* in the *sentiments* of the people, so important and so universal, as to produce, almost without violence, a change in the political condition of the country. The spirit of freedom spread with astonishing rapidity; in the intendancies of Vera Cruz and Puebla, the standard of revolt was raised by Bravo, Santana, and Herrera, who took possession of the cities of Orizaba, Cordova, and Xalapa; and in San Luis Potosi, colonel Bustamete declaring in favour of independence, took possession of several cities, and among the number Guanajuato, where he was joined by the garrison. In some provinces, however, the royalists made a show of defence of the old, and opposition to the new order of things. Iturbide proceeded from Iguala to the *Baxio*, lying between Guanajuato and the capital, where he was joined by several provincial governors, and a number of military officers. At San Juan del Rio, he was joined by Guadalupe Victoria, who after keeping the field until further resistance became useless, had dismissed his forces, and sought refuge in the mountains of Vera Cruz, where he had been concealed

since 1819. This celebrated chief, who had been engaged in the revolution from its commencement, and become equally distinguished for his activity and bravery as a warrior, and for his patriotic devotion to the cause of liberty and the independence of his country, possessed in an eminent degree the confidence of those engaged in the first revolution, and of all the friends of freedom. His joining Iturbide had great influence with the liberal party ; it removed their doubts, dispelled their apprehensions, and inspired them with confidence to afford their zealous support to the revolutionary cause. Iturbide, sensible of the importance of possessing Queretaro, which from its position is in some measure the key of the interior provinces, marched against it, and entered the town without opposition. There he divided his army of the three guarantees, as it was called ; Victoria at the head of one division marched directly toward the capital, whilst Iturbide with the other moved upon Puebla, where he was received without opposition, and the place immediately surrendered to him.

In this stage of the revolution, the new viceroy, general O'Donoju, arrived at Vera Cruz from Spain, intrusted with the government of the country. Finding that all was lost ; that the country had not only declared its independence, but was already in the enjoyment of it, as the capital, Vera Cruz, and Acapulco, were the only places in the possession of the Spanish government, or subject to its authority, and these without garrisons sufficient to stand a siege, he proposed to Iturbide to open a negotiation, on the basis of the plan of Iguala. This proposal having been accepted, the parties met at Cordova and negotiated a treaty, the principal provisions of which were, that Spain should acknowledge the independence of Mexico, and that the latter should send commissioners to the Spanish peninsula, to offer the crown to Ferdinand VII., and that in the mean time a provisional government should be established, consisting of a regency and a junta ; and that a cortes was to be elected and assembled, to form a constitution for the new monarchy.\*

At this time the capital had not surrendered, but was besieged by Victoria, and general O'Donoju stipulated to use his authority with the commander of the Spanish troops, to induce him to evacuate it. A request was made and refused ; but the commander at the same time suggested that he considered general O'Donoju as his superior officer by virtue of his appointment, and that he should obey his orders as commander-in-chief of the royal forces in New Spain. Orders were accordingly given for the garrison to capitulate, which they did, and marched out of the capital with the honours of war, and repaired to the town of Toluca, to wait for transports to convey them to Spain.

\* See the treaty concluded the 20th of August. 1821.

All opposition being at an end, and the independents in possession of the capital, a provisional junta, consisting of thirty-six members, was created, which appointed a regency or executive, of five persons, of which Iturbide was president. He was also appointed commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and a salary of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars assigned to him.

These preliminary matters being disposed of, the public attention was directed to the assembling of the cortes, and the formation of a constitution. A plan was submitted to the junta by Iturbide, the basis of which was, that the legislative power should be confided to two chambers, one to be composed of twelve or fifteen dignitaries of the church, the same number of officers of the army, one member from each territorial supreme court of justice, and one to be chosen from each of the city councils of the several cities in the empire; and the second chamber to be composed of representatives of the people, the election to be made according to the ratio of one deputy for every fifty thousand population; the classes represented in the first chamber to be excluded. Notwithstanding the influence of Iturbide at this time, and that he submitted his plan as emanating from the regency, it was rejected. In the project adopted, the same ratio of representation was preserved in the chamber of representatives, and it was provided that the provinces which sent more than four members, should elect one ecclesiastic; one belonging to the military class, and one to the legal profession. The proposed constitution was not popular; it was too aristocratic to be acceptable to the mass of the people, who were much dissatisfied with it. Among the malecontents, were Victoria and Bravo, who headed a conspiracy, the object of which was, to compel the junta to adopt the principles of election of the constitution of the cortes in Spain. The plot being discovered to Iturbide, he arrested the two republican generals, and several of their abettors, and imprisoned them.

The elections having taken place, the cortes assembled in the capital on the 24th of February, 1822; but previous to their organization, the members were compelled to take an oath, to preserve inviolate every article of the plan of Iguala; and after their installation, the chambers, by an unanimous vote, sanctioned that plan. But neither the oaths or votes of the members seem to have had any influence on their conduct, for the cortes were immediately divided into three parties—the friends of the plan of Iguala, the opponents of that plan, and the personal adherents of Iturbide. The first party comprised the monarchists, the friends of Ferdinand, and some liberal men who were in favour of the revolution, but who thought a moderate course the safest, and that an adherence to the plan of Iguala, would not only reconcile the Eu-

ropean Spaniards to the revolution, but check the ambitious designs of Iturbide. The republican party denied the right of Iturbide and the army to pledge the nation, and were opposed to the plan of Iguala, both on the ground of principle and policy. Thinking the nation capable of self government, they were in favour of a republic, and were alarmed at placing a prince of the house of Bourbon at the head of the government, who, having the command of the army, the influence of the clergy, the support of the royalists in the country, and of those who would be likely to emigrate from Spain, would break down every constitutional barrier to absolute power. The partisans of Iturbide wished to accumulate power in his hands, and to push him forward to the supreme authority, that through him they might acquire wealth, and aggrandize themselves. They possessed the balance of power, and acted with one party or the other, as best suited their object in advancing their leader; to prevent the republican party from establishing a democratic constitution, they voted with the Bourbonists, or friends of the plan of Iguala, and when the latter attempted to carry into effect that part of the plan, which provided for calling a prince of the house of Bourbon to the throne, they opposed it, by voting with the republicans. The greater part of the two first parties were honest in their intentions, and only differed in their views; they soon found it necessary to unite to oppose the ambitious designs of Iturbide. So dangerous is the possession of power, that this chief, who, but a short time before sustained no higher rank than a colonel in the royal army, was now bent on attaining the supreme authority. He assembled four thousand troops at Tacuba, a town about five miles from the capital, and endeavoured to overawe the cortes, and dictate to them. A joint meeting of the regency and the cortes was held, and Iturbide assumed the president's chair, to the surprise and astonishment of every one; but the cortes, asserting that it belonged to the president of their body to preside, Iturbide was obliged to yield that point. Aided by his partisans, Iturbide constantly exerted himself to extend his power, and encroach on the authority of the congress; and this struggle between the military chief and the legislative body, was terminated only by the overthrow of the latter. This contest, like that in England, between Charles I. and his parliament, and most others, between the executive and the legislature, consisted principally of a demand of money on the one part, and a refusal on the other, attended with various irritating circumstances. When the person possessing the executive power attempts to play the tyrant, the greatest obstacle usually experienced is the want of pecuniary resources, and hence the withholding of money is the most effectual check to the extension of executive power.



Iturbide, like Bonaparte and other military usurpers, relied solely on the army, as he was sensible that he could not carry any considerable part of the people with him of any party. The Spanish royalists would not favour his design of usurping the throne of Mexico, which belonged to the house of Bourbon; and the patriots did not wish to exchange one master for another, which would destroy all the advantages of the revolution. They wished the country to be *independent*, that it might be *free*. Iturbide had increased the army and raised its pay, and to maintain it he made constant demands on the congress for money. Had the cortes been disposed to furnish the supplies demanded, it would not have been in their power, as the protracted war, attended with immense expense and devastation, had exhausted the country. His demands were answered by complaints of the want of economy in the public expenditure, and by calling on the regency to account for the appropriations which had already been made. Iturbide, as commander-in-chief, enjoyed a salary of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars, and his father a pension of ten thousand; the salary of the ministers was eight thousand each, and the members of the cortes received three thousand.

This struggle between Iturbide and the congress occasioned the army to go unpaid; and the commander-in-chief, in order to exasperate them against the cortes, published his remonstrance to congress, exhibiting the wants and sufferings of the army, which he charged to the wilful neglect of that body to provide the necessary supplies.

The dissensions and disorders which prevailed occasioned the royal troops at Toluca, who had capitulated at Mexico, to attempt a counter-revolution. Having obtained information of this, Iturbide adopted measures to defeat it, and at the same time made use of it as a pretext for withdrawing from the capital all the troops which were well disposed toward the congress. This step was followed by a proclamation declaring that the country was in danger, and summoning the congress to assemble the next day, the 3d of April, 1822, at an early hour, with the regency. At the joint meeting held in pursuance of the summons, Yanez, a member of the regency, arose and demanded the cause of the alarm. This declaration occasioned general surprise, as it plainly showed that Iturbide had himself issued the proclamation in the name of the regency, and evidently to promote his own ambitious views. Yanez concluded by protesting against the president's engrossing the entire authority of the regency, and making use of his colleagues only as a screen to cover his own ambitious designs. "He has usurped," continued Yanez, "the sole executive power, and rendered himself absolute and despotic." Iturbide made an

indignant reply, and charged Yanez with being not only a personal enemy to him, but a traitor to his country; he also declared that this was equally true of many members of the cortes. A tumultuous and disorderly scene ensued; Iturbide was repeatedly called on to name the members to whom he alluded, and to exhibit his charges and proofs against them. He named several members most distinguished for talents and integrity, and the charges exhibited against them consisted only of their patriotic efforts to check his usurpations and ambitious designs. The cortes inquired into the charges, and unanimously acquitted the members accused, of any improper conduct, which exasperated Iturbide. These occurrences excited complaints against the regency, and petitions were presented to the cortes for the removal of the members of that body. A new appointment was made, and two of the old members only retained—Iturbide, from fear of his influence with the army, and Yanez, on account of his bold and patriotic conduct at the sitting on the 3d of April.

Alarmed at the ambitious plans of Iturbide, and the ascendancy he had gained over the military, the cortes were desirous of reducing the army to 20,000 men, and of organizing a national militia. These wise and prudent measures excited both the fears and indignation of the military chief, and he used all his influence to oppose them, and even to procure an augmentation of the army. The contest became warm, but the congress could not be intimidated or frightened out of their purpose, and they passed a decree providing for reducing the army to 20,000 men, and for organizing and calling into service a force of 30,000 militia. Iturbide and his partisans perceived that public opinion was against them, and that the reduction of the army, and the organization of a force of militia, would deprive them of all chance of success. It was therefore determined to carry their plans into immediate execution, by stimulating the soldiery to declare Iturbide emperor. Accordingly, on the night of the 18th of May, the sergeants of three regiments of the garrison in the capital assembled the soldiers, and addressed them in a manner calculated to exasperate them against the cortes, and, to give a fresh stimulus to their zeal for the interests of their leader, money was profusely distributed among them. They were then marched to Iturbide's house, and, parading in front of it, were joined by a mob of Leperos, the lowest and most worthless portion of the community, and at 10 o'clock commenced shouting, "Long live Iturbide, Augustin I. emperor of Mexico." These shouts, with intervals of firing, continued until morning. To prevent the attendance of some of the most able and influential members of the cortes at the session that morning, the conspirators caused private intimation to be conveyed to them, that their lives would not be safe should they

appear in public that day, as the troops were so exasperated against them, and in such a state of turbulence and insubordination, that it might not be in the power of the officers to restrain them from acts of violence and outrage. This disguised threat had the intended effect, and forty members of the cortes were absent when that body met, comprising the most bold and determined opponents of the usurper. Shouts, insults, and threats, assailed the cortes whilst proceeding to the hall of congress, from a mercenary and disorderly soldiery, and a mob, who filled the galleries of the hall, so as to exclude all other persons. The occurrences of the night occasioned deep anxiety and concern among the members, and much excitement was apparent. At length, order being established, one of the deputies belonging to the faction of Iturbide arose, and after adverting to the occurrences of the preceding night, and the existing disorders, observed that the voice of the people had been declared in favour of Iturbide, and that it was the duty of their representatives to obey the will of their constituents. He concluded with proposing to proceed immediately to the election of an emperor. This proposition having been expected, did not surprise the members, though it occasioned a solemn pause, which continued for several moments. At length a member arose; aware that it would be of no use directly to oppose the proposition, and, with a view to gain time, suggested a doubt as to the authority of the congress to act on the subject, as they had not been elected for that purpose, but to frame a constitution; and expressed an opinion that if the house were to proceed to an election at all, it ought not to take so important a step without first consulting the provinces. These moderate remarks occasioned instant tumult in the galleries. The soldiers and populace became outrageous, and not only vociferated, "Long live Augustin I. emperor of Mexico," but brandishing their swords and knives, threatened to put to death all the deputies who were opposed to the election of Iturbide, unless he was chosen and proclaimed emperor before one o'clock. Further opposition to a licentious soldiery and an infuriated populace, was deemed not only dangerous but unavailing, and the members of the cortes opposed to this usurpation were compelled to yield to circumstances which they could not control, and give consent to the choice of the army. The success of the conspiracy so elated the soldiers that a few days after the election they issued a manifesto, in which they triumphantly claimed the principal merit of the elevation of the emperor, and asserted that the plan was contrived and executed by themselves alone. This daring usurpation of a military chieftain, distinguished neither for his services nor his talents, was submitted to without open resistance or complaint,

and the officers of the government at the capital and in the provinces took the oath of allegiance.

There is scarcely another instance in history of a man no way distinguished as a military leader, and having no hold on the affections of the people for any distinguished or patriotic services, raising himself to the supreme power, over an extensive country. But notwithstanding the crooked counsels and open violence by which Iturbide obtained the sovereign power, had he possessed talents, and governed with moderation, such was the condition of the country, that he might have maintained his elevation for a considerable time, and possibly have established a new empire and a new dynasty. Fortunately, however, for the Mexicans, and indeed for America, the intoxication of success arising from the sudden possession of power, turned the head of Iturbide, and prepared him for his own destruction. His obvious policy would have been not only to have conciliated the people as well as the soldiers, but to have acted in concert with the cortes, and to have encouraged that body to form a constitution which might have recognised his elevation, and formed the basis of his power. His security required that he should have been content with the enjoyment of the executive power, and to have governed in conjunction with the cortes, leaving with them the responsibility of making the laws. But instead of this course he immediately attempted to render himself absolute, and kept up a constant struggle with the congress for power. He insisted on the appointment of his privy council, the judges of the supreme court, and an unqualified *veto* on all laws made by the cortes, and even on the articles of the constitution which that body was about to frame. The cortes proposed to leave the question of the *veto* to be determined by the constitution, and yielded to him the appointment of his council, but insisted on retaining the privilege of nominating the secretary of the council. The cortes were strenuously opposed to investing him with the right of appointing the supreme judges, that being a very dangerous power, and much exposed to be abused. During the interval that might elapse previous to the adoption of a constitution, the cortes proposed that the emperor, with the advice and consent of his council, should have the right of returning laws and proposing alterations. The emperor at first assented to these propositions; but soon changed his mind, and renewed his first pretensions; insisting that the constitution of the Spanish cortes, which had been adopted as the basis of a temporary government, conferred on him those powers. The congress had at first adopted the Spanish constitution as the basis of a government in Mexico, until a constitution could be provided; excepting such parts as were inconsistent with the inde-

pendence of Mexico, the plan of Iguala, and the decrees which the cortes might pass, as it was intended only as the outline of the government, and not to restrict the legislation of the cortes. It could not therefore invest the emperor with any power inconsistent with the decrees of the cortes. The struggle was continued between the executive and legislative branches of the government, but at length the cortes yielded to the emperor the appointment of the secretary of his council, yet continued firm and unshaken in their purpose to withhold from him the control of the judiciary, as they had reason to fear, if he possessed this power, he would elevate to the bench men who would become the mere instruments of his arbitrary purposes, to the subversion of all justice, and the danger of the liberty and lives of all who might oppose the imperial will. The emperor attempted to overawe and control the deliberations of the cortes, for which purpose his partisans and the soldiers filled the galleries, and were guilty of the most disorderly and threatening conduct, disgraceful to the government, and derogatory to the national legislation. The cortes, however, could not be intimidated, but remained firm in their purpose of resisting the arbitrary measures of the emperor, and maintaining the liberties of the people. The project of a law for the establishment of military tribunals, was prepared by the emperor and his council, and submitted to the cortes by the minister of justice. As the adoption of so extraordinary a measure could only be justified from the existence of extraordinary and alarming circumstances, the preamble to the law declared :

“ That the interruption in the administration of justice—the robberies, murders, assassinations—the banditti that infest the highways—the disorders that disturb the public tranquillity—the absence of all punishment, an impunity authorized as it were by law, clearly show that the administration of justice is paralyzed, that there are no judges, no tribunals of justice, and that the commission of crimes has gone so far that the ordinary tribunals are not sufficient to suppress them. To remedy these evils it is thought expedient to adopt a new system for the administration of justice ; and the following articles are proposed to be passed into a law :

“ 1st. That there shall be in this city, and in all the capital cities of the provinces, a special tribunal, composed of two officers of the army, and of one lawyer, to be appointed by the emperor.

“ 2d. This tribunal shall have exclusive jurisdiction, or jointly with the other judges, in all cases of conspiracy against the state, and jointly with the other judges in all cases of robbery, assassinations, and murders.

“ 3d. All appeals to be made to the captain-general of the pro-

vinces, who shall pronounce sentence after hearing the opinion of a solicitor, appointed for that purpose.

"4th. This sentence to be carried into execution whenever it agrees with that of the first tribunal; and in case of disagreement, the cause to be referred to a council of war.

"5th. The articles 287, 293, 295, 299, and 300, of the Spanish constitution to be suspended. (These provide for the habeas corpus.)

"6th. That there shall be in this capital a chief, with whatever name or title the emperor may choose to confer on him, especially charged to watch over the public security, and to exercise the most vigilant police."

The committee of congress appointed to examine and report on this project of a law, declared—

"1st. That it is contrary to the enlightened principles of those authors, who have written on the subject of government with most philosophy.

"2d. Contrary to public opinion, which all governments are bound to respect.

"3d. Contrary to the Spanish constitution, which has been adopted until a new one be formed for the empire.

"4th. Contrary to reason, which ought to guide the legislation of a people.

"5th. Contrary to the interests of the Mexican nation in its present situation."

This report was adopted unanimously, and the attempt to establish military tribunals, as a preliminary step toward military despotism, was indignantly put down.

CHAPTER XI.

*Tyrannical conduct of the emperor—his power over the congress—dissolves the congress—a junta assembled—disaffection of the people—Santana and Victoria join the republicans—spirit of revolt spreads rapidly—Iturbide resigns the crown—he embarks for Leghorn—new congress assembled—commissioners from Spain—state of the country—adoption of the constitution—disaffection in the army—Iturbide meditates a return—congress declares him a traitor and outlaw—public credit—slavery—Iturbide returns in disguise—is arrested and executed.*

THE emperor perceiving that the cortes were firm and resolute in opposing his plans, found it necessary to resort to coercion and violence ; and on the night of the 26th of August, 1822, he caused fourteen of the most distinguished and intrepid members to be arrested and thrown into prison, on a charge of conspiracy against the government. Indignant at this tyrannical measure, the cortes assembled in secret session the next day, and demanded of the minister the cause of the arrests which had been made ; and was informed that some of the members were actually implicated in a conspiracy, and others suspected, and that they had been arrested by authority of an article in the Spanish constitution, conferring that power on the executive. The following day the cortes sent a message to the minister, suggesting that the 172d article of the Spanish constitution provides, that all persons arrested shall be brought to trial, if they desire it, within forty-eight hours, and demanding that, in compliance with this provision, the prisoners be immediately brought before a competent tribunal for trial. To this message it was answered, that the charge was of so complicated a nature, that it was impossible to comply with the request of the cortes ; and that the article of the constitution referred to spoke only of one person, and could not be applicable to several who were charged with the same crime, as it might be easy to try one person within forty-eight hours, but would be impossible to examine the charges against a number in that limited time. The congress next determined to present an address to the emperor himself, praying that the constitution may not be violated, and requesting that the deputies accused might be delivered up to them, in which case they could

constitute a tribunal for their immediate trial. At nine o'clock at night his majesty's answer was received, which repeated the interpretation given by the minister to the 172d article of the constitution, and declared that he could not consent to have the accused members tried before the tribunal which the cortes might create, until it could first be ascertained whether the members of the tribunal were not themselves implicated in the conspiracy. This communication excited much feeling, and occasioned an animated discussion, attended with severe animadversions on the conduct of the emperor and his ministers.

After continuing to assemble in secret sessions until the 12th of September, without being able either to procure the release or trial of the accused members, the cortes resolved to say no more on that subject at present, and attend to the business before them. The great questions of the veto, and the appointment of the supreme judges, still continued unsettled, and subjects of dispute between the emperor and the cortes. At length, becoming satisfied that he could not carry these points, and that it would be impossible to render himself absolute whilst the cortes remained, the emperor resolved to free himself from what he regarded as the only obstacle to his power. He assembled in his palace a junta, or what in this country would be called a caucus, composed of the general officers of the army, his ministers, and council of state, and such of the deputies of the cortes as were favourable to his views. He addressed the junta, and declared, that the majority of the cortes were hostile to the present system, and wished to establish a democracy, under the name of a monarchy; that the country was in imminent danger, and would be ruined unless the number of the deputies was reduced; that the congress had failed to give a constitution to the empire, but had adopted that of Spain, which was not suited to its condition, and had made no provision for the administration of justice, or for the exigencies of the treasury. These charges against the cortes were correct in point of fact, but the emperor himself had been the cause why the congress had not effected any of these objects, by his arbitrary conduct, and his persecutions and encroachments on the authority and privileges of the legislative body. It was finally determined at this meeting to require of congress the reduction of their number, and that they grant to the emperor the appointment of the judges, and an unqualified veto on all laws. These proposals were submitted to the cortes by the ministers and four counsellors of state, who were allowed to discuss them. The cortes wishing to put at rest these disputed questions, and many believing that they were the sole causes of the persecutions the congress had suffered; and being sensible of the alarming circumstances of the country, as the government did not even



pay the printers, which prevented their decrees from being published, they finally resolved to grant to the emperor the appointment of the judges, and a veto on all laws except the articles of the constitution. It was hoped that this would satisfy his majesty, and restore harmony between the two branches of the government, and enable the congress to attend to the important regulations which the state of the country and the exigencies of the treasury so imperiously demanded. How insatiable is the lust of power! When the ocean is satisfied with its tributary waters, then will the ambition of man be satisfied with the possession of power. The concessions made to the emperor, instead of contenting him, seemed to increase his avidity for power, and he immediately demanded that his veto should be extended to the articles of the constitution, and that the number of the cortes should be diminished. The cortes perceived the fallaciousness of their hopes, as to satisfying the emperor, and that the more they yielded to him, the more he would demand. They determined to make no further concessions, and, by a decided majority, rejected the imperial demands, although not insensible that matters had reached a crisis. The next day the emperor sent a general officer to the hall, with orders to dissolve the congress, and to expel the members by force, if they did not retire in ten minutes. The deputies were in some measure prepared for this violent proceeding, and the president having directed this order to be entered on the journals of the chamber, the officer signed the same, and the members retired from the hall. Iturbide issued a proclamation the next day, declaring the dissolution of the congress, alleging as a reason, that it had totally neglected its duty, in failing to present to the nation a constitution, to provide for the administration of justice, and to supply the exigencies of the treasury, in consequence whereof the army remained unpaid, and alarming disorders prevailed. The proclamation concluded with several decrees:

"1st. The congress is dissolved from the moment this decree is promulgated.

"2d. The national representation shall be continued until a new congress can be assembled, in a junta, composed of two members from each of the larger provinces, and one from the smaller—all of whom I will nominate.

"3d. The business to which this junta shall attend, is to be determined by separate regulations.

"The members of congress, not of this junta, must, in order to leave the capital, signify their intentions to the political chief. Those who remain, and are not inhabitants of this city, may apply to the treasury for their daily pay.

"The junta shall meet and commence their duties on the second day of November."

The emperor selected forty-five members of the congress, and eight substitutes for the junta, who assembled in the congressional hall on the day named, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and a little after dark the emperor appeared, and taking his seat on the imperial throne, addressed them, in the following language :

"Gentlemen :—When the nation, borne down by the chains which it had dragged for the space of three centuries, could not explain its wish to recover its natural independence, I, with a small number of troops, resolved to declare it, in the face of frightful perils ; and from that time my voice, in consequence of that act, became necessarily and essentially the organ of the general will of the inhabitants of this empire. It became my duty to consider well, and to seize the true points of what is politically called the general will, and this important consideration constituted one of the many essential prerequisites for the success of the undertaking. In this manner I settled the basis on which the majesty of the government of a nation so great, and of such extensive territory, ought to rest. I declared the right that it had acquired to adopt the constitution best suited to it. I adverted particularly to the necessity of convoking a national representation, not by the *demagogical* and anarchical method prescribed by the Spanish constitution, but by just rules, and such as are suited to our circumstances. This most delicate work I might have accomplished myself : but my fervent desire to act right, made it appear to me more secure to intrust it to an assembly of men the most distinguished for their talents, probity, fortune, and employments. After telling them that the conduct of the former government had led the nation to the brink of a precipice, he said, "That in order not to fall into it, it had become necessary to step backwards, not by the devious path that we had lately followed, but by that of the plan of *Iguala* ; by which we reached the difficult and glorious goal of our independence. Let us return boldly, gentlemen, and follow this sure road, watered with sweat and laurels : let us march on it with a firm and tranquil step, and the happiness of the nation will be secured. Let us bear this nation along to the glorious epoch of its establishment, in a peaceful, solid, and stable manner. Let us organize its representation in such a manner, that it shall yield no other than the pure, limpid, clear, and general sound of the public wishes, and let us profit by the experience of the past for the future. The rock on which we have struck is, that the sovereign power, by a most impolitic error, has been transferred from the mass of the people, to whom it exclusively belongs, to a congress. An authority so powerful as not to be subjected to any

law, nor to admit any rule but such as it chooses to prescribe for itself, must act in an arbitrary manner ; and such a state of things is characteristic of, and peculiar to, a despotism, as it is incongruous and repugnant to a limited government. Man is disposed to abuse power : for it is extremely difficult that he, who can do all that he wishes, will not desire to do more than he ought ; and if, with respect to one man, or a few persons, it is imprudent to trust to a presumption of virtuous and voluntary moderation, there is nothing in a numerous body that ought to inspire greater confidence.\* It is true, that our congress followed the example of the Spanish cortes ; but whoever copies from a deformed model, will he not increase its imperfections ? And what shall we come to, if we follow in every thing that pernicious example ?" &c. &c.

The regulations governing the proceedings and specifying the powers of the junta, were then read by the minister of state. The junta was empowered to frame a constitution ; but the ministers were to be admitted to discuss the project of one, and even the ordinary laws. The junta was in fact only the organ of the imperial will, and intended and calculated rather to strengthen the absolute authority of the emperor, than to form a barrier to it. The financial minister submitted an expose of the condition of the public revenue to the junta, from which it appeared that the annual receipts amounted to only eight millions of dollars, whilst the expenditures exceeded thirteen millions. The junta decreed a forced loan of two and a half millions of dollars, and, to supply the pressing exigencies of the treasury, they ordered the seizure of the money detained at Perote, which had been sent by Spanish merchants to be embarked at Vera Cruz : the emperor having first hinted to the junta the situation of this money.†

Iturbide is not the only man whose ambition was greater than his talents ; or who succeeded in usurping power which he had not the ability to maintain. It is fortunate that it was so ; as it would have been a reproach to Mexico, and to America, that this crude usurpation, this contemptible tyrant, should have succeeded. It would have presented one of the most melancholy events in history ; a revolution for liberty, resulting in despotism. It would have blasted all the fruits of the revolution, retarded the advancement of political and social improvement in Mexico, and checked its national prosperity and importance, besides affording a dangerous example, and a dangerous neighbour to the American republics. The only legitimate object of a revolution is the establish-

\* This strange reasoning proves, if any thing, that the powers of government cannot be safely vested any where, and that there can be no other government but a despotism.

† Poinsett's notes on Mexico.

ment of liberty, and a government founded on the will of the people. If this object is lost, all is lost.

Iturbide had no sooner reached the goal of his ambition, than he began to perceive the instability of his power, and that the imperial diadem did not set so lightly or securely on his head, as he seems to have imagined that it would. In a few months the disaffection of the people broke out into open revolt. The republican standard was first raised at Soto la Marina, in the state of Tamaulipas, and as the disaffection was general in the northern provinces, the people flocked to it, and the republicans would have been formidable, had not Garza, their leader, been totally destitute of courage or capacity, and fled on the first appearance of the imperial troops. This revolt occurred in October, 1822, and was soon followed by an event at Vera Cruz, which led to important results. The royal garrison of the castle of San Juan de Uloa made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the works that had been erected in the suburbs of the city of Vera Cruz, which occasioned the junta to interdict all intercourse with the castle, and all commerce with Spain; and likewise to prohibit the exportation from Mexico, of all goods or money belonging to European Spaniards. A correspondence was opened with the royal governor of the castle, without any satisfactory result. The emperor finally concluded that a personal interview would lead to an accommodation, and on the 10th of November he left his capital, and proceeded to Xalapa, passing through Puebla, where, from the influence of the bishop, who had a principal agency in the elevation of Iturbide, he was received with demonstrations of respect. At Xalapa, he learnt that the royal governor would, on no consideration, leave the castle, in consequence of which, commissioners were appointed by both parties, to meet at Vera Cruz. After considerable discussion, they could not agree on terms of accommodation, and separated without doing any thing. Santana was governor of the city of Vera Cruz, an active officer, who had stormed and taken the place from the royalists. A dispute arose between him and Echavarri, who commanded the southern division of the army, and the latter officer preferred a complaint to the emperor, who immediately summoned Santana to appear before him. Knowing how much the emperor was indebted to him for his elevation, and confident of his protection, he did not hesitate to obey the order; but instead of being treated in the kind and friendly manner he expected, the emperor censured his conduct with severity, and dismissed him from his command as governor of Vera Cruz. His astonishment at this unexpected treatment was only equalled by his indignation, and suddenly leaving Xalapa, he returned to Vera Cruz with the greatest expedition, riding day and night, and arrived before the news of his dismissal.

from his command. As not a moment was to be lost, he instantly ordered out his own regiment, and laid before them his determination no longer to support the despotic and odious government of Iturbide, who, by forcibly dissolving the congress, and his arbitrary and tyrannical conduct, had justly forfeited the confidence of the people and the army; and concluded by exhorting them to use their arms in defence of the liberties of their country, and to add to the glory they had acquired in overthrowing the despotism of Spain, by prostrating the tyrant Iturbide. These sentiments were received with acclamation, as they were in accordance with the opinions of all the officers of the garrison, who had suppressed them from a persuasion that their commander was strongly attached, personally, to the emperor. The republican standard was immediately unfurled, and Santana addressed a letter to the emperor, reminding him how much he was indebted to him for his elevation, and of the regard he had always entertained for him; but declaring that his arbitrary and tyrannical conduct had rendered him unworthy of the station he held, and justly forfeited the confidence of the nation, which he had reduced to the greatest disorder and misery; and that he felt it his duty to lay aside all personal considerations, when the liberties of his country were at stake. He reproached Iturbide with having violated his oath, in dissolving the cortes by force, and establishing despotism in his own person; declared his intention of re-establishing the republic, and concluded by advising the emperor to resign the crown, and throw himself on the generosity of congress.

No advice is less likely to be relished than that which recommends to sovereigns the relinquishment of their power, or any particle of it; and the emperor, instead of complying with the advice of Santana, immediately ordered Echavarri with his division to march against him. Santana proceeded to Puente del Rey, and fortified the place. The imperialists pursued the republicans, and several actions were fought between them, but none of a decisive nature. The people did not rally round the republican standard, not having confidence in Santana, as he had formerly been instrumental in promoting the ambitious projects of Iturbide. Fortunately for Mexico, several of the most distinguished of the republican generals had escaped all the perils to which they had been exposed, and at this conjuncture came forward to aid the cause of liberty. The most distinguished, and the first who joined the republican standard, was Guadalupe Victoria, who had been secreted in the mountains from the period when, by opposing the ambition of Iturbide, he had rendered himself obnoxious to the tyrant. He was at first appointed second in command, but Santana perceived that, to inspire the people with perfect confi-

dence, it was necessary to raise him to the chief command. The confidence and respect which the public felt in a man who, from the commencement of the revolution, under all vicissitudes of fortune, and the various changes which it had assumed, had been distinguished, not more for his bravery than his patriotic devotion to the cause of liberty, and his uniform republicanism, was immediately perceptible on his elevation to the chief command of the republican forces. The people flocked to his standard from all quarters, and the spirit of revolt spread with rapidity through the different provinces. Echavarri, although a personal enemy to Santana, joined the republican cause, and an arrangement was entered into between him and Victoria. The united armies sent commissioners to Iturbide, to offer him terms of accommodation; the basis of which was the immediate assembling of a congress to form a republican constitution. Iturbide was not disposed to treat, but sent commissioners to Echavarri and his officers, to attempt to dissuade them from their purpose, but without success. The emperor marched with the small force he had, to Ixtapalapa, a small town twelve miles from the capital, where he took an advantageous position. The power of Iturbide crumbled to dust in less time than it had been acquired. The example of the army under Echavarri, was followed in the provinces, and the defection soon became general. What are now the states of Oaxaca, Xalisco, Guanajuato, and San Luis Potosi, declared against the imperial government, and imprisoned the emperor's commanders: and Queretaro, Valladolid, and the capitals of the other provinces, also seized and imprisoned the imperial officers. The distinguished republican generals, Guerrero and Bravo, who had remained in the capital, under the jealous and vigilant eye of the government, escaped, and, returning to the west, rallied the people, and appeared in arms against the usurper.

Under these portentous circumstances Iturbide made proposals of accommodation, and was answered by a demand for the immediate assembling of a national cortes, and money sufficient to pay the troops. If the emperor had been disposed he could not have complied with the last requisition, except in paper money, of which he had issued four millions on the 1st of January, 1823, and, by a decree, made it a tender for one third part of the amount of any debt, and it was received for duties and taxes in the same proportion, by the government. This currency immediately, and rapidly depreciated, as was to have been expected, and contributed greatly to increase the discontents of the people. The province of Puebla declared for the republicans, and a strong force was organized in its capital by the Marquis de Vivanco, who assumed the government of the city. The republican army advanced to Puebla, and here were joined by Negrete and several

other distinguished officers, who deserted the sinking fortunes of the emperor. The republicans pushed forward their advanced guard to San Martín, within fifty miles of Mexico.

The emperor perceiving that his short-lived reign was drawing to a close, hastened to Mexico, and on the 8th of March, 1823, attempted to assemble those members of the old congress who were in the capital, to tender to them his resignation; but few only could be induced to attend, and there not being a quorum they declined to act. The imperial diadem which once graced the brow of Iturbide, had now become a crown of thorns that pierced his soul. A monarch is deprived of the solace and support of friendship, as those who claim to be his friends, are not friends to his person but his power, and leave him when that departs. As the overthrow of Iturbide's power became more apparent, his partisans deserted him one after another, until he found himself entirely abandoned. Thus the man who had succeeded in acquiring supreme and despotic power,—whose will was law, and implicitly obeyed, in little more than one year was not only fallen so low as that “there was none so poor as to do him reverence,” but was even trembling for his life. On the 19th of March, 1823, he communicated to the congress his resignation, and remarked “that he accepted the crown with the greatest reluctance, and only to serve his country; but from the moment he perceived that his retaining possession of it might serve, if not as a cause, at least as a pretext for civil war, he determined to give it up; that he did not abdicate before, because there was no national representation, generally recognised as such, to receive it; that as his presence in the country might serve as a pretext for dissensions, he will retire to some foreign land, and asks only a fortnight to prepare for his departure; and finally solicits congress to pay his debts.”

Immediately on forwarding this letter, he retired to Tulancingo. His letter was referred to a committee, who reported against accepting the renunciation of the crown by Iturbide, as that might be construed to imply a right or lawfulness to the power renounced; but they recommended, not only to grant his request of departing from the country, but to allow him a pension for the maintenance of his family and suite, of twenty-five thousand dollars a year. This was certainly a singular document. There seems a strange inconsistency in being so scrupulous about accepting the abdication of Iturbide, from an apprehension that it might imply a concession of his right to the crown, and at the same time to permit him to retire on a princely pension. If, as was undoubtedly the case, he had no better right to sovereign power than that of usurpation, he had justly forfeited his life, as guilty of the greatest of all treasons, that of overturning by military force a free government, and establishing a despotism. For what greater felony can

be committed, than to rob an entire people of their liberties? It is to be presumed, however, that the liberal conduct toward Iturbide proceeded from considerations of policy, he having many partisans in the country, and perhaps in part from a regard to his services in breaking down the royal government; but whatever may be thought of the propriety of granting him the pension, the policy was undoubtedly correct. His subsequent conduct, however, shows how misapplied was the munificence of the government.

The report of the committee was accepted, and the ex-emperor was escorted by general Bravo to Antigua, near Vera Cruz, where, on the 11th of May, 1823, he embarked on board of an English vessel for Leghorn, with his family and suite, consisting of twenty-five persons.

The republican troops entered the capital on the 27th of May, and the old congress was soon after assembled. It immediately established a provisional government, and appointed a triplicate executive, consisting of generals Victoria, Bravo, and Negrete; the two first are natives, distinguished for their patriotism, talents and services, and the last is an European, justly esteemed for his integrity and talents. Steps were immediately taken for the convocation of a new congress, and the people in the election were careful to exclude the royalists, the partisans of Iturbide, and the advocates for the plan of Iguala. The congress assembled, and entered on the arduous duty of framing a constitution of government. This was now a subject that engrossed public attention, and the only source of division or dissension, as neither the royalists, nor the adherents of Iturbide were sufficiently formidable to occasion disturbances among the people, or anxiety to the government. The people were divided into two parties relative to the constitution, one being in favour of a confederative government like that of the United States, and the other preferring a central or consolidated republic, like that of Colombia.

Some time in March, 1823, before the republican army entered the capital, general Santana, with six hundred troops, sailed from Vera Cruz, and landing at Tampico, advanced rapidly into the interior, as far as San Luis Potosi, where he established his headquarters, and immediately declared himself protector of the federal republic. But as it was suspected that his object was to place himself at the head of one of the two parties, for the advancement of his own views, he was not supported even by the advocates of the federal plan. The government having sent a force against him, he was obliged to submit, and was brought to the capital and confined.

After the overthrow of the royal government by Iturbide, and the treaty with O'Donoju, on the basis of the plan of Iguala,



Spain, although obstinately refusing to acknowledge the independence of Mexico, made no effort to regain her authority over it, and it had been since that period, in point of fact, entirely independent of Spain, who had not been a party to any of the dissensions and wars which had existed. During the administration of Iturbide, commissioners were sent to Mexico from Spain, but were not permitted to enter the country, and they had remained in the castle of San Juan de Uloa, which was in the possession of the royalists. After the fall of Iturbide, the Spanish commissioners were allowed to enter the Mexican territories, and the new government appointed general Victoria to treat with them, and designated Xalapa as the place for the meeting of the parties. Soon after the negotiations were commenced, they were broken off in consequence of the castle of San Juan de Uloa firing on the city of Vera Cruz. This was occasioned by the republican government attempting to fortify the island of Sacrificios, on the opposite point of land, to form a new port of entry, for the purpose of avoiding the exactions which all vessels entering the harbour were subjected to, by the governor of the castle. If this plan had been carried into execution, it would have deprived the garrison of all means of maintaining themselves; and the governor was compelled to make use of force to prevent the erection of the works, and the plan was obliged to be relinquished. The government immediately published a decree, interdicting all commercial intercourse with Spain.

After the departure of the *cidevant* emperor, his partisans attempted to excite civil commotions, but they were too few in numbers, and too well known and watched to occasion any alarm to the government, or to endanger the public tranquillity. The only remaining source of public dissension, was the difference of opinion as to the form of government about to be established. Congress were divided, as well as the people, on the subject, and in some of the provinces the inhabitants were thrown into great alarm and agitation, from an apprehension that congress intended to establish a central government; in several districts the excitement was so great as to occasion civil commotions, and open revolt. Whether the convention intended to have established a central system, in preference to a federative one or not, these strong indications of public opinion no doubt had great influence in inducing it to adopt the latter. It was perceived that unanimity in the congress could alone quiet the existing dissensions, and ensure respect to the government which might be established. Accordingly a constitution, on the federative plan, was prepared and adopted by the congress with great unanimity; and on the 2d of February, 1824, was sworn to in the capital, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. The system is similar to that of

the United States, and consists of a general or national government, and local or state governments in the provinces or intendancies, since erected into states. After the adoption of the system, the congress and people proceeded, with order and harmony, to organize both the national and state governments, and to set all the political machinery in operation. Guadalupe Victoria was chosen president of the republic, and general Bravo vice president.

In the month of January, previous to the adoption of the constitution, a disturbance occurred in the province of Puebla, in consequence of general Echavarri, who commanded there, refusing to obey the orders of the executive. The reason of such strange conduct, or what were his designs, did not satisfactorily appear. This officer is an European by birth, but had contributed essentially to the establishment of the republic, by joining Victoria and Santana, which became the signal for a general revolt against Iturbide. General Guerrero, at the head of a few men, marched to quell the insurrection, and Echavarri being deserted by his troops, was seized and sent a prisoner to the capital, which terminated the insurrection without bloodshed. The public mind, however, was not settled, and this disturbance was soon followed by an insurrection, headed by one Hernandez, at Cuernavaca, which general Guerrero was sent to suppress, and effected it without difficulty. But not far from the same time, a more extensive and alarming disaffection appeared in the capital, that threatened more serious consequences. A formidable opposition, or faction, had been organized, including the garrison and its commander, the object of which was to compel congress to dismiss all the Europeans from office. The employment of European Spaniards, to the entire exclusion of the natives, or creoles, had always been regarded, not only as a great grievance in itself, but as the fertile source of the oppressions of the colonial system.

The new government had neglected to remove this source of political evil, but suffered the Europeans still to hold most of the offices, in consequence, as is supposed, of attaching a mistaken importance to their being familiar with the routine of public duties, and from their connexion by marriage with the wealthy and influential creole families. This conduct of the government was regarded by many as equally impolitic and unjust, and the garrison, with Lobato at their head, demanded of congress the immediate removal of all European Spaniards from office. Congress with great firmness resolved to maintain its authority; and with the assistance of the numerous friends of the government, made great exertions to induce the garrison to return to their duty, and to collect and embody a force sufficient to intimidate, and, if necessary, to put down the insurgents. Instead therefore of complying with the demand of Lobato, congress ordered him to appear

before them, and after two days' negotiation, he delivered himself up to the government, and in consideration thereof was pardoned. Lieutenant-colonel Staboli, an Italian by birth, and some other officers, obstinately refused to submit; but were finally abandoned by their adherents, who delivered them up to the government, and Staboli was sentenced to be shot, by a court martial.\*

There is but one evidence that a king is more than mortal, and which is the fact fully proved by history, that when an individual has once become a king, he can no longer live as a man. It is, with him, *aut Cæsar, aut nihil*—he must be a king or nothing; he cannot exist as a man. This truth was not more strongly illustrated by the great Napoleon, than by the humble Iturbide. The former's example, and all the lessons of history, were lost on the cidevant emperor of Mexico, and the generosity of the government toward him, instead of producing a deep sense of gratitude, and preparing his mind to be content to follow the paths of wisdom, which are pleasantness and peace, probably contributed to lead him into the mad course of ambition, which proved his ruin. Imperial power appears never to have been absent from his mind, after his banishment from Mexico. Whether he had any correspondence with his partisans in the Mexican republic, or not, it is certain that he soon meditated returning to Mexico. He was the more in haste to return, as he asserts, from an apprehension that the ministers of the powers of the holy alliance, at the court of Tuscany, would attempt to frustrate his intentions. He arrived in England in February, 1824, when he addressed a letter to the Mexican congress, in which he communicates his intention of returning to America, although in direct violation of the decree of the 8th of April, 1822; and gives, as a reason, the hostile designs of the powers of Europe against the new world, which would soon be developed; and his wish to be in a situation where he might fly to the aid of his countrymen, if they should desire his services. He submits to the congress, whether his services, in a military capacity only, may not be of some utility, in uniting the public voice, and contributing with his sword to secure the independence and liberty of his country. He assures the congress of his ability to bring arms, ammunition, clothing and money; declares that his only object is to aid in securing the liberty of Mexico, and that when that is established, he shall cheerfully retire to private life.† Being apprised of his intentions, congress, instead of abrogating the law by which he was exiled, or inviting him to return, to assist in a military capacity in securing the liberties of his country, immediately passed a decree, declaring Itur-

\* Poinsett's notes on Mexico.

† See his letter.

bide a traitor and outlaw, the first moment he should enter any part of the territory of the republic, under any title or pretence whatsoever; also declaring all persons traitors, who should, by any means whatever, aid or encourage Iturbide's return to the republic, or any other foreign invader, and that they should be judged conformably to the law of the 27th of September, 1823. The decree bore date the 28th of April, 1824; and the executive was charged with its execution, and with causing it to be published and circulated through the confederacy. These effective measures did not prevent a conspiracy being formed in the capital, for the purpose of overturning the present government, and the restoration of Iturbide, which was afterward discovered.

The constitutional congress passed a decree on the 28th of June, 1824, for the establishment of public faith and national credit, which recognises the debts contracted under the government of the viceroys, to the 17th of September, 1810, when the colonial government was considered as abrogated by the will of the nation; and all debts contracted with the Mexican people by the viceroys where the loans were made by compulsion, or involuntarily, from the 17th September, 1810, to the entrance of the Mexican army into the capital in the year 1821. The decree also recognises all debts contracted for the service of the nation by the independent chiefs, from the declaration of independence to the entrance of the army into the capital, and those of the army of Iguala, or liberating army, until its occupation of the capital; and also all debts contracted by the established governors, from the first epoch of independence. This decree is founded on the principle, as it respects the authority of Spain, that the Mexican nation was not lawfully subjected to that authority, after the declaration of its wishes for independence, and therefore it does not acknowledge the loans which were *voluntarily* made to the viceroys after that period, as such an act was affording voluntary aid to an unlawful government, attempting to enslave the nation, and in one sense, was an act of hostility against the rightful government. It seems to be somewhat doubtful, whether the debts contracted by Iturbide after his dissolution of the congress, are included in this decree; the debts of the liberating army are recognised down to the time of its entering the capital only; so that there is no clause in the decree, which would include the debts created by Iturbide, unless it is that recognising those of the "established governors." On the 13th of July the congress passed a decree prohibiting the importation of slaves, under the penalty of confiscation of the vessel and its cargo, if any, and the captain, owner, and purchaser of the slaves, to suffer ten years' imprisonment. Slaves were declared free the moment they landed on the Mexican soil.

The conspiracy in the Mexican capital was discovered, and twenty persons implicated were arrested, among whom were several general officers, a number of colonels, and some citizens of distinction. The papers of the conspirators were headed, "God, independence, and the hero of Iguala;" it is said that a woman acted as secretary. The criminals were brought to trial before a council of war, and two of them sentenced to death, and the rest to perpetual banishment. After this premature explosion of the conspiracy, the infatuated Iturbide landed at Soto la Marina in disguise, on the 14th of July, 1824. He came in an English brig with Charles de Beneski, a foreigner, who pretended that his object was to treat with the Mexican government concerning a plan of colonization, and that he had powers for that purpose, from three Irish capitalists of London. Beneski presented himself to general Garza, military commandant, who inquired concerning Iturbide, and was informed by Beneski, that he left him at London, residing quietly with his family. Iturbide being disguised, passed himself as the companion of Beneski, who was permitted to go into the country, and thus attempted to advance into the interior. On the 16th, general Garza was informed by an officer who commanded a detachment of troops, that he had seen Beneski, with another person in disguise, proceeding into the interior, which excited his suspicion. General Garza immediately went in pursuit with some troops, and overtook them at Arrogas, and immediately recognised in the disguised person, Don Augustin Iturbide, arrested him, and conveyed him under a strong guard to Soto la Marina. General Garza communicated the arrest of Iturbide to the provincial congress of the state of Tamaulipas, then in session at Padilla, which resolved that the decree of the general congress of the 28th of April, 1824, be carried into immediate effect, and ordered the minister of state to cause Iturbide to be executed without delay. Accordingly, he was shot in the town of Padilla, on the 10th of July, 1824. Thus terminated the career of Don Augustin Iturbide, the first, and it is hoped it may long be said the last usurper of sovereign power in America. His wife and two children accompanied him, but the rest of his family and suite were left in London. This event relieved the republic from one source of apprehension, and one cause of the vacillation of the public opinion; by annihilating for ever the hopes and designs of the partisans of a military usurper. It tended to concentrate public opinion in favour of the political system which had been adopted, and to give stability and energy to the government.

Since this period the public tranquillity has not been disturbed in Mexico by civil commotions: the government has been ad-

ministered with success, and has enjoyed the increasing confidence of all classes of the population.

The Spaniards still retained possession of the strong fortress of St. Juan de Uloa, which, commanding the entrance into the port of Vera Cruz, greatly deranged the Mexican commerce, by exactions from all vessels entering the harbour. This was the more vexatious, in consequence of there being no seaport to which the trade of Vera Cruz could be transferred. The annoyance which the castle occasioned to the commerce of the country, united with the desire to reduce the last strong hold of Spanish power in Mexico, rendered the government and the nation anxious to accelerate an event which it was evident could not be long delayed. The superiority of the Mexican navy to that of the Spanish, prevented the governor of the castle, Coppinger, from receiving any re-enforcements, or even supplies, from abroad, whilst the garrison continually wasted away by disease and hardships, till they at last became reduced to a handful of men. Still the governor obstinately refused to capitulate. At length, however, the time arrived when he could hold out no longer, and accordingly, on the 18th of November, 1821, the castle surrendered, to the great joy of Vera Cruz and all Mexico. The garrison (except the sick, who were conveyed to Vera Cruz,) were, with the governor, sent to Havana.

Thus the Spanish flag, which, since the days of Cortes, had been a memorial of the slavery and debasement of the country of Montezuma, ceased to wave in any part of its territories—it was struck, never, it is hoped, to be raised again in Mexico.

Mexico, as well as the other independent states, at one period felt some apprehension that the allied powers in Europe, which interfered in the internal concerns of Spain, would extend their kind offices to her possessions on this side the Atlantic; but the disposition manifested by Great Britain has removed such apprehensions, as her ministers have declared that England would not agree to any cession Spain might make of the states which were *de facto* released from her dominion.

Mexico has probably received less aid from foreigners than most of the other new republics; some enterprises have been undertaken from the United States against the Texas country, but these have had no influence on the great contest; and some individuals from the United States and the British isles have engaged in the Mexican service; but she has had no foreign succour of any importance; the Mexican patriots have maintained the long and sanguinary struggle alone, without allies and without assistance; and by their own valour and perseverance, have overcome both foreign and domestic tyranny.

The patriots of Mexico, as well as those of the other parts of America, formerly Spanish, made an early attempt to secure the countenance, if not assistance of the United States. In 1811, Don B. Gutierrez was sent by the patriots of Mexico as their agent or commissioner to Washington, where he continued until nearly the close of the following year, at which time he joined Toledo in an expedition against the eastern internal provinces. In 1816 the Mexican congress sent Doctor Herrera to the United States. But these missions were productive of no other advantage than the promotion in the breasts of our citizens of feelings of friendship and sympathy for a people who were struggling for the same rights, the attainment of which a few years since had cost the United States so much blood and treasure. Yet for our government to have assisted the Spanish colonies would have been violating the fundamental principles of the constitution, and the genius of our foreign policy. Hence it was that congress, in 1817, passed an act for the more effectually preserving the neutrality of the United States, which authorized the president to prevent the sale of vessels of war by the citizens of the United States to the subjects of any foreign power, and prohibited the exportation of arms or ammunition, except bonds were given as a security against their being conveyed to either of the belligerent parties. In pursuance of this policy, an expedition which was preparing at New Orleans in 1815, and destined against the northeastern provinces of Mexico, was stopped by a proclamation of the president.

Near the close of the year 1818, the president appointed commissioners to visit some of the South American states, which claimed to be independent; and in 1822 congress formally acknowledged the independence of Mexico and the other republics of the south. Mr. Poinsett was afterward commissioned as resident minister from the United States, and has remained in Mexico in that capacity ever since.

Great Britain has acknowledged the independence of Mexico, not only by the recognition of her flag and the pursuits of commerce, but by the establishment of political regulations. The British government has recently sent a charge d'affairs to the Mexican government, and has for some time had consuls and commercial agents in the country; her commerce with Mexico being very important, and constantly increasing. By the last intelligence from Europe, it is stated that France had secretly acknowledged the independence of the Mexican and South American republics; but whether this be correct or not, France, Holland, Portugal, and most of the other commercial powers of Europe, admit the Mexican flag into their ports, maintain commercial relations with the republic, and have consuls and commercial agents residing there.

The Mexican patriots received little or no assistance from abroad, except in funds, and not that until the contest was decided. The war had destroyed the machinery, and stopped the operations of the mines, destroyed the government magazines of tobacco, and essentially impaired every branch of revenue, whilst at the same time it had augmented in a greater ratio the expenses of the government. Whilst the colonial authority existed, the patriots secured the public property for their own use, and destroyed what they could not thus appropriate; both parties had recourse to forced loans. These causes, together with the devastation of a civil war, and the suspension of industry, had so impoverished the country that the revenue was almost entirely annihilated, and the government which succeeded the overthrow of Iturbide was placed under the most distressing embarrassments. Until the resources of the country could be called into action, the only relief was from loans. To supply the immediate wants a million and a half of dollars were borrowed of the house of Robert Staples & Co. of London, who had a partner in Mexico; and afterward a loan of twenty millions of dollars was obtained of Barclay, Herring, Richardson & Co. of the same place. In 1824 Mexico made an additional loan; the whole of their loans in England amounted to thirty millions, besides their domestic debt. But the resources of the country are great, and are rapidly developing. The government have made great efforts to retrieve the condition of the treasury, by introducing a rigid system of economy, and creating an entire new system of finance. And such is the activity given to commercial enterprise, by just and equitable laws, that the duties on imports and tonnage are even at this time very considerable, and will eventually, independent of the mining and agricultural interests, become a source of abundant revenue to Mexico.

The plan of Bolivar\* for forming a general confederacy has been zealously seconded by Mexico. This plan was communicated by the liberator, (so is Bolivar styled by his countrymen) as president of Colombia, to the other republics, early in 1823, and on the 6th of June, of that year, a treaty was concluded between Peru and Colombia for carrying it into effect. Don Miguel Santa Maria, minister from Colombia, proposed this union to the Mexican government during the usurpation of Iturbide, but without success; but after the establishment of the republican government the negotiations were renewed, and on the 3d of October, 1823, a treaty was signed by the ministers of the two republics, having for its object the promotion of a confederacy or fami-

\* The man, to whom, in a great measure, is owing the independence of all South America. A particular account will be given of him in the history of the revolution in Colombia.



ly compact, designed to unite all the new states for the defence of their liberty and independence. This body will also take cognizance of all cases of difficulty or misunderstanding which may hereafter arise between the governments of the different republics. Some of the new republics not having agreed to the proposition, nothing further was done until the 7th of December, 1824, when Bolivar, as the head of the republic of Peru, addressed a circular to the several republics, inviting them to appoint plenipotentiaries to meet at Panama, and install the congress of the confederacy. Victoria, president of Mexico, answered the circular of the liberator on the 23d of February following. Cordially approving the measure, he says, had it been suffered to rest much longer, he intended to have taken the lead himself, and sent a despatch to the president of Peru, proposing the same course. He remarks that he shall appoint his plenipotentiaries, and send them to Panama, as soon as he is informed of the time of assembling the congress; and adds that, through his ministers at Washington, he has invited the president of the United States to send plenipotentiaries to the congress. The Mexican government appointed its representatives, who repaired to Panama near the close of the year 1825. Mexico continues tranquil, and every thing indicates the stability of the political system, and prosperity of the nation. The states appear to be satisfied with the federal government, and are forming constitutions, and organizing their authorities, conformably to the constitution of the Union. The distant, and isolated state of Yucatan, has sent deputies to the national congress at Mexico, proclaimed a constitution, and organized a government, at the head of which is Jose F. Lopez, who has been elected governor. The constitution of the state of Mechocacan, was also sworn to by the public authorities on the 20th of June, 1825. A special session of the national congress was convened at Mexico, by the president, on the 4th of August, 1825. President Victoria, in his message, congratulates the representatives upon their not having been convened to provide against foreign invasion, or to quell internal commotions, and adds that the republic, prosperous and at peace, advances unobstructed in her political career; that in its infancy it has obtained the respect and admiration of the world. "The government," says he, "is engaged in a system of defence; the republic is invincible; its sons feeling the dignity, and animated by the spirit of freemen, will bravely defend the rights of their country." The president urges the establishment of tribunals of justice, which appear not to have been organized since the new system went into operation, and for want of which, he says, disorder and confusion will ensue. It would seem that the executive was empowered to establish judicial tribunals, and he informs the congress

that his profound regard for the separation and independence of the different powers of government, has prevented his exercising the authority, reposed on him by the nation. The message also recommends further provisions for securing the liberty of the press ; reform in the treasury ; the more perfect organization of the land and naval forces ; the conclusion of treaties with maritime nations, and for the protection and encouragement of the commerce of the republic. The president speaks with pride of the good order of society, the mildness of the laws, and the protection they afford, and of the fame of Mexican opulence having attracted a vast concourse of foreigners into the country, and submits to congress the propriety of encouraging their enterprise, by exclusive privileges.

The nation is tranquillized, and faction has subsided ; it is not only in the enjoyment of independence, but of peace and security, which are the first fruits of republican institutions. The power of Spain is annihilated, and the government, respected and energetic, is advancing steadily in the great work of regenerating the nation. With such distinguished patriots and enlightened statesmen as Guadalupe Victoria, and general Bravo, the president and vice president, Alaman, secretary of state, and others less known, but perhaps not less worthy, at the head of affairs, we have every thing to hope. The measures of the government, hitherto, have been marked by wisdom, foresight, and political sagacity. The administration combines vigour with a respect for the rights of the people and of the states, and with a sacred regard for the constitution. It has reduced the army, adopted measures for the organization of a national militia, and acquired a respectable marine, fully adequate to the defence of the country against Spain. It has adopted a system of primary education, reorganized the old colleges, and established new ones ; corrected some of the abuses of the ecclesiastical system, restored the natives to the rights of men and citizens, and encouraged them in habits of industry. Freemasonry, at the very time that it is proscribed in Spain, is introduced into Mexico, under the patronage of the officers of the government. A lodge has been installed in the capital by Mr. Poinsett, the minister of the United States ; and liberal principles seem rapidly gaining ground.

The Mexican republic has a larger territory than that of the original United States, with a milder climate, and greater national resources ; it has nearly twice the population the North American states had at the period of their separation from Great Britain although its character is inferior ; it has made our institutions the model of its own, and what reason is there to doubt that its career will be as successful and glorious as has been that of the republic of the north ? If we had brave generals, distinguish-

patriots, and enlightened statesmen, so has Mexico ; if we had a Washington, she has a Victoria, who is scarcely less entitled to be regarded as the father of his country. If we have preserved our freedom, guarding it against all tendencies to despotism on the one hand, and popular anarchy on the other : avoided civil commotions, and defended ourselves from foreign aggression and violence, who can say that Mexico will not be equally successful ? The republican institutions of the United States were in a great measure an experiment ; but Mexico has the light of our example to direct her course ; she has copied from a correct model, and it now only remains for her to preserve the likeness of the copy to the original, and her destiny will not be less glorious than her illustrious prototype, the first American republic. The influence of liberty is the same every where ; in the torrid as in the temperate zone, on the table-lands of Mexico as on the rugged hills of New England.

A large portion of the Mexican territory, like that of the United States, is unsettled, and in a state of nature, and is capacious enough to carve out states which would double the present number, as has already been done in the northern confederacy. The vast interior regions of the east, north, and west, are very fertile, enjoying a fine climate, possessing great facilities and advantages for settlements, and are capable of sustaining an immense population. Mexico affords flattering prospects to foreign emigrants, and the government is fully sensible of the advantages of recruiting its population from other nations. It is no longer prophesy to say, that the time is not distant when there will be two great republics in North America, each uniting numerous subordinate republics, and possessing a vast population, free and enlightened, enjoying all the blessings of liberty and republican institutions.

## CHAPTER XII.

*General provisions of the constitution of 1824—meeting of the first Congress—general tranquillity and prosperity of the country—Commodore Porter arrives in the country—appointed to command the Mexican Navy—Congress of Panama—decree of expulsion against the natives of Old Spain—Montano's insurrection—Vice President Bravo joins it—is taken and banished the country—second election of President—Gomez Pedraza elected—bloody conflict in the streets of Mexico—Pedraza deposed and Guerrero declared President—Spanish invasion—Guerrero made dictator—Spanish invading force under General Barrados surrenders to the Mexicans—Guerrero abolishes slavery—resigns his authority as dictator and is deposed by the Vice President Bustamante, under the pretext of restoring constitutional order—arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of Bustamante—spirited character of the Mexicans—Santa Anna conspires against Bustamante—succeeds, and is elected President—supposed triumph of the liberal party—real character of Santa Anna discloses itself—he abolishes the constitution of 1824, and establishes a military despotism, under the name of centralism—resistance of the Zacatecos—they are subdued by Santa Anna—he marches an army into Texas—is defeated at the battle of San Jacinto, and becomes a prisoner to the Texans.*

THE framers of the Mexican constitution of 1824 had professed to regard that of the United States as a model, and to have followed it in all its essential provisions, and to one not particularly acquainted with the benefits of the system, it would appear that they had adopted every important part of it.

In the distribution of the powers of government into three parts—in entrusting each to a separate magistracy—in defining the limits of each—in creating a single executive—in giving him a qualified veto—in constituting a legislature of two branches, with concurrent authority—in apportioning the numbers of each branch, and in the manner of electing and appointing most of the officers of the general government—in all those striking provisions which figure so largely in the constitution of the United States as to occupy almost the whole ground, the Mexican con-

stitution was nearly an exact transcript from its professed model. But one of the strongest bulwarks of the liberty of the citizen, the right of trial by jury, was omitted, and instead of guarding the rights of conscience by positive enactments, it goes to the other extreme, prescribing a national faith and forbidding the exercise of any other.

The first congress elected under this constitution, assembled at the city of Mexico, in January 1825. Its deliberations during its long session, which extended into the following summer, were characterised with great harmony and decorum, while its wisdom and patriotism were manifested in its efforts to establish the authority of law, where anarchy had long prevailed, and in raising and providing for the collection of a sufficient revenue upon principles of justice and good policy, instead of the arbitrary exactions by which the public necessities had been supplied; thus stimulating the industry and enterprise of the people, by securing to them the enjoyment of its fruits.

Before the close of this year the Spanish flag disappeared from the coast of Mexico, by the surrender of its last post, the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, near Vera Cruz. With the full enjoyment of peace within her borders, and delivered from the fear of further invasion, with an established government drawn from a model which elsewhere had afforded to those who lived under it the highest degree of security to life, liberty and property, Mexico now presented a picture which, viewed in connexion with its natural advantages, could not fail to attract adventurers to its shores, from all civilized nations.

Accordingly thousands of emigrants from the United States, as well as from Europe, now sought a home in Mexico, with those high expectations of happiness which so flattering a picture was calculated to excite. Among this number was Com. David Porter, a distinguished captain in the American Navy, who enjoyed at home a professional reputation which few can hope to attain. He arrived in Mexico, in May 1826, and soon after received and accepted an invitation to take command of the Mexican navy, which, though then small and ill manned, it was expected would be soon placed upon a respectable footing.

The message of President Victoria, addressed to the general congress in the beginning of the year 1827, gives an exposé of the condition of the country, which must have been cheering to the heart of the Mexican patriot, as it was gratifying to the friends of liberty elsewhere, whose sympathies were strongly excited in behalf of a people, who, after a long and bloody struggle, had risen from ages of bondage and oppression, to the enjoyment of freedom and happiness. After showing that the year had closed with an uninterrupted course of prosperity, throughout the con-

federacy, the message speaks of the congress of Panama ; from the influence of which, expectations highly favorable to their general happiness and security, appear to have been then entertained by the southern republics ; he says that this congress had proposed to continue its session at the village of Tacubaga, near the city of Mexico, where two members from Colombia, a like number from Guatemala, and one from the United States, had already arrived.

It is a matter of little importance now, that no other members ever reached this congress, that it neither accomplished, nor seriously attempted any of the objects of its creation, and that the government of Mexico was subsequently charged with having defeated the project out of jealousy of the influence of Bolivar. The subsequent history of these southern republics, leaves little room to regret the entire failure of this congress, since there could be little hope of a congress adjusting the external disputes of nations whose internal affairs have been generally referred to the arbitrament of the sword.

All the important acts passed by the general congress during their session of 1826, and among them was one abolishing forever all titles of nobility in Mexico, had been peaceably carried into execution. Most of the states composing the confederacy, had during the same period, formed and adopted their separate constitutions, and organized under them their respective state governments.

The present session therefore opened under more favorable auspices even than the last. The authority of the congress had been fully acknowledged in all the states, and their measures generally approved by the people, and nothing occurred during the progress of the session, either in their deliberations, or in the various departments of the general or state governments, or among the people, to disturb the general tranquillity.

Negotiations were in progress for forming commercial treaties with the United States, and with several of the European powers, and such treaties had been already formed with Great Britain, France, and Prussia.

The anniversary of their independence, which had been celebrated for the first time, with great eclat, on the 16th of September 1825, was this year celebrated again with equal enthusiasm.

The excitement against the natives of Old Spain, which had been long felt, and which was now near bursting into a flame, gave rise to the first acts of arbitrary power since the adoption of the constitution. Several of the states first set the example, by passing decrees of expulsion against them. The same measure was urged upon the general congress, and finally passed that body on the 8th of December 1827. There may have been and

probably was just ground of complaint, against these persons, but by the constitution of Mexico, they were recognized as citizens, and as such were amenable only to the laws, and to the judicial tribunals of the country.

This summary process for banishing a restless class of citizens, may be deemed convenient, but can be safely adopted only under an arbitrary government. A resort to it by the congress of Mexico, shows that either a majority of its members were ignorant of the first principles of civil liberty, or that, knowing them, they determined to disregard them.

The consequences which have followed this gross violation of the constitutional rights of one class of its citizens, by the congress of Mexico, may have been easily predicted. To fly from the hands of one tyrant, into those of a hundred, is but a poor refuge, as the evils of tyranny are far from being softened by dividing its power, or multiplying its agents.

The career of constitutional liberty, upon which the Mexican people had entered but two years before, and which they had promised themselves and others, at least had hoped, would prove a long and a brilliant one, was thus early checked, and soon after entirely interrupted; whether again to be resumed, is a problem that time only can solve.

The usurpations of the military, in contempt of the civil authorities, began soon to be exhibited, and in the early part of 1828, General Arana was shot, in pursuance of the sentence of a military tribunal.

An officer by the name of Montano, soon after raised the standard of revolt at Appa, within thirty leagues of the capital.—He was immediately joined by several distinguished officers, and among others, by General Bravo, then Vice President. They were speedily attacked and defeated, by a government force under the command of General Guerero; thirty officers were made prisoners, with Bravo among them.

The precise object of the insurgents, or rather revolutionists, for it seems by the speech of President Victoria, they assumed the latter character, is not known. Whatever it may have been, it seems to have found little support. As the president in his speech to congress, at the close of its session in May, 1828, says that public sentiment had unanimously condemned this revolutionary movement.

No sanguinary punishments appear to have followed; Bravo and some other officers were banished the country. The lenity with which these officers were treated, gave rise to suspicions that many persons in power were implicated, and occasioned great dissatisfaction in some parts of the country, particularly at Vera Cruz. The term of President Victoria expired with this year,

and the election of his successor began in September. The prominent candidates were General Guerero and Gomez Pedraza, then secretary of War. The contest was an animated one, but is not represented as having produced during its continuance, any serious disturbance of the public peace.

It resulted in the choice of Pedraza, but the friends of Guerero soon after set up a claim in his favor, alleging that he had been defeated only by fraud in taking the votes. General Santa Anna was accused before congress, of an intention to support the pretensions of Guerero by force, and of having seduced a regiment of troops for that purpose. The accusation was sustained and the general suspended from his command. He at first appeared to acquiesce in this decision, but this was only to gain time to organise a conspiracy to carry out his first intention. He soon after openly proclaimed his purpose, and retired with his regiment to the castle of Perote, where by the order of the government he was besieged by General Rincon, with a large force.

In the mean time his emissaries were busily engaged at the capital, and elsewhere, in drawing over other troops to the interest of the conspirators. A regiment of artillery and several regiments of militia, were soon secured, and on the night of the 30th of November the signal was given, under the old pretext of expelling the natives of Spain. Hostilities were immediately commenced, and continued from day to day without any decisive result, until the 4th of December, when the government troops were driven from the various convents in the city which they had occupied during the contest, and victory declared in favor of the insurgents.

During four days the streets of Mexico had been the scene of continual conflicts, with artillery, musquetry, and the sword. Eight hundred men had been killed, besides those who afterwards died of their wounds—the amount of property pillaged and destroyed was immense;—the usual concomitants of military conflicts in a populous city, those revolting scenes in which a licentious soldiery seldom fail to indulge, had not been spared. But why sum up the loss of lives and property and the nameless sufferings of this fatal conflict, fatal to the liberty and happiness of a whole people. The blow now struck, inflicted a wound which may bleed for ages, and which time can scarcely heal.

It matters little that Guerero, who was now made president by a military force, had personally taken no part in the conspiracy, that he had consented to accept the place, only when his acceptance seemed to be the only means of saving a further effusion of blood, and of restoring public tranquillity,—that he had been supported by the suffrages of the most enlightened men in Mexico,—the true friends of constitutional liberty—that his pretensions on



the score of private worth, public services, and attachment to republican principles were immeasurably superior to those of his competitor, and that his administration exhibited no trait of the character of a military usurper. The fatal example was given, and the virtues of the man and the magistrate, far from tending to diminish the danger, served only to conceal its deformity and commend it to further trial.

The insurgents, who by their success may now assume the character of patriots, were headed by Garcia, who died of his wounds, Sobato, and the three Talsas. The government troops were commanded by Pedraza (the President elect) and Filisola, who both fled from the city, after the defeat of their troops.

Guerero, who was absent from the city during the contest, arrived there on the 5th of December, when public tranquillity was immediately restored, and all parties, citizens and soldiers, submitted at once to his authority.

The session of the new congress, in January 1829, was opened by a valedictory address from the late President Victoria, in which he exhorts the members to lose no time in adopting suitable measures to heal the unfortunate dissensions which had interrupted the public peace, and endangered the constitution of the country. After passing thus lightly over events so deeply affecting the character and future prospects of the nation, he advises them to give their early sanction to a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States, which he urges as a measure of great importance to both nations.

The house of representatives, on whom the constitution devolved the duty of counting the votes for President, and declaring the result, proclaimed Vincente Guerero to be duly elected President of the United States of Mexico, for the next four years. In coming to this result, they claim to have proceeded entirely upon constitutional grounds, and thus endeavor to conceal a wound which they were unable to heal. Anastacia Bustamente, who had been supported by the partizans of Pedraza, was declared to be duly elected Vice President, and in organising the new administration, Lorenzo Zavala, then Governor of the State of Mexico, a man every way worthy of the station, was appointed Secretary of State, and General Santa Anna, Secretary of War.

One of the first prominent measures of the new administration, was a decree for the expulsion of the natives of Old Spain, which like the former one, was never fully executed.

The success which attended the early efforts of Guerero, to restore and preserve the internal peace of the country, without a resort to sanguinary measures, affords evidence both of his wisdom and clemency. An event soon occurred which must have

aided him in accomplishing this desirable measure, though at an expense to the country of some blood and treasure.

Another and the last attempt was now made by Spain to recover the possession of Mexico. A Spanish squadron, consisting of one 74, two frigates, and several corvettes, brigs and transports, sailed from Havana on the 5th of July, and arrived off Tampico on the 19th of the same month. An army of 4500 men under the command of General Barradas, was landed in the neighborhood, and took possession of that town, in the beginning of August. The invaders had encountered little opposition in landing, or in advancing upon and entering the town of Tampico.

Flattered by this success, General Barradas issued a proclamation declaring Tampico a free port for six months, and calling upon the inhabitants of the whole country to return to their allegiance, to their lawful sovereign, offering them on that condition, a free pardon for past offences and a restoration to full favor as Spanish colonists.

His invitations and promises were given to the winds. If there is a sentiment or passion common to the bosoms of all Mexicans, it is hatred of Spaniards, and if injuries the most aggravated and cruel can justify hatred, they certainly have reason.

When, therefore, intelligence of the sailing of the Spanish squadron with an armed force, destined for invading that country, reached Mexico, all domestic feuds were suspended or absorbed in a desire to repel the common enemy.

The President immediately engaged in the most active and energetic measures for the defence of the country and the destruction of the enemy, in which he was seconded by the national and state authorities, and the citizens generally. An extraordinary session of Congress was immediately convoked, and was opened at the capital on the 4th of August, by an animated speech from the President, in which he speaks with becoming spirit of the insult to the nation in again offering them the degrading condition of colonists.

A forced loan of \$2,800,000 was decreed by Congress, to supply the immediate wants of the Treasury, and to meet further exigencies a tax of 5 per cent. was imposed on all incomes of upwards of ten thousand dollars, and an additional 5 per cent. on the rents of all estates, the owners of which had been more than ten years absent from the country. Congress also passed a resolution investing the President with dictatorial powers.

In the mean time preparations for attacking the enemy with an adequate force, had been hastened with great rapidity, considering the condition and resources of the country, and a force superior to that of the enemy was soon concentrated in the neighbor-

hood of Tampico. The command was given to Santa Anna, the Secretary of War.

After several engagements which terminated unfavorably to the Spaniards, General Barradas found himself under the necessity of proposing a capitulation, which was accepted, and articles agreed upon, and signed in behalf of the commanding Generals on the 12th of September; the terms, which were not dishonorable to the Spaniards, were highly creditable to the generosity and humanity of the Mexicans. The Spanish troops after laying down their arms were permitted to return to Havana, the sick and wounded to the number of 1200, to be supported by the Mexicans until their recovery, and to be sent after their companions, the officers to retain their side arms and colors. Thus ended what may now be safely pronounced the last effort of Spain to recover her rich provinces in America.

On the 15th of September, the day previous to the anniversary of Mexican independence, President Guerero, by virtue of the extraordinary powers vested in him by Congress, issued a decree abolishing slavery throughout the Republic of Mexico.

This was the last important act of his political life; whether it had any influence in producing or hastening his overthrow, we have no means of deciding. That the motives which dictated the measure are such as do honor to the heart of the man, will be conceded by all. There are those however who will question its wisdom, its policy, and even its justice.

Aside from the fact that it was an exercise of his extraordinary powers for a purpose entirely foreign from that for which they had been conferred upon him, there are objections against the measure which would be equally valid from whatever authority it may have proceeded.

The free population of Mexico were already sufficiently heterogeneous, and the mass, of a grade of intelligence so low as to render it doubtful whether they would be able to guard and preserve their newly acquired liberty. To reduce this mass still lower, by incorporating with it another taken from the lowest state of degradation, that of personal slavery, all the world will agree in characterizing as a hazardous experiment.—And when we consider further that these slaves were of the negro race, and that nature had interposed a barrier against their advancement to a social equality, which cannot be overcome, and that all efforts to overcome it, while they cannot possibly benefit the blacks, only tend to degrade a portion of the other race to their level, and to fit the whole mass to become political slaves. The experiment would seem to be not only hazardous, but hopeless; or if, as may possibly be claimed, it is attended with a remote and doubtful prospect of good to one race,

it must be at an expense to the other which no friend of that race would willingly contemplate.

The influence which this measure may have exerted in reducing the people of Mexico to their present condition, which seems to be one bordering upon anarchy and military despotism, and sharing largely of the evils of both, cannot now be easily estimated.

On the 11th of December, Guerro resigned into the hands of the national Congress the extraordinary powers with which they had invested him during the crisis of the Spanish invasion; he soon after left the capital, and Bustamente, the Vice President, immediately assumed the powers of the chief executive. It was at first rumored that Guerro had voluntarily resigned in favor of the Vice President, and retired to his estate. But it soon after appeared, that under the pretext of restoring constitutional order, Bustamente had sometime previous succeeded in organizing an extensive conspiracy for his overthrow, and that it had only waited the resignation of his dictatorial powers to declare itself.

It seems that Guerro declined supporting by a military force the power which one year before he had accepted from its hands, but consented to be deposed rather than sustain it by violence.

With the best intentions he had been the passive instrument of others in overthrowing the constitution of his country, and the power which he had usurped without the disposition to abuse, he now surrendered without a struggle, to another whose pretensions were no better than his own; both were fatal errors, the first to his country, the last to himself.

Bustamente, who professed to be actuated solely by a desire to restore the constitution which had been forcibly violated in the elevation of Guerro to the presidency, found little difficulty in procuring an acknowledgment of his pretensions throughout the Republic. One of the first acts of his administration was a decree declaring Guerro an outlaw, and measures were immediately taken for his arrest, but having fled to Acapulco, where his friends were numerous, he succeeded for some time in eluding the pursuit of his enemies. He was finally taken, on board of a Sardinian vessel, lying in the port of Acapulco, where he had been decoyed by the captain, who was employed by General Bravo for that purpose.

Intelligence of his arrest was conveyed to the capital, when a cabinet council was immediately called to decide whether the affair was of sufficient importance to be laid before Congress. The result was that Guerro should be treated as a common criminal, and that a military tribunal should be organized for his immediate trial.

It is said that there was one individual of his cabinet who dared to speak to Bustamante of clemency,—his reply was, that when he had drawn the sword against the revolutionists, he had thrown away the scabbard. He was accordingly tried, sentenced to be shot, and met death in that form on the 10th of February, 1831.

Thus perished Guero, whose eminent services for his country in her various conflicts with Spain, had justly acquired him the title of "Hero of the South," but who like the first Cæsar had perhaps merited his fate by a single act of his life, which was scarcely voluntary, and whose fall, like his, only made way for new usurpers without any of the virtues of the first.

Bustamante, who had been supported by many under the expectation that he would recall Pedraza, the rightful President, soon rendered it manifest that "constitutional order," the watchword by which he had raised himself to power, was the last thing aimed at either by himself or his coadjutors.

Sustained by the aristocracy and clergy, who from the first had been alarmed at the probable influence of republican institutions upon their own privileges, and supported by a military force, which he now posted under the command of officers devoted to his purposes, in such of the states as he believed most likely to oppose his power, he proceeded to establish a perfect despotism in the country, disregarding every constitutional or legal restraint.

The national Congress, if an assemblage of such men deserve that name, no longer attempted to oppose any limits to his power, but became the passive instruments of his will. No absolute monarch ever exercised a more uncontrolled sway over the life, liberty and property of his subjects, than Bustamante during his short reign in Mexico, under the humble title of Vice President. His order alone was sufficient warrant for any act of oppression or cruelty, and his military satraps soon learned to imitate the example of their chief, and completed the resemblance between the government of Mexico and that of a band of robbers. The following instance, among numerous others which might be given, must suffice to prove the brittle tenure on which the people of Mexico then held their lives and property.

In November, 1831, one Inclon who commanded the forces of the supreme chief in the city of Guadalajara, having taken offence at an article which had appeared in a newspaper published in that city, proceeded with some of his subalterns to the office of the publisher, and after having destroyed his presses and types, seized the person of the publisher, and in presence of the Governor and state authorities ordered him to be shot in three hours.

However indignant we may feel on reading an account of so daring an outrage upon the rights of a citizen of one of the Mexican states, we can scarcely repress a smile at the farcical use to which the words, state authorities, were now reduced in Mexico, nor can we well avoid contrasting the spirit of a people who could tamely submit to such an outrage with that exhibited but a short time before, and on an occasion not very dissimilar by the people of France, who although accustomed to submit to the ordinary caprices of a king, had driven one covered with ignominy, from his kingdom, for an outrage far less cruel and atrocious. If after a contrast so unfavorable to the character of the Mexican people, the reader should find himself compelled to surrender the hopes which he had cherished in their behalf, however painful he may find the sacrifice, let him be assured that it was no less painful to the historian, and that truth alone could have forced him to make it.

It is true, the fall of the reigning chief was not long delayed; but this was indicated by no movement of the people, the impulse came from a new aspirant, who coveted the power of the tyrant, and saw a fair prospect of attaining it by his overthrow. No doubt the people of Mexico, who were suffering under the cruelty and rapacity of Bustamante and his agents, were willing to second any efforts for his overthrow that promised certain success, and they *did no more*. Every step in the progress of deposing him from the first symptoms of resistance to his compulsory resignation may be traced to the influence of Santa Anna, who succeeded him in his power.

In January, 1832, the officers composing the garrison of Vera Cruz drew up and signed an address to the Vice President, in which they censured in severe terms the conduct of his ministers, and demanded their dismissal. At the same time Santa Anna, who had remained in retirement since the fall of Guerro, was invited to assume the command of the garrison. He arrived the next day, and his authority was acknowledged by acclamation. He immediately sent an officer to the Vice President, to lay before him the demands of the garrison. The answer was brought by General Calderon, with a force which was supposed to be sufficient to reduce the refractory troops to submission and bring Santa Anna a prisoner to Mexico. An attack was immediately made, but the resistance was such as to induce General Calderon to draw off his forces. He afterwards made a show of besieging the place for a few days, but soon returned into the interior.

Santa Anna now despatched his agents to the various military posts to sound the officers and to persuade them, if possible, to declare in his favor. General Montezuma, the military commandant at Tampico, soon joined him, and gave a more favorable im-

pulse to his cause; the inhabitants of several towns and cities now ventured to pronounce in his favor, and the state Congress of Zatecas adopted resolutions justifying his movements and severely reproaching the Vice President for having violated his promises in regard to the restoration of constitutional order.

The strength of Santa Anna now rapidly increased. The government troops were continually coming over to him, and new recruits came in from all quarters, to join the standard of the rising chief. He now ventured to march towards the capital, his strength increasing at every step of his advance.

In November, Bustamente finding Santa Anna with a large army within a few leagues of the capital, and himself without the means of making a successful resistance, and in fact nearly deserted, resigned his power into the hands of the national Congress, and fled from the country.

A tyrant deposed by his own instruments, a mercenary soldiery, as usual, made room for the accession of another, who had succeeded in withdrawing these instruments from the hands of their former master.

In the present instance Santa Anna chose to fortify himself by following the forms of the constitution; satisfied that his personal popularity was such that he could afford to make this sacrifice to appearance, without any hazard of losing the prize.

Accordingly, after recalling Pedraza to the executive chair, whom he had deposed in favor of Guerero, four years before, and whose time was now about to expire, he withdrew to his estate (*hacienda*,) and waited the movements of the people in his favor.

His popularity at home, as may well be supposed, was now unbounded, and the late events in which he had played a part apparently as disinterested and honorable as it was conspicuous, gave him a reputation abroad far surpassing that of any other man in Mexico. He had before acquired the reputation of an able General, and his efforts against the enemies of the Republic, foreign and domestic, had been almost invariably crowned with success. His important services in deposing the mushroom Emperor, Iturbide, were now called up anew (disconnected with circumstances which sullied their lustre at the time,) as a brilliant era in his life, affording a presage of the splendor which now surrounded his character in its full meridian; and having now restored the constitution of his country, and liberty to the Mexican people, he was looked upon by many, at home and abroad, as one of the brightest luminaries of the age. Fortunate indeed, would it have been for the fame of Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, if his earthly career had terminated here, if death had here placed his seal upon his character,

In the early part of 1833, the third election of President under the federal constitution, was held in the different states of the Mexican Union. Santa Anna had no competitor and was unanimously chosen. He entered upon the duties of his new station in the month of May. In his inaugural address, he alludes to the revived hopes of Mexican liberty which late events had excited, and makes liberal promises that no effort shall be wanting on his part to fulfil them. He says "the object of his life has been to secure to Mexicans the full enjoyment of their rights, and to break the triple yoke of ignorance, tyranny and vice—that education, the vital element of the prosperity of nations, shall receive, as it merits, the first care of his government—that his administration shall be mild, as his character is mild and tolerant—and that the exercise of power shall not, in his hands, be made the instrument of vengeance and oppression. Vain hopes and empty promises, as a few short months sufficed to prove.

Indeed, before the expiration of the month in which the new President was inaugurated, events occurred which gave rise to strong suspicions of his sincerity, and induced apprehensions which were but too fatally realized. Some disturbances took place among a body of troops in the neighborhood of the capital; the President found it convenient to go in person to quell them. Intelligence was soon communicated to the city that these troops had pronounced against the federal constitution, and arrested the President, and declared him Dictator. After remaining a few days, and finding it followed by no similar movement on the part of the other troops or the citizens, the President returned to the capital, pretending to have escaped from his captors.

No further notice was taken of this affair by the public authorities. The officers commanding the troops, who had thus dared to seize the person of the chief magistrate and hold him a prisoner for several days, so far from being called to an account for this gross outrage, were promoted to more important posts, and enjoyed in a higher degree the confidence of the administration. Subsequent events prove beyond all doubt that this movement of the troops was planned and conducted by order of the President, to try how far public sentiment was prepared for his designs. Finding it not fully ripe, he suffered the new Congress, which having been elected by the free suffrages of the people, was composed of the true friends of liberty, to proceed in discussing and adopting such measures as were deemed necessary to secure the rights of the people.

They turned their attention to the established church as one of the most fruitful sources of the evils which had afflicted the country, the only effectual method of crippling its influence and disarming it of its dangerous power, that of granting equal protec-



tion to the professors of all religious creeds, was freely discussed, and finally adopted, so far as Congress had the power. Some of the property and resources which the church had possessed under the colonial government, and which they had continued to hold, as was believed, without law or right, under the existing government, were ordered to be appropriated to the uses of the national treasury. Many other measures of security and reform were discussed, and some of them adopted. The President did not withhold his official approbation of these acts, and whilst Congress continued in regular session, an apparent harmony existed between it and the executive.

By a provision in the Mexican constitution, the Senate, or a certain number of its members designated for that purpose, called the general council, must remain in perpetual session. This body, with the concurrence of the President, may pass what has sometimes been denominated projects of laws, or in other words, their decrees have the force of law until a certain time after the commencement of the next stated session, or perhaps until rejected in full Congress.

Soon after the adjournment of Congress the President was brought into collision with this body of senators, whom he endeavored to use as instruments to advance his designs towards the acquisition of supreme authority.

Having resolved to break off all connexion with the liberal party, by whose aid he had been enabled to depose Bustamante, he wished to draw over the clerical party to his support, and for that purpose it was necessary to procure a repeal of the laws of the last session, which struck at their power and privileges. This he attempted at once through the general council; their joint decrees, as before remarked, having the force of law; but finding this body true to their trust, the next step was to procure *pronunciamientas*, or the resolutions of town meetings, which were immediately held wherever the clergy had sufficient influence to dictate their views.

These soon flowed in upon the President from various quarters. They denounced all the reforms of the last session of Congress, as invading the sacred rights of the church, and threatening the destruction of religion, and the introduction of heresy and atheism into the country. They all, however, expressed the most unbounded confidence in the President, and invoked his aid to protect the holy religion of the country against the attacks of its enemies, and pledged him their support at every hazard.

Thus fortified, the President no longer sought to make terms with the present Congress, but proceeded to dissolve the general council by a decree, and threatened to disperse them by force, if they did not voluntarily retire. By the aid of the clergy, and by

posting armed troops wherever it was deemed necessary to overawe the suffrages of the people, a large majority of members disposed to favor the designs of the President, was secured in the next Congress.

In his message to this Congress, which assembled in January, 1835, the President very plainly intimates his opinion that the people of Mexico are unworthy of a free government, and as the present Congress had been chosen for no other purpose than to reflect the opinions of the President, measures were immediately taken between them to reduce the people to that condition which he imagines to be better suited to their character. Pronunciamentas were again resorted to; these were now made to favor centralism, and on the strength of these resolutions of town meetings, manufactured by order of the bishops in each diocese, Congress proceeded to abolish the constitution of 1824, abolishing at the same time all the state constitutions and state authorities.

Thus the new usurper, who unlike his predecessor, had been so scrupulous in regard to forms, in beginning his career, now swept away in his progress what had been spared by him, contenting himself only with a despotism in form, as well as fact, thinking it most prudent, probably, to destroy that which had served him as a plausible pretext to raise himself to absolute power, lest it should again serve as a rallying point for some new aspirant.

Symptoms of opposition having been exhibited in some of the states against this act of Congress, levelling the whole structure of their state governments, and in fact annihilating the very name of state, provision was made by Congress for a large increase of the standing army, and a considerable force was ordered to be permanently quartered in each state, under the command of the new Governors now to be appointed by the President. All the old states, with a single exception, now submitted without resistance.

Zacatecas, where in some of the darkest periods of the revolution, liberty had found a last refuge, again served as a rallying point for the few faithful votaries now remaining among the degenerate Mexicans.

An army of five thousand men, composed principally of the militia of the state, were assembled near the city of Zacatecas, prepared to resist the authority of the tyrant. Mexico had drawn its best troops from Zacatecas. In the long contest with the mother country, no part of Mexico had made equal sacrifices in aid of the common cause.

The blow which robbed them of that liberty which was so dear to them, and which they had so well merited by their liberal outpourings of blood and treasure, must have been keenly felt,

from whatever hand it may have come, and doubly so from the hand of the present usurper, who was principally indebted to them for the means of success against Bustamante, and consequently for his elevation to the Presidency.

Their wrongs were therefore aggravated by the sting of ingratitude. Santa Anna well knew the character of the people he had to encounter, and the spirit which would animate them on the present occasion ; he therefore prepared to accomplish by the basest treachery, what he feared to attempt in a fair contest.

Several officers of the army, pretending to be unwilling to aid the President in destroying that constitution which they had sworn to support, resigned their commissions and repaired to Zacatecas, and there affected to join the people in supporting the authority of the state. They offered their services to command the militia in the approaching contest, which were accepted ; and this devoted band of five thousand men was placed under their command.

Santa Anna was now apprised of the success of his stratagem, and advanced with a superior force, while his progress was concealed from the Zacatecans by their treacherous officers until they were surrounded and attacked ; and thus more than half their number were literally cut to pieces, before they had an opportunity to make the least resistance ; a few rallied to arms and made a desperate attempt to check the advance of the invaders, but they were driven before them into the city of Zacatecas, where the victors for several days indulged themselves in excesses too shocking and barbarous for recital. Foreigners, as well as natives, who had taken no part in public affairs, and who were quietly pursuing their avocations without intermeddling in any manner with the political concerns of the country, were butchered without ceremony, and their property given up to the pillage of the soldiery, or confiscated to the use of the officers. When the tyrant had sufficiently glutted his vengeance, the inhabitants who had escaped the sword, submitted unconditionally to his power.

This terrible example was sufficient. All the towns and villages in the interior, dreading the fate of the devoted city of Zacatecas, now declared for centralism. The torch of liberty was now extinguished in the Republic, and military despotism fully established.

No ! it was not yet extinguished. There was a portion of its territory, now inhabited by another race of men, where it burnt with an inextinguishable flame, and in this direction, the new tyrant now turned an anxious eye.

It is unnecessary to inform the intelligent reader that we here allude to TEXAS, whose population, now amounting to about fifty

thousand, were composed almost wholly of emigrants from the United States. They had been drawn there by an inviting picture of the country, and the liberal provisions of the Mexican colonization laws, and also in the expectation of finding a government like that under which they had been accustomed to live, since in form it had been made to resemble that.

The country they had found to surpass their highest expectations, and the government they had hitherto known little of, their position being too far removed from the main population of Mexico, to subject them to a participation in the unhappy scenes of the last few years. Their security had been also partly owing, perhaps, to their apparent insignificance, since the condition of a few scattered colonists, presented little to tempt the rapacity of the military marauders who had lately overrun the more populous States of Mexico.

The late supreme chief, Bustamante, had towards the close of his career, made a feeble attempt to subject the Texians to his arbitrary sway, which was resisted as soon as made, and his authority there overthrown in a single day. This had been done without concert, but simultaneously with the movement of Santa Anna, which terminated in the fall of Bustamante, and the fortunate coincidence probably saved them from a struggle which would have been premature, and perhaps fatal to them at that period.

The prompt, spirited and successful attack upon the Mexican troops, which Bustamante had quartered in Texas, by an inferior number of Texian settlers, acting without order or discipline, had excited the envy and jealousy, as well as the admiration of the Mexicans, and the rapidly increasing importance of this part of the Republic, with the well known love of liberty and attachment to republican institutions which characterized its inhabitants, could not fail to excite the fears of the sagacious chief, who was now aiming at supreme power. It was in the population of Texas, which would soon become numerous and powerful, and in them alone, that he foresaw any serious obstacle to his designs. His resolution was therefore taken, which was to exterminate or drive them from the country.

The expedition under General Cos, who under the new system of centralism, was the military governor, or, more properly, the prefect of the department including Texas, was fitted out and sent against the Texians, for the express purpose of provoking hostilities, not expecting, perhaps, a result materially different from that which happened. The Texians could now be charged with resistance to the supreme authority—with open rebellion against the established government of the country. They had opened the bloody drama, and were to be made responsible for the final

catastrophe, which was to be to them, expulsion from the country or utter extermination.

And for this purpose, Santa Anna himself, at the head of an army consisting of nearly ten thousand men, composed of the choicest troops in the country, entered Texas in February, 1836. In the early part of March he reached the frontier settlements, and began the work of indiscriminate butchery. The resistance he encountered at San Antonio, from a handful of men under Bowie and Travers, (names which will be as immortal, as that of Leonidas,) produced an unexpected pause in his movements. Having succeeded, at length, in overpowering the last of this devoted band, at a loss, however, of his own men, amounting to ten times their number, and having captured Goliad, another frontier post, and in cold blood butchered the garrison, who had surrendered as prisoners of war, he now divided his army into three divisions, and proceeded to sweep the country; advancing with rapid strides towards the Sabine, the eastern boundary of the territory. His pause at San Antonio had afforded time for most of the women and children, and the non-combatants among the inhabitants, to flee out of his reach, and thus saved him from the consummation of his premeditated crime of staining his hands with their blood.

A band of seven hundred men, consisting of most of those who had not families to remove, and the residue of the volunteers from the United States, who had nobly come to the aid of their brethren, in this unequal contest, the most of whom had however fallen at San Antonio and Goliad, stationed themselves on the Brazos river, at a point near the centre of the principal settlements in Texas, under the command of General Houston, and sullenly awaited the approach of the enemy. Two divisions of the Mexican army reached the Brazos, below Houston's position, and Santa Anna now decided not to attack Houston in his position, until he had first cut off all chance of his retreat. One division was therefore to remain to command the river below, while another still in the rear was ordered to approach the river above, and Santa Anna himself with fifteen hundred of his best troops crossed the Brazos and proceeded to the east, to cut off any reinforcements or supplies which might be expected from that direction, and be ready to prevent Houston's retreat towards the Sabine. He would then have, as he thought, and as must have appeared to all the world, this devoted band, the last—the forlorn hope of Texas, completely in his power, ready for butchery whenever he chose to concentrate his three divisions, each of which outnumbered them more than two to one.

Santa Anna, after having crossed the Brazos, proceeded first to Harrisburg, in order to execute vengeance upon the members

of the provisional government of Texas, which was temporarily holding its session there. They were near being surprised, having only a half hour's notice of his approach. Disappointed in this object, he burnt Harrisburg, and then directed his course to New Washington, upon the bay, a few miles below, where the Texians had a depot of arms.

In the mean time Houston had received notice of this movement of the enemy, and instantly resolved, in concert with his officers and men, to make one desperate struggle, on the result of which they well knew their own existence, as well as that of their country, must depend. For this he had been waiting any occurrence that might afford a probability of success against the odds they had to encounter. None more favorable could be expected than that now presented.

He accordingly broke up his position and proceeded by a forced march to Harrisburg, where he arrived the next morning, having marched thirty miles, mostly in one night. Yet, having now come upon the track of the enemy, no delay was required, but every man was impatient to follow them; he therefore continued his march down the Buffalo Bayou, on which Harrisburg is situated, to its entrance into the San Jacinto. Here he encountered a picket guard of the enemy, and learned that the main body were not far distant. He took a position on the banks of the Bayou, with a skirting of wood in front, and his men were preparing refreshments, of which they had scarcely partaken since they had left their camp upon the Brazos. In half an hour the centinels gave notice that the enemy were approaching in battle array. A call was made to arms, and their cavalry advanced until they encountered that of the enemy, and after a sharp conflict of a few minutes, the Mexicans drew off about three quarters of a mile, and there encamped in a position fronting the Texians, with their right resting upon the San Jacinto.

Thus situated, these hostile bands slept, as it were, in presence of each other on the night of the 20th of April. Santa Anna, secure in the superiority of his numbers, which doubled that of his enemy, seemed disposed to delay the fatal blow merely to sport with his victim. The morning of the 21st came and passed away, and he remained inactive in his camp. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, he was quietly taking his siesta under the canopy of his embroidered tent; a centinel entered and told Almonte that the rebel horse were advancing upon the left. What does he say? demanded Santa Anna, starting from his couch, and awakening from a dream in which he had been acting over again the bloody drama of Zacatecas. He says, your highness, replied Almonte, that the enemy's cavalry are advancing upon our left. "Ah! they have come for another frolic, let them enjoy it to-day,

for to-morrow shall be their last." The sentinel again entered the tent. The whole rebel force have advanced under cover of the point of wood, in front of our right, and have nearly formed their line within three hundred yards of our own. At the same instant the Mexican drums beat to arms. Santa Anna hastily seized his arms, and mounted upon the top of his carriage which stood upon an elevation commanding a view of both lines.

The Texian cavalry had made a terrible onset upon his own and they were giving ground before them—their riflemen and infantry had extended a line to the length of his own, and were steadily advancing, now within a hundred and fifty yards, but as yet without having discharged a shot. Not so their two pieces of artillery; these at two hundred yards distance, had already begun to discharge their missiles upon his centre with fearful effect. Along his own line, he saw that his men had obeyed the call with alacrity, and had already opened a fire upon the enemy. Partially entrenched as they were, and far outnumbering their assailants, he felt that there was little danger of their yielding; but seeing his men fall fast before the enemy's artillery, he ordered a column of reserve in the centre, to advance and take them, and he was now intent upon this movement. They advanced a few yards in front of the line—the missiles flew thicker—the front ranks were broken—they hesitated—halted—fell back. Provoked to madness by the delay, he was about to leap from his carriage and drive them on, sword in hand, but the trumpet had sounded a charge upon his right and left at the same instant, and he cast his eye again along his line. It was everywhere broken by the first shock of the charge, and already his men had begun to fly before the uplifted knives of their assailants. He leaped upon his horse, determined to lead the flight, since he had not lead the battle.

Of the fifteen hundred men with whom the Mexican chief had crossed the Brazas, about seven hundred, himself among the number, became prisoners to this small band of Texians. The residue had fallen at the battle of San Jacinto; not one escaped.

Santa Anna, feeling that he had forfeited his life, by the butchery of Texian prisoners, in violation of the terms of their surrender, and of all usages of civilized warfare, now begged that life of his captors, in the most abject manner. He was willing to yield to any terms, and as supreme chief of Mexico, he claimed authority to yield in behalf of his country, to such terms as they should dictate.

The most important of these were, the immediate evacuation of their territory, by the remaining divisions of the Mexican army, and a full acknowledgment of their independence.

On these terms, Santa Anna was spared, but held as a hostage for their fulfilment. The first of these terms was fulfilled, the subordinate Generals having withdrawn their troops from Texas, without further acts of hostility, in obedience to the orders of the commander in chief.

In regard to the other stipulations entered into by Santa Anna, the Mexican congress had disavowed his authority, and ordered a new invasion of Texas.

In the mean time, the captivity of the usurper, and the consequent overthrow of his power at home, seems to have afforded no relief to the wretched inhabitants of Mexico, and that country on which nature has lavished her richest favors, remains overrun with robbers and freebooters, the worst and vilest of whom are those who prey upon it under the name of governing it.



GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

**VIEW OF TEXAS;**

WITH A DETAILED ACCOUNT

OF THE

**TEXIAN REVOLUTION AND WAR.**

CHAPTER I.

*Boundaries and extent—explored and unexplored regions—natural divisions—eastern or wooded region—its extent—surface—soil and productions—settlements, towns and rivers—middle or wood and prairie region—its extent and area—general aspect of the country, as presented to the traveller—character of the soil—its present productions and promise of future—climate—its promise of health—the causes—water—bays—navigable rivers and water courses—facilities of intercourse and transportation—settlements and towns—inhabitants—their number—origin and character.*

THE territory claimed by the present government of Texas, is bounded north and east by the United States, south by the Gulf of Mexico, and west by the river Bravo del Norte, which separates it from Mexico; lying between 25° and 39° north latitude, and 95° and 107° west longitude; being in its greatest length from north to south, on its western boundary, following the course of the river, more than fifteen hundred miles; and in its greatest breadth from the north-eastern boundary, on the Red River due west to the Bravo del Norte, more than seven hundred miles. Its area, however, is probably something less than 400,000 square miles. Its boundaries are, for the most part, natural, and for the rest easily defined; the southern being entirely upon the waters of the gulf, the western nearly so, upon those of the river

Bravo del Norte, and having two important rivers, the Arkansaw and Red River along its whole northern boundary, and for its eastern the Sabine and certain parallels of longitude.

That portion of Texas, however, of which we shall attempt a description, lies within much narrower limits, little being as yet known of much of the western and north-western part of it, which comprises probably more than half its whole area.

Of the region which is yet but partially explored, the accounts of the very few persons capable of estimating its value and importance, who have crossed it in different directions, would seem to authorise a belief that it has hitherto been greatly underrated; possibly as much so, as was, twenty years ago, that part which is now fully brought to light.

The country may be pronounced fully explored, perhaps, along the whole extent of its coast, and into the interior an average extent of 200 miles, with a narrow belt on its northern border, upon the Red river. The former of these tracts lies mostly between 27° and 31° north latitude, and it is this region that is generally understood when Texas is spoken of, and here its present inhabitants are located; the few settlers on the Texas side of Red River, deeming themselves rather inhabitants of the United States than of Texas.

There is no question in regard to boundaries, affecting any considerable proportion of the lands upon the Red River. They are clearly the property of Texas, and within her jurisdiction, if she succeeds in establishing her independence, as is also an extensive region between them and that which we have marked out upon the coast, and also the region extending to the north-west towards Santa Fe, and the head waters of the Arkansaw; all of which will become ultimately, and most of it immediately, valuable as a public domain. But public attention is now directed to that part of Texas which is the abode of some thirty thousand inhabitants, who have manifested their estimate of its value, by daring to war against eight millions for its defence. It is here, too, that future emigrants to Texas, for some years to come, must find their abode. It is this region, therefore, that seems to demand our principal care in the geographical part of the sketch we have undertaken.

In regard to surface, the aspect of the whole coast of Texas is alike level, presenting neither mountain, hill, nor bluff, from one extremity to the other. The level lands of the coast vary in breadth, from 30 to 80 miles; the surface then becomes gently undulating, or waving, though with frequent level tracts of some miles in extent, becoming more uneven towards the interior; yet so gradual that there is but little perceptible difference in an advance of 50 miles, continuing east of the Brazos, until it subside

at the lands bordering on the Red River. From the Brazos west, to the valley of the Bravo del Norte, the rolling country is terminated on the north, by a range of mountains, or rather a succession of lofty peaks and knobs, at an average distance of 200 miles from the coast.

In passing from the coast to the interior, the country is naturally divided into two regions, the level, and the undulating; but on proceeding across the country, from east to west, whether over the level lands of the coast, or the waving lands of the interior, the traveller is persuaded to make a division of the country into three parts, the eastern, middle, and western, and to characterise them as the wooded, mixed, and prairie regions. This division of the country is thought to be the most natural, as the names alone serve to designate, and nearly define, the exact limits of each to the eye of the most superficial observer, and because there is in the soil and geological structure much that is peculiar to each.

The eastern and wooded region of Texas, is the smallest of the three. It extends from the Sabine west to the tributaries of the Trinity, a distance of about 100 miles along the eastern line upon the Sabine. There is a tract of light sandy land, from ten to fifteen miles in breadth, covered with a heavy growth of pine timber; resembling most of the southern coast of the United States; then commences the tract, familiarly known by the name of the red lands, extending to the western confines of this division. This tract is covered mostly with a forest of hard wood, made up of the various species which are found in the forests of the United States, with many others not found in higher latitudes, and with an occasional sprinkling of pine where the sand prevails over the red loam.

The level region upon the coast here extends into the interior, from 50 to 70 miles, the surface then becomes uneven, but not hilly. At the distance of 100 miles it is more broken, rising occasionally into hills, with some loose rocks near their summits, but without ledges, and always with so gradual a rise as to be of easy ascent, and with declivities not too steep for the convenient use of the plough. There are no extensive bottoms or plains. The streams winding their way between the undulations, without materially varying the character of the soil or surface.

The level lands of the coast are covered with heavy timber, and this alone at no distant day, must render them highly valuable; they are, besides, for the most part, good and feasible; they are not however such lands as are looked for in Texas. Very few settlers have located on them, and these few are from the adjoining borders of Louisiana. The rolling lands have obtained, and deserve a much higher character; they are what in any part of the

United States, east of the mountains, would be called rich lands, well watered, healthy, and affording good crops of cotton, Indian corn, rye, oats, beans, and every species of culinary vegetable that is produced in any part of the United States. Highly productive also of fruit of almost all kinds, whether of the temperate or tropical regions. They are therefore eagerly sought for by those who have not seen the "paradise beyond." Extensive settlements have already been made here; the road from Gains' ferry, on the Sabine, across this whole division, being tolerably well settled, and presenting several large and flourishing plantations.

Besides the Sabine, which washes its whole eastern, and the Trinity ranging near its western border, the latter navigable for small steamboats more than 200 miles, this division has the Neeches, the Angelina, and their numerous branches, which have their whole course within its limits. The latter is a branch of the former, but of nearly equal size at their confluence. The tributaries of both are numerous, several being of sufficient size for mill-streams, and might be advantageously used for that purpose. The Neeches is also navigable for steamboats, to the mouth of the Angelina, about 75 miles.

The old town of Nacogdoches is situated upon the Angelina; in this region, nearly equi-distant between the Sabine and Trinity, about 30 miles nearer the Sabine, is the new town of San Augustine, a lively village of 60 or 80 white houses and stores in the midst of an oak and hickory grove, and in the neighborhood of a flourishing farming settlement and mills, upon the Ayish Bayou, a branch of the Neeches. This town was the residence of President Houston, before his appointment to the office of commander in chief of the Texian army.

This division is equally well known by the name of the forest region, or the Red lands; nothing can be more appropriate than the latter name, as the sod, especially when newly turned up, is as red as if stained with fresh blood; so perfect is the resemblance that on accidentally breaking the sod the effect is often startling.

The middle division, or region of mingled wood and prairie, extends from the eastern tributaries of the Trinity river west across that river, the Brazos and Colorado, including the tributaries of the latter, and perhaps, also the river La Boca, a distance of about 150 miles. From the coast to the range of mountains which extends along most of the northern boundary of this region, the average distance is about 200 miles, making an area of 30,000 square miles. Of this, it is estimated, that about one third is covered with wood, the residue is open prairie, resembling in a state of nature, the richest upland meadows which have been laid down with the nicest care and taste in the best cultivated portions of the earth, and for the most part may be brought un-

der tillage with as little expenditure of labor. The greater part of the surrounding wood lands are tall groves, without undergrowth, presenting the appearance of having been neatly trimmed by the hand of art, and the whole, grove and lawn, covered with rich grass, and verdant the whole year.

The level lands of the coast are here about 80 miles in breadth, and besides the three large rivers which have been mentioned, there are no less than ten others of from 50 to 100 miles in length, which meander their way between them, and discharge their waters into the gulf or the bays of Galveston and Matagorda, which cover more than two thirds of the whole line of coast. The level lands present a succession of broad wooded bottoms, bordering these numerous rivers, with open prairies between; the wooded bottoms interspersed with open meadows of various extent, and the prairies with wooded vales, pointing up from the bottoms, and island groves of wood, with here and there a sprinkling of single trees, most of them stately live oaks, with their broad spreading branches.

The whole of this region is found to have a gradual ascent from the coast, so that the streams flow off with a lively current, and leave the lands every where well drained, and free from swamps and marshes.

The open prairies, which first appear among the eastern branches of the Trinity, are there small and infrequent, and are found gradually to increase in number and extent; in advancing to the west, upon the borders of that river, the wood is still predominant. The pine and magnolia are found here in genial spots, where they can strike their roots into their favorite sand. Large and valuable forests of the former abound low down upon the parent stream, and upon several of its branches. Leaving the tributaries of this river, they entirely disappear. Upon the Trinity there is still sufficient sand to give the soil the dark drab color of the sugar lands of the Mississippi. This soon disappears in advancing towards the Brazos, where the soil of the bottoms is of a deep chocolate, and that of the uplands of a still darker hue.

The Labadie and San Antonio roads both lead across the middle region of Texas, north of the level lands. These are ancient paths, which have been trodden for a century or more, in passing from the old Spanish posts of Labadie and San Antonio, situated at different points upon the San Antonio river, to Nacogdoches upon the Red lands.

In passing from the Trinity to the Colorado, by either of these roads, the whole route is a succession of verdant grove and lawn, continually varying in extent, form and surface, embellished as they should be with frequent glimpses of limpid waters, from the

rivers, brooks and fountains that so often flow by the way, presenting not unfrequently scenes of the most surpassing beauty and loveliness, such as nature rarely exhibits to the admiring gaze of the traveller. But he finds here only a faithful picture of the undulating lands of the middle region of Texas; any other parallel routes between the level lands and the mountains, a distance of more than a hundred miles, would present a new picture of the same enchanting scenery.

We have thus briefly attempted a description of the middle region of Texas, as it appears to the eye of the traveller, but feeble indeed must be our effort, since the subject is one to which neither pen nor pencil can do justice.

Nature, in giving so beautiful an exterior to this highly favored region, has not withheld from it any of her richer gifts. The land, which surpasses all other uncultivated lands in scenes of quiet beauty, to please the longing eyes of civilized men, surpasses them no less in the easy and abundant means it affords for supplying his numerous and daily increasing wants.

The soil over this whole region, with the exception of some tracts, as before remarked, in the neighborhood of the Trinity river, and some few gravelly knolls of unfrequent occurrence in the undulating country near the Colorado, is a dark vegetable mould, slightly mixed with sand and shells, warm and fertile in the highest degree, and of a depth that must render its fertility inexhaustible. This valuable deposit, which may be drawn upon without diminution for countless ages, lies in greater bulk over the bottoms and prairies of the level country, where it is generally from 10 to 20 feet in depth, than upon the rolling prairies of the interior; but here it is seldom less than 4 feet, and is often found of the depth of 6 and even 10 feet.

Those acquainted with the prairies of Illinois and Missouri can best appreciate both the immediate and durable advantages which those in this region afford to the "settler." The same wide range of rich pasturage for domestic cattle, here extends round the whole year. The grass is in general finer, and the sod more easily turned, and sooner productive of full crops; and here cotton, the most profitable of all the products of agriculture, for which these lands are peculiarly adapted, is a never failing crop.

In general, there are more abundant and more convenient supplies of wood and timber, and less necessity for its use. In the annual products of the forest trees a resource which is scarcely known in old and populous regions, yet of great value to the early settlers of a new country, this region has greatly the advantage over Illinois and Missouri, in the greater variety and abundance of acorns, nuts, and other kinds of mast, for the subsistence and fattening of swine; a resource which, like the pastur-

age for cattle, is here never buried in snow, nor injured by severe frosts

As yet, very little corn has here been used in the fattening of swine. There are planters who make from five to ten tons of excellent pork, entirely upon mast.

Seventy-five bushels of Indian corn, or 1000 lbs. of clean cotton, with ordinary care in the tillage, are considered an average crop per acre, for the lands reduced to cultivation.

Those acquainted with the business of growing these staples, will perceive that the labor of one man might produce 400 bushels of corn, and 5000 lbs. of cotton, besides a supply of vegetables for a small family, which at the price these articles usually sell, would enable him to realize, after reserving sufficient corn for his own use, an income of more than \$1000 a year; at the same time without any labor, he may realize 50 per cent. a year for whatever capital he has invested in neat cattle and swine.

Two crops of corn may be grown in a year, and in most seasons a full crop would be obtained at each planting; the second however must be planted in July, and would sometimes fail for want of rains. Planted in the latter part of February, or in all the month of March, indian corn is a sure and never failing crop. Cotton may be planted from February to the first of June, without hazard of a total failure, but a more plentiful crop is secured by early planting. Oats yield a liberal increase in every part of this region; wheat could not be produced upon the level lands, and if it could be, the ease of procuring it from abroad, and the four-fold profit from the same labor directed to the raising of cotton, would exclude it from the list of productions. Upon the rolling lands of the interior, experiments upon a small scale have been made at growing wheat, which for the most part have resulted favorably; but the want of mills for flouring must prevent any considerable attempts at raising this grain for some years to come. The land within 30 or 40 miles of the mountains, where lime stone ledges sometimes form the banks of the streams, is pronounced by those who profess to be skilled in this matter, to be a genuine wheat region. Mill streams are also numerous here, and it is confidently predicted that this, at no distant day, will become the granary of Texas.

Tobacco and Indigo plants are both indigenous here, and the former has been already cultivated to some extent. The sugar culture has been commenced, and there is the best reason for believing that the crop will not be less sure and abundant than it has been found in Louisiana. The manufacture of sugar, however, requires so considerable an investment of capital as to render its introduction into a new country necessarily slow; besides, the great encouragement afforded of late for the growing of cotton,

and the extraordinary success which has attended the culture of that plant here, has very naturally caused an application of almost the whole labor of Texas to its production. It should be understood that the force which is necessary to gather the produce of any given number of acres of cotton, during the season of picking it from the bolls, producing as largely as this plant does in Texas, may, during the season of planting and hoeing, cultivate an equal number of acres of Indian corn or potatoes, and the gathering of the latter crops may be deferred until the cotton picking season is past, so that an application of the whole force of a plantation or a farm, to the production of cotton, does not exclude the cultivation at the same time and by the same force of a sufficient supply of eatables of all kinds, for their own subsistence, and also a surplus for market; the harvesting of the various species of small grains would come between the last hoeing and the first picking of cotton, and that of Indian corn may be done at that interval, or remain, as before remarked, until the cotton picking is over.

Hitherto little has been done here at growing any of the small grains, and as the perpetual supply of growing herbage renders it unnecessary to make hay or to prepare any dry forage for domestic cattle, the months of June and July are with the Texian farmer the leisure months of the year; during the excessive heats of midsummer, when the severest labor is imposed as a *sine qua non* upon the agriculturist of a more northern latitude, the Texian farmer may repose under the shadow of his live oaks, fanned by the refreshing breeze, which, regular as the rising sun, sweeps over his country, from the gulf to the mountains, during his long summer which extends more than half round the year.

In this region, literally flowing with milk and honey, yielding spontaneously a generous support even for civilized man, and rewarding his moderate labor with an untold abundance of almost all of value that the earth any where can be made to produce; in this region, where spring and summer reign alternate through the year, can man live, and especially can he labor and enjoy that vigorous health which is justly deemed essential to the full enjoyment of life, is the eager inquiry of thousands, whose lot is cast where the earth yields in return for the severest toil a scanty pittance during half the year, and for the other half lies wrapt in a shroud, and locked in the icy embraces of death. It cannot be disguised that the thirtieth degree of north latitude crosses this region nearly centrally, and that therefore the sun must be nearly vertical here for several months in the year. This alone has been deemed sufficient ground for pronouncing a country thus situated, unfriendly to the health and happiness of the human race



in general, and fatal to that of every human being who has happened to be born in a higher latitude.

Having read of or witnessed the excessive heat of Northern Africa, and the malignant diseases generated by the extensive swamps and marshes of other parallel regions, the people of northern latitudes cannot be easily persuaded that there may be other regions near the tropics, so favored by nature as to be exempt from either of these evils, and fitted above all others for the highest enjoyment of human life, and yet there are facts that go far to prove that such is the character of the region here spoken of.

In no part of the earth have the first settlers of a new country suffered less from diseases of any kind. Not a solitary case of the various malignant diseases, which are so common in some other parallel regions, has ever been known to exist here. Among the inhabitants who came here from the middle and northern sections of the United States, many whole families may be found who have resided here from five to ten years, in the enjoyment of uninterrupted health.

No one complains of the excessive heat of summer; its unusual length is at first disagreeable to those who have been accustomed to the vicissitudes of the seasons in a northern climate; this soon wears away, but is most effectually cured by a single return, to experience once more the inconveniences, hardships and sufferings of a northern winter.

The surface and geographical position of this region, along the broad sea that forms its southern boundary, in the eyes of a philosopher, would serve as a guaranty against the excessive heats of summer, and on looking further, and finding a country open, as if it had been cultivated for ages, and free from the material which, when acted upon by a summer sun, sends out the exhalations which are known to be the principal cause of the sweeping maladies of summer and autumn, he might promise also a reasonable share of health to its inhabitants.

"The gulf breeze," a periodical wind like the monsoons of the East, and the trade winds of the West Indies, which never fails to be felt here the first moment the atmosphere is so far heated as to be uncomfortable, sweeps with an unobstructed course over this whole region, diffusing a refreshing and invigorating coolness which, in less favored positions, even in higher latitudes, is seldom felt during the heat of summer. Facing this breeze, the traveller may here pursue his journey during a midsummer noonday, without experiencing the slightest inconvenience from a vertical sun.

The wooded bottoms of the level country, when first opened, are not exempt from the intermittents which have been found

more or less prevalent in like situations, in all latitudes, but they have been less general and less severe here than in most other places where they prevail in any degree; cases are never obstinate, but quickly yield to appropriate remedies.

Good water is found in most places, even in the level country, where wells have been sunk to obtain it; on the rolling lands the numerous gushing fountains have as yet relieved the inhabitants from the necessity of seeking it beneath the surface. No portion of the earth is better provided with navigable waters than this division of Texas, and no where can artificial channels of transportation be made at less expense, so that the immense surplus of agricultural treasures which must be produced here at no distant day, may be rendered available to the producer at its highest value.

Galveston bay on the east, and Matagorda bay on the west, extend along more than two thirds of its whole coast; the former receives the waters of the Trinity, and the latter of the Colorado, and nearly centrally between them, the Brazos discharges its waters directly into the gulf. The Brazos and Trinity are navigable for steam boats quite to the northern boundary of this division, and the Colorado still further into the interior. The space between these rivers, in their course through this district, no where exceeds sixty miles. Besides these large rivers, there are several less considerable streams, such as the San Jacinto, Bernard, Caney, and La Baca, which may be navigated by small steam boats from 30 to 50 miles into the country. These secondary streams have nearly their whole course in the level country, and further interior, the country is watered by the numerous tributaries of the three large rivers, some of which are navigable for a short distance. It will be perceived, however, that no part of this division of Texas can be more than 30 miles distant from the navigable waters of one of its large rivers.

Most of the settlements in this division are in the immediate neighborhood of the navigable rivers, and the earliest and most considerable are upon the Brazos, upon the borders of which scattering settlements are found from the mouth to the northern boundary of this division. The broad alluvial bottoms of this river, which in some places stretch off to a distance of 10 miles from each bank, and generally elevated above the annual freshets, were eagerly sought for by the first settlers. Much of this was covered with wood, which they had to clear away for cultivation, incredulous that the contiguous prairies which were then ready for the plough, would prove equally productive.

Towns have been laid out at various points upon this river, in a few of which some progress has been made in building. Brazoria, standing 30 miles from the mouth by the course of the riv-

er, and 15 by land, is the largest and best built ; the others which have already assumed the appearance of villages, are Velasco, at the mouth. Columbia, ten miles above Brazoria ; San Felipe, ninety miles higher, and Washington, yet forty miles above the latter. San Felipé, which had already become a lively village, and which concentrated most of the trade of the interior, was burnt by the inhabitants during the late invasion, when the Mexican army were known to be approaching the town. It is not yet rebuilt, and an effort which will probably prove successful, is now making, to supersede it, by the enterprising proprietors of Fort Bend, a beautiful eminence, surrounded by one of the most flourishing planting neighborhoods in Texas, 20 miles below the site of San Felipé.

Oyster creek winds its way for a distance of 80 miles through the bottoms of the Brazos on the east side of that river. Its general course is three or four miles distant, but its outlet into the gulf is within a mile of the mouth of that river. Many extensive cane brakes, without timber, were originally found upon this creek, which were easily brought under cultivation, nothing being required but to set fire to the reeds when dry. The burning sufficiently prepared it for planting, and this process consisted only in perforating the earth with a staff to receive the grain. Some of the most valuable plantations in Texas are upon this creek, and among them is one belonging to the Hon. William H. Wharton, the present Texian minister at Washington.

The borders of the Trinity are thinly settled from its mouth to the distance of 150 miles interior. Here are several sugar plantations, making from 60 to 80 hogsheads annually, and between the Trinity and Brazos, upon the San Jacinto, and Buffalo Bayou, are considerable settlements. Upon the latter stood Harrisburg, which was burnt by the Mexicans two days before the battle of San Jacinto, and upon the same stream a few miles above the site of Harrisburg, is now laid out the new town of Houston.

Ten miles west of the mouth of the Brazos, the San Bernard, a fine river of more than 100 miles in length, falls into the gulf. Occasional settlements are found upon this river, from within a few miles of its mouth, nearly to its source. Its course is nowhere more than twenty miles from that of the Brazos ; between them is a prairie, from two to ten miles broad, extending from Columbia to San Felipé, a distance of 90 miles. Six miles west of the San Bernard is the outlet of Cedar lake, a creek of some 30 or 40 miles in length, on which are a number of fine plantations. It derives its name from unfolding its waters into the form of a lake of a mile or two in circumference, within a few miles of its mouth.

Ten miles yet further west is the mouth of Caney, whose broad, fertile and easily subdued bottom lands have already acquired a celebrity over most of the United States. The plantations bordering this stream are already numerous, and rapidly increasing; 4000 lbs. of seed cotton, equal probably to 1500 lbs. of clean, is the annual product of a single acre of Caney bottoms, when well subdued and properly cultivated. The length of this stream, whose borders are pronounced by all who have witnessed their growing or gathered crops, to be of unequalled fertility, is between 80 and 90 miles. It has its source within a few hundred yards of the banks of the Colorado; this circumstance, viewed in connexion with the immense breadth of its alluvial bottoms, so disproportioned to the size of the present stream, has led to the conjecture that it once formed the main channel of that river. Its mouth is obstructed by a sand bar, so shallow as to forbid the entrance of boats of the smallest size; within the bar the smaller class of steamboats might, during the greater part of the year, ascend a distance of 50 miles. Six miles from its mouth, it ranges within less than one mile of the head of Matagorda bay, with which it was to have been connected by a canal, at this point, during the past season. The war must, however, have prevented its accomplishment; when peace revisits the country, the rich freight of Caney cotton will soon force an outlet into this fine bay, where its small boats will be sheltered from the rough swell of the gulf. Matagorda bay is estimated to be about 70 miles in length. It extends very little into the interior, but lies parallel with the gulf, from which it is separated by a peninsula, no where much exceeding one mile in width. This tongue of land, which in form probably has no example elsewhere, being 70 miles by one, is evidently of recent formation. Not a tree of any description is found upon it, from one extremity to the other. A hard beach of some twenty yards wide, of white sand and shells, lines its outer edge, which is washed by the gulf; this presents an uninterrupted promenade or carriage path, which extends along the whole length of the peninsula, and indeed continues to the western inlet of Galveston bay, interrupted only by the outlets of the streams. The peninsula is elsewhere verdant with grass, and from a lofty elevation would appear not unlike a green ribbon fringed with white.

The Colorado river discharges its waters into the bay by two mouths, four miles apart, about fifty miles from passe Cavallo, its only entrance from the gulf, and about twenty miles westerly from its head. The settlements upon this river were begun some years later than those upon the Brazos, this part of the country being more exposed to the depredations of hostile savages. When once fully explored, however, such was the

tempting beauty of the landscapes upon its borders, that no dangers could deter the settlers from seeking an abode in a region, that in appearance, realized their most seducing dreams of a paradise upon earth.

The first settlements on this river were made only five or six years before the Mexican invasion. They had already extended in detached neighborhoods, from the mouth nearly to the mountains, a distance of about 200 miles, and the inhabitants had begun to sleep in some degree of security from the lurking savage, who seldom however ventured within rifle shot of a plantation, but often prowled around the skirts, ready to pounce upon the unarmed, but oftener to enter the prairies under cover of night, and carry away the horses of the settlers; when the Mexican war drove them all temporarily from their homes, and emboldened the savages to visit the frontiers in such numbers, as to render it unsafe for the inhabitants of the upper settlements to return.

The lapse of a single year would have placed the settlements upon this river, as far north as the mountains, beyond all fear of the small band of Indians who wander upon its northern borders; as arrangements had been made for the location of several hundred families from the United States, in the neighborhood of the upper settlements, many of whom were on the way when the news of the Mexican war reached them.

Scites of future cities are marked at many points upon this river. Matagorda, at its mouth, and Mina, 140 miles above, were villages of 50 or 60 houses. During the past year, the former has been visited by the Mexicans, and the latter burnt by the Indians.

West of the Colorado, in this division, settlements of some extent are found upon the La Baca, and a few families upon some fine creeks between. Cox's point, at the mouth of the La Baca, has also been marked for a city. The work was begun, and for a year or two before the war, this city, perhaps of a single store, enjoyed a brisk trade with the interior.

To the foregoing enumeration of the different settlements in this division of Texas, we have only to add a few clusters of eight or ten families, each located at different points on the undulating lands, away from the principal rivers.

There is no means of making an accurate estimate of the whole number of inhabitants here. A rough estimate made by an inhabitant of the country, whose means were equal at least, to those of any other, put the number of whites at 25,000, before the war; of this number, about one third were supposed to be located near the Brazos.

Of this population the adults are almost exclusively from the

United States, there being very few Europeans, and fewer yet of Mexicans among them. Every state in the union has contributed more or less, Tennessee, perhaps, the largest share, and Kentucky would probably come next; Georgia and Alabama, have latterly contributed most largely.

There may be "murderers and outlaws" among them, as there is elsewhere upon the earth, and some few perhaps who, tired of waiting for a general jubilee, fled their country, to shake off the burthen of debt. But if the present inhabitants entered the country with "diseased morals," there is a reforming influence there, which should commend it to some few who are left behind, especially, if evil speaking be a sin. Whether the purifying influence is in the air, earth, or water, *learned casuists* must decide; but certain it is, that the traveller will not seek elsewhere for a more industrious, sober, and *honest* population, than he now finds in Texas. In the higher and nobler virtues which alone can elevate a people to the most enviable rank, they seem to be no way deficient, since no people have been more severely tried, or exhibited in bolder relief, the virtues which are the very opposites of knavery and villainy.

It is only the idle and the vicious, the sharper and the swindler, who are disappointed in Texas; the former finds no associates, and the latter no victims. The people are too busy to please the one, and too intelligent to become the prey of the other, and this class of emigrants either reform from necessity, or leave the country in disgust. Finding not the vice and folly which they sought, they avenge themselves for the disappointment, by circulating the idle tales of "murderers and outlaws in Texas." The inhabitants of Texas were not driven there; neither the uplifted arm of justice, nor the lawless hand of oppression, forced them from their homes in the United States. That they were drawn there by an adventurous spirit, which many will deem wild and extravagant, and in which few can fully sympathise, must be admitted. But it is a spirit that has long characterised their countrymen, and to which they are indebted for almost all that they possess, of which they may be justly proud, and directed, as in this case, to the most laudable objects; it is a spirit that needs never to be repressed, but should find the highest encouragement.

The settlement of Texas was an enterprise which demanded sacrifices in the outset, and presented hardships and dangers to be encountered in the pursuit, requiring a degree of energy and courage which seldom belongs to feeble minds; and if the objects of the enterprise are duly considered, it will appear that they are not such as stimulate the vicious and depraved, either to make

sacrifices, or encounter hardships and dangers in their attainment. These considerations would seem to speak favorably for the character of the population here, but the idle rumors before alluded to, have, notwithstanding, prepossessed almost all minds, and the virtuous no less than the vicious, on visiting Texas, are disappointed in the character of its inhabitants, the former in finding it not what they feared, but all they could have desired.

## CHAPTER II.

*Western, or prairie region—boundaries and extent—general appearance—extent of the prairies—soil—bays—rivers—settlements—inhabitants—Red River lands—their character—the partially explored region of Northern Texas.*

THE western division, or prairie region of Texas, extends from the La Baca west to the Bravo del Norte, the western boundary of the country, a distance of nearly two hundred miles. It presents a greater diversity of surface, soil, and climate, perhaps, than either of the others, but is alike in the feature by which we have chosen to characterise it, the general want of wood.

It is not to be understood that this whole region is entirely bald. The streams have often a narrow skirting of wood, especially in the level country, and small patches, few indeed and far between, are found on the uneven lands; but the wood bears so small a proportion to the whole area, as scarcely to be worthy of being taken into the account. Some stately trees of various species are occasionally scattered through the level lands, but in the undulating country, which here approaches within forty or fifty miles of the coast, but one kind is rarely found, and that is a species of locust called the musquite. The tracts where it is found are distinguished by the name of musquite prairies. In gazing from the summits of the higher swells, over the waving ocean of prairie, the eye sometimes rests upon these poor apologies for trees, but finds little relief from so wretched an object. Its dwarfish size, ugly form, and scanty foliage serving rather to increase than diminish the sense of surrounding desolation. The nopal, which is sometimes seen where it has been building up and spreading out its alternate stem and leaf, perhaps, for a century, presents a far more agreeable object, and seen as it sometimes is at a distance of several miles, might be easily mistaken for a hermit's hut or gipsy's cot.

The barrenness here extends to nothing but wood, which nature, in the whims in which she is sometimes found to indulge, seems to have denied to this otherwise interesting and valuable country. It is almost everywhere covered with a rich coat of grass, and generally of a species very fine and nutritious, which from its being uniformly found in the neighborhood of the tree of that name, is here called musquite grass.



Besides the fruit of the nopal, or prickly pear, there are several species of ground fruits or garden vegetables, growing spontaneously here, which might sustain the life of man when lost in these almost boundless prairies, which are some of them several days journey in extent. His faithful rifle would avail him but little here, although surrounded by whole herds of buffaloe, deer, and mustangs, since there is no covert to conceal his approach; he would be only tantalized by the sight, and the sweet morsel would be forever beyond his reach.

Upon the eastern confines of this division, along the river Guadalupe and its branches, and especially on its large eastern branch, the Saint Marks, there is perhaps a sufficient supply of wood and timber for any purpose for which it may be needed in that climate. The traveller might here be in some doubt whether he was not in the mixed, instead of having entered the prairie region, and the confines of the two might have been more properly placed here, perhaps, than upon the La Baca; yet the prairies greatly prevail here, and scarcely more than one tenth of the whole area in the Guadalupe district is in wood.

The soil is excellent, both here and on the river San Antonio, still further west, and scarcely surpassed in fertility by the lands of the middle region. West of the San Antonio, the country is oftener visited by severe droughts, to the serious injury of vegetation. Early planted crops, however, seldom fail there. The borders of the San Antonio river are favorable for very extensive irrigation from the waters of that river, and this is already practised to considerable extent; many of the farms and gardens in the neighborhood of the city of San Antonio or Bexar, are watered by numerous artificial rills supplied from the river; such-rills are also conducted through many gardens within the city walls.

The whole of this division, with the exception of the valley of the Bravo del Norte, coast as well as interior, is more elevated than the middle region, less favored with rains, and with a soil in general of less depth and fertility, though abounding in various extensive tracts, perhaps equal to the former. All the productions which have been enumerated as adapted to the soil and climate of the former, may be produced here, but in less abundance.

The boundless extent of rich pasturage is even superior, and every square mile would enrich a farmer by its pasturage alone. The want of wood and timber presents a serious obstacle to the rapid settlement of this division, but means will be found to supply this want, and with the race of men now approaching and already upon its border, it may be safely predicted that this fertile region, which has lain waste during all past ages, will in that which is to succeed, be made to yield in abundance the rich and varied

agricultural treasures which nature has fitted it to produce, to tens of thousands of human beings who will then have found a happy abode on its broad and inviting surface.

The lower valley of the Bravo del Norte is the least valuable portion of this division, abounding in extensive marshes, not easily reclaimed; it offers neither health nor plenty, in a country which is elsewhere, over its whole surface, so liberal of both.

The Nueces, which falls into a bay of the same name, about midway between the Bravo del Norte and the San Antonio, is mostly bordered, for more than 200 miles, with extensive plains, covered with the deep black mould, which almost everywhere distinguishes the prairie, and promises a fertility unsurpassed even by the middle region.

This division is less favoured with interior facilities of navigation, than other parts of Texas. The great river which forms its western boundary, is obstructed by sand bars, or shallows at no great distance from its mouth, which are impassable for boats of any considerable size. The waters of Nueces have not been fully explored, no obstruction to the navigation of small steam boats have been discovered, and it is conjectured that such boats may ascend this river, a distance of 200 miles. The San Antonio and Guadalupe may be ascended by the same class of boats, the former about 80, and the latter about 60 miles.

Aransaso bay, which receives the waters of the San Antonio and Guadalupe, is an extensive sheet of water, extending some 30 miles into the country. It has several inlets from the gulf, which afford entrance for vessels of 100 tons burthen, and a good harbor within. Nueces bay is not inferior to the Aransaso.

The settlements in this division are as yet confined to very narrow limits. The American settlements in their progress westward, have entered upon its eastern confines; some thirty or forty families are, or were, located along the borders of the Guadalupe. On this river also are a few Mexican settlements.

Victoria, a small town settled mostly by Mexicans, is situated upon this river a few miles above its mouth, and about sixty miles above was Gonzalos laid out and built by the colonists from the United States. It was burnt by the inhabitants, on the approach of the Mexican army. On the San Antonio river, are the most extensive Mexican settlements in Texas. More than a century has elapsed since the Spanish settlements were begun here, but so slow has been its progress, that the same ratio of increase would not cover a tract of a hundred miles square, allowing a family for every square mile, short of a thousand years.

The settlements upon the borders of this river were estimated before the present war, at about 6,000 souls, nearly half residing within the walls of the city of Bexar, and the residue, partly on

the ranches or small farms in the neighborhood, and partly at Goliad, situated eighty miles below, and thirty from the mouth of the river. An Irish settlement was begun near the mouth of the Nueces, but has been broken up by the war. A few Mexican villages are found upon the Little Brazos, and perhaps upon the other small streams that fall into the gulf between the Nueces and the Bravo del Norte.

We come next to that part of Texas bordering the Red river; but of this we shall say little in a separate notice, not because it is deemed unworthy, but because it is a mere counterpart of the opposite border of the same river, which lies within the limits of the United States, and is therefore too well known to require a particular description.

adduced, affording sufficient evidence of the high character of the Red river lands, and that is, that wherever they have been brought into market by the United States, they have immediately advanced as high as twenty-five dollars and upwards per acre, while in an uncultivated state.

There is great uniformity in the character of these lands, along nearly the whole extent of the river. Its borders present almost every where, Louisiana in miniature, with its swamps, and sluggish bayous in the rear. Yet so fat and warm is the soil, and so high its reputation for cotton, that so soon as the raft is removed, and the lands in market, hundreds of miles now lying waste, will become rich plantations, visited weekly by numerous steamboats, which will then wend their way more than a thousand miles up the wave of this, the last, but not the least, of the great tributaries of the *grande-monarch* of rivers.

A few remarks upon a portion of the region which we have designated as only partially explored, shall close our separate notices of the different divisions of the country.

The mountainous range mentioned as forming the northern boundary of the western and part of the middle division, covers but a narrow strip of country, and subsides on the north as on the south, into an undulating surface of mingled wood and prairie, extending to the level lands upon Red river. This large district, watered by the Brazos and Colorado, and their numerous branches north of the mountains, is yet entirely without settlements, unsurveyed and ungranted. It is found, so far as explored, not surpassed in beauty or fertility by the rolling lands below, and will soon become almost equally valuable.

Few interior regions are more highly favored with navigable waters, having the Red river at no great distance on the north, and the Brazos and Colorado, boatable through it for some hundreds of miles, the latter holding its course without rapids from its mouth far into this district.

Still west and north west of this district, lies another, far more extensive, now claimed by the government and people of Texas. It extends along the Bravo del Norte, and its great eastern branch, the Puerco, on the west, and still north along the former to the head waters of the Arkansaw, thence down that river to the north west corner of the territory of the same name, thence down the west line of said territory to the Red river. It is watered by the rivers which have been mentioned as mostly forming its outlines and their numerous tributaries. It is literally a region of head waters, having within its boundaries the sources of the Arkansaw, and its great southern branches, the Negracka, the Saline, and the two forks of the Canadian, and also those of the

These mostly take their rise in the great chain of mountains called Sierra Madre (mother ridge,) which ranges nearly parallel with the Bravo del Norte, from the sources of the Arkansaw, to the mouth of the Puerco, a distance of nearly one thousand miles.

The track of the trading caravans from Saint Louis to Santa Fe, crosses this district, and that lonely city which has long occupied a position so fearfully interior, stands on the east bank of the Bravo del Norte, and is therefore included in this part of Texas.

## CHAPTER III.

*General remarks upon the face of the country—soil—productions for export and use—herds of cattle—their fine appearance and the causes of it—navigable waters—bays and rivers—the Sabine—Galveston—Matagorda—Aransaso and Nueces bays—the Bravo del Norte—Red—Brazos—Colorado—Puerco—Trinity—Sabine—Nueces—San Antonio—Guadaloupe and Neeches rivers.*

HAVING marked out the natural divisions of Texas as they strike the eye of the traveller, and concluded, according to our plan, a brief description of each, under separate heads, embodying therein such facts as seemed properly to belong to each, we now proceed with our geographical sketch of the country, in a more general form, in doing which we shall endeavor to avoid, at least, all unnecessary recapitulation; many of the same objects must however again be presented for the purpose of adducing new facts concerning them, but the repetition shall be confined almost exclusively to names.

Two facts being given, in regard to the greater part of the maritime region of Texas, viz. the extreme low margin of the coast, scarcely rising above the waves of the gulf, and this continuing apparently almost a dead level, without the slightest natural eminence, and without a rock, stone, or so much as a gravelly pebble near the surface, for a distance in some places of nearly a hundred miles into the country, the inference seems to be almost irresistible, that this must be a country of swamps, marshes, lagunes, and pools of stagnant water, and accordingly the traveller, although he has been told that they do not exist here, is incredulous of the fact, and after a vain search in their pursuit, expresses his astonishment that they are no where to be found; and it is only after carefully examining the streams, and finding them every where flowing with a gentle current, that the mystery is cleared up, and he discovers that the whole surface has a regular inclination towards the gulf, of several feet in a mile; both the eastern and western confines of the country are excepted from this remark.

The whole country indeed, from the coast to the borders of Red river, is one vast inclined plain, and the range of mountains which crosses it nearly midway, seems placed there only to diver-

sify the scene, and break the force of the north winds, which might otherwise sweep with irresistible fury down this almost boundless plain, and perhaps also to purify the waters of the rivers that flow through it, since it does not, like most other mountain ranges, interrupt their course, or give them a new direction ; so careful is it to avoid this, if reports of some of the Indian hunters may be credited, that when it cannot otherwise afford them a passage, it swallows them at its northern base, in order to discharge them again at its southern. This range of mountains, or rather chain of peaks and knobs, is a continuation of the mother ridge, which leaves the Bravo del Norte at the mouth of the Puerco, and ranging off to the east, affording the sources of the Nueces, San Antonio, Guadalupe, and Saint Marks, and a passage through it for the Colorado, it terminates in a high and rocky bluff, on the west bank of the Brazos ; short spurs and isolated peaks are occasionally found standing out from the main range, but these are not of frequent occurrence, and in general it occupies but a narrow space, and the rolling lands reach its base unbroken, marked for a distance of 20 or 30 miles with an underlay of pure lime stone, as would seem from the banks and beds of the small streams being often composed of that valuable material. The summits of the highest peaks in the range are bald, but in general, the summits as well as the steepest declivities, are covered with a thick growth of wood, mingled towards the base with an almost impenetrable undergrowth.

In a general view of the soil and productions of Texas, it cannot be necessary to add much, after what has been said upon this subject, in noticing the different divisions.

That the greater part of the country is alluvion, and mostly of the richest quality, is conceded by all who have examined it, and having in some of its divisions every variety of soil which is found any where in alluvial districts, with a climate between the temperate and tropical, and partaking of the advantages of both, it will be perceived that the abundance and variety of its productions, when carried to the extent of its capabilities, can scarcely be limited.

In addition to the valuable articles of cotton, sugar and tobacco, which it must produce largely for export, and in the former it will very soon probably, rival any other state in the world, silk may at no distant day be added to the list, as the mulberry of several species is self planted in the country, in great abundance, and wines and fruits of various kinds must soon follow.

The future exports from the waters of Texas have been classified by an intelligent gentleman, well acquainted with the country, in the following manner : from the Trinity and the waters east, cotton, sugar and rice ; from the Brazos, cotton, sugar and to-

bacco; from the Colorado, and other waters of Matagorda and Aransaso bays, cotton, sugar, tobacco, raw silk, wines, figs, raisins, and several other kinds of fruit.

Such is the abundance and variety of the native grape, in many parts of the country, that wine of several kinds, and in considerable quantities, may be made without the labor of cultivating the fruit; natural vineyards of many acres in extent, producing several varieties of the sweet skinned grape, pronounced by a French vintner, to be equal to the best grown in France, are found on the Colorado and its branches, near the mountains, and probably may also be found in the same range of country, both easterly and westerly of this river.

The gardens of the earlier settlers are already enriched with a great variety of fruit trees. Oranges have not yet reached a bearing state, but figs, peaches, apricots, plums and cherries, are produced in the highest perfection. Melons, unrivalled in size and flavor, are grown and ripened in the rich soil and warm sun of Texas, and for quantity and quality of its sweet potatoes, it challenges competition with any part of the earth.

The inhabitants have already availed themselves to some extent, of the exuberant growth of nutritious herbage, which beautifies and enriches almost the whole surface of the country. Herds of from five hundred to a thousand head of neat cattle, are not unusual among the planters who have been ten years in the country, and in a few instances the number has been increased to two or three thousand, and no where in the northern and eastern portions of the United States, where the breeding of these animals from the choicest stocks, has of late been so carefully attended to, are finer oxen, cows and bullocks found than in Texas. The traveller, after having noticed the diminutive size and meagre appearance of most of these animals, along the southern coast of the United States, and having perhaps heard this degeneracy of the race imputed to the influence of a southern climate, is astonished to find here immense herds, no way inferior to the very best English breeds. A constant and plentiful supply of food of the best quality, serves to explain the whole mystery. The animal here in its infancy, is seldom robbed of any part of that nourishment which is necessary to exhibit the full perfection of its nature, and the supply continuing almost equally generous, it attains here, at two years old, the size and proportions that elsewhere with the ordinary mode of feeding, it seldom reaches at three. Working oxen, such as would excite the envy of a whole neighborhood of New England farmers, are found on every plantation in Texas, and the milk of a single dairy would derange the ample accommodations of half the dairy women in Goshen, and serve to concoct a cheese which would put to the

blush any of the mammoths of that order which have hitherto been exhibited to the world. There are, or were before the present war, a few farmers in Texas, who could number among their stock more than one thousand cows.

The number of beasts of prey, and especially of wolves, must forbid the introduction of sheep into Texas, for some years to come, and the extreme low prices at which horses are brought from the interior of Mexico and sold here, leaves little inducement for breeding this animal; from five to ten dollars a head being the common price of a four year's old Mexican horse, broken only to the halter. Some of the older planters are beginning to bestow some attention to the raising of mules for the Louisiana market, and also on the higher breeds of horses, for pleasure and the sports of the turf.

For the climate and health of the country generally, we must refer to the few remarks on this subject which were hazarded in noticing the different divisions, adding only that those upon the mixed region of wood and prairie are applicable to the greater part of the western division, and in many respects, to other large districts of the country.

The navigable waters of Texas, like those in the United States, connected with the gulf of Mexico, are all more or less obstructed with bars or shoals, where they communicate with the gulf, and the tide here rising but slightly, and not at regular periods, but depending mostly upon the winds, the navigation must be limited for some years to come, to the smaller class of vessels, and even these must be confined mostly to the bays, the mouths of the rivers being again obstructed so as to forbid their entrance.

In a former age, the rivers of Texas would have been of little value for the purposes of navigation. Even if the obstructions at the mouths were removed, so as to admit of the entrance of vessels designed for navigating the deep waters, such are their winding and devious courses, and so quick their currents, that little progress could be made in ascending them, and the lighters and flat boats that on some rivers were formerly propelled by poles, carrying merchandize far into the interior, would have been useless on these rivers, since the poles would have penetrated the yielding soil, which forms their beds, too deeply to be easily recovered.

These rivers were formed for the age of steam, and fortunately, the age of steam has arrived before they were needed for the purposes of navigation. The small boats propelled by steam, such as ascend the Connecticut, above tide waters, may ascend almost any of the rivers of Texas, nearly to their sources, and with their flat boats in tow, may at all seasons, unobstructed by ice, transport, at a trifling expense, merchandize, and the produce



of the country to all points wherever it is needed. During the season of high water larger boats may be used, but the season of high water is here of short duration, and the principal reliance must be upon the small boats referred to, which can proceed without interruption during the whole year.

The introduction of this class of boats will form a new era in the navigation of almost all southern rivers, which are now often useless as channels of transportation for several months in the year. Being in general narrow and without rapids, they hold a uniform depth of water in the driest season, sufficient for all purposes, if the right class of boats were in use, and they may be constructed as well for the accommodation of passengers as for towing freight. Nature has furnished in the numerous rivers of Texas, unequalled facilities for an easy intercourse, and cheap transportation between its parts, and a race of men are now here of whom it may be safely predicted that they will not fail to avail themselves of them to their fullest extent.

The bays of Texas, which cover, as may be seen, the greater part of the coast, in their present condition afford entrance and safe harbors for the largest class of coasting vessels, and the necessity which will furnish employment for ships of a larger class, will also furnish the means of preparing the waters for their reception, the obstacles now presented being such as it has been found elsewhere practicable to remove at a moderate expense.

The Sabine bay or lake, as it has been termed, at the eastern boundary of Texas, should be excepted from the foregoing remarks, in regard to its present or future direct intercourse with the gulf. It has but four feet of water at its inlet, and the shoal extends too far into the gulf, and is too formidable ever to be removed. A deep bayou enters this bay from the west, which interlocks with another of a similar character, entering the extreme eastern point of Galveston bay, with which it may be connected at an expense of a few hundred dollars, so as to afford a passage for such boats as will be used in navigating the rivers, which discharge their waters into this bay.

Galveston bay next presents itself on the west. It is the largest in Texas, being, with its eastern and western arms, about eighty miles in length, and where it receives the waters of the Trinity and San Jacinto, extending about fifty miles into the interior. It is not only the most valuable bay in Texas, but in the whole circle of the gulf of Mexico, having a haven large and safe, with five fathoms water, and good anchorage. It is sheltered for thirty miles by an island of the same name, at either end of which is an inlet, the western having sixteen feet water, and the eastern about half that depth, with a favorable tide. Sheltered as these passages are by the extreme points of the island, the channel of

either may be easily deepened, for the entrance of the larger class of ships. This is probably the best naval station in the gulf of Mexico, and its neighboring borders abound on one side with live and other species of oak, and on the other with Georgia pine, the best materials for ship building. The extreme western point of this bay is within twelve miles of the Brazos river, and about forty from the head of Matagorda bay, and seventy miles further west is Passo Cavallo, the only inlet to the latter.

Matagorda bay has evidently been separated from the gulf, in comparatively modern times, the ribbon-like peninsula, described in our notice of the middle division, having been thrown up by the joint action of the currents of the rivers on one side, and the waves of the gulf on the other. Opposite the mouth of the Colorado, the bay is now less than five miles broad, and the main and peninsula are visibly ~~converging~~ formations, so that at no very distant period, the eastern part of this bay will be reduced to the channel of the Colorado river, in its ordinary dimensions. There can be little doubt, that in the lower valley of the Mississippi, extensive bays have successively been made thus to disappear. The channel at Passo Cavallo has about twelve feet of water at low tide, and this holds with little variation to the bar at the western outlet of the Colorado.

Towards its western extremity, Matagorda bay stretches inland some twenty miles, where it receives the waters of the La Baca, and here also it is connected by a channel of but a few miles in length, with the Aransaso, the bay next presenting itself in pursuing westward the coast of Texas. This bay, and that of Nueces further west, have a greater depth of water within, but less at their passes to the gulf than Matagorda; they approach within a league at one point, if they do not, as some have supposed, actually flow into each other.

The value and importance of these extensive sheets of water, as the means of promoting commercial enterprises through the gulf of Mexico, must be apparent to all.

But there are those, who, looking to a rapid increase of population and wealth in the country, already point to still greater advantages which will be afforded by the bays that stretch along almost the whole coast of Texas. Connected by short canals, where the chain is now broken, and extended to the Mississippi, through the lakes between that river and the Sabine, an inland navigable route would be opened from the Bravo del Norte to New Orleans, and the rich products which Texas promises to yield in overflowing abundance, would find their way to a market without exposure to the storms of the boisterous gulf. Such an undertaking might be accomplished with less expenditure of labor than has been required by some of the secondary enterpri-

ses of the same character in the United States. The distance to be excavated for canals would scarcely exceed a hundred miles, through a country entirely level, presenting no impediment that may not be turned up with the plough.

The principal rivers in Texas, including those which form a part of its boundaries, arranged according to their magnitude, are the Bravo del Norte, Red River, Brazos, Colorado, Puerco, Trinity, Sabine, Nueces, San Antonio, Guadaloupe, and Neeches. The Bravo del Norte takes its rise near the fortieth degree of north latitude, in the neighborhood of the sources of the Arkansaw, and after a course in a south-eastern direction of more than 1500 miles, including its windings, falls into the gulf of Mexico, below the twenty-sixth degree of north latitude. The value and importance of this river can never be duly appreciated until the independence of Texas, embracing the country within the boundaries now claimed, shall be acknowledged by Mexico, or until it is received into the American union.

The eastern line of Texas strikes the Red River at the ninety-fourth degree of west longitude, and thence west to the one hundredth degree; this river forms the boundary between Texas and the United States. Its general course here is but little south of east, being almost entirely between  $33^{\circ}$  and  $34^{\circ}$  north latitude. It is supposed to be navigable for steam boats the whole distance during the season of high water.

The Brazos, which falls into the gulf nearly midway of the coast of the middle region of Texas, has a course little short of a thousand miles in all its windings. Its head waters are not far distant from those of the Red River, and its course for more than a hundred miles is nearly parallel with that river, when it takes a south-easterly direction, and holds this general course to its mouth. Through its broad bottoms below the mountains, it winds at least three hundred miles to gain two in a right line. During half the year, steam boats drawing four feet of water, may ascend it for that distance; here the navigation is interrupted for a few miles by rapids, and above them it may be resumed to an extent as yet unknown. Few streams are more affected by excessive summer drouths, and there are times when the waters of this river of a thousand miles might flow in the channel of a pitiful rivulet, and again it sometimes swells so as to leap its 30 feet banks, and cover the adjoining meadows with a broad sea of waters; the latter occurrence, however, is rare, since it has happened but once in the memory of living men.

The channel of this river, like most other rivers in Texas, is extremely narrow compared with its depth. At its mouth, where it is thirty feet deep at low tide, it does not exceed sixty rods in width. There is a slight curve in the coast, at its mouth, which

can scarcely be called a bay ; across this, nearly two miles out, is a hard unyielding gravel bar, over which, at common tides, there is less than six feet of water. Outside of this, in a position far from being a safe one, vessels bound into the Brazos, are often compelled to anchor ; frequent shipwrecks are thereby occasioned, and an entrance into this river must be effected at some risk, until the fostering hand of a government, like that of the United States, has applied some of its ample resources, in clearing a safe and commodious channel.

The far famed salt branch of the Brazos, which it is said sometimes converts the whole river into a pickle, should be reserved perhaps, to be classed with the remarkable curiosities of the country ; but lest it should be forgotten, we will give it a passing notice here. It is a fact now well attested, that the principal branch among the head waters of the Brazos, by spreading itself over a surface of crystalized salt, when it overflows its banks, becomes so strongly impregnated, as to give a brackish taste to the whole collected waters of the river for some hundred miles below.

The Colorado, the next river in size, has its head springs in the highlands west of the sources of the Brazos, and discharges its waters, as has been before remarked, into Matagorda bay. It has been usual to rank this river after the Brazos, but it is little, if at all inferior to it, either in the length of its course, or the volume of its waters ; and the latter being much less diminished by the summer drouths, it will become as a channel of communication with the interior, far more valuable. As far as this river has been explored, no impediment to a continuous navigation has been found, excepting the really trifling one near its mouth, which an expenditure of from five to ten thousand dollars would be sufficient to remove. It is a river of sweet and limpid waters, flowing through a country which excites the continual admiration of the traveller, and from whatsoever portion of the earth he may have wandered, he never fails to pronounce the banks of the Colorado unrivalled for the happiest union of beauty and fertility.

We shall pass over the Puerco by referring to the map, confessing our inability to add any thing to the knowledge which may be gained by its inspection.

The Trinity, the third river in size which flows through the heart of Texas, and the most valuable for navigation, in an unimproved condition, collects its head waters near the borders of Red River, and pursuing a south-easterly course of about 300 miles, forms at its mouth the eastern head of Galveston bay. It flows with a less lively current than the rivers west of it. It is navigable at all seasons, for a distance of about two hundred

miles, and presents no rapids to obstruct a further progress, but may be ascended in high water with suitable boats, nearly to its source.

Salt springs, which have been pronounced as productive as those of Salina, have been found near its banks, about 150 miles from the coast. Works for boiling and evaporating, are now in operation here on a small scale.

The Sabine has a course of a little rising of three hundred miles, and for nearly half that distance it runs parallel with the Red river; its general course is then nearly due south to its outlet in the Sabine lake. The obstacles which forbid a near approach to the inlet from the Gulf, must, for a long time at least, render this river nearly useless for the purposes of navigation. It is well known as forming the only point in the south-western boundary of the United States, which is approximated by settlements on both sides. Its waters have therefore been supposed to partake of the virtues imputed to those of the real Ganges, as well as to those of the fabled Lethe. It is a happy compound, when the waters of purification and forgetfulness are found mingled in the same fountain, since they should be partaken together in order to give full effect to either.

The Nueces finds its sources among the peaks in the mountain range of Texas, and pursuing a course of about three hundred miles, falls into the bay of the same name. The facilities it may afford for an easy intercourse with the interior, is yet matter of conjecture rather than certainty; rumor speaks favorably on this point as well as of the character of the land upon its borders. This river has hitherto been considered the western boundary of Texas, the district between this and the Bravo del Norte having been included in the state of Tamaulipas, while the farce of a federal republic was played in Mexico.

The San Antonio is the shortest among those we have enumerated as the principal rivers of Texas, having a course not exceeding one hundred and fifty miles. But it springs into existence from a cluster of fountains, a full grown river, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, in full maturity and beauty, grace, and we may add wisdom, if wisdom can ever be predicated of a river; hence it is ever found pursuing its even course, fulfilling the design of its creation, and never in a moment of madness mars its own goodly work. At the point where the waters of this river are collected from its fountains, it is twelve feet deep, and from twenty to thirty yards wide; it soon however expands over a broader surface, and becomes fordable at several places within the first few miles. It has occasional falls or rapids until within seventy or eighty miles of its mouth, and to this point, it may be easily ascended by that class of steamboats referred to

in the early part of this chapter. Uniting with the Guadalupe in its course, their joint waters are discharged into the Aransas bay, which by a channel opposite the mouth of this river, is connected with Matagorda bay. The advantages of water power which are presented by this river for the first fifty or sixty miles from its source, cannot well be surpassed. Its use in irrigating the soil upon its borders has been already noticed. In closing our notice of this remarkable river, we will venture to repeat a report current among the hunters on the upper settlements of the Colorado, that may serve, if true, to account for the marvellous fountains at its source. It should be remarked that the fountains of the San Antonio, spring up near the southern base of one of the spurs of the mountain range. A river of a corresponding size, is said to lose itself at an opposite point in the northern base of the mountain. This is supposed to be the identical San Antonio river which rises and flows off upon the surface, after having held its subterraneous course beneath the mountain; whether any one has yet ventured to navigate this space, so as to be able to testify to its identity, our informant saith not.

The river Guadalupe, which unites with the San Antonio some few miles above their outlet, exceeds that river in length, though its volume of waters, except when swelled by the mountain torrents in rainy seasons, is much less. Its whole course is probably little more than two hundred miles. The longest spur of the mountain range, is found running parallel to the upper waters of this river, and in many places so near as to overhang its banks, and it is here that the mountains approximate nearest to the coast. This spur subsides at the crossing of the San Antonio road, about one hundred and fifty miles from the coast. Below this, the borders of the river present extensive tracts of rich open prairie, alternated with thickly timbered bottoms, of less extent, but little less inviting than those of the middle region.

The Neeches, which with its western branch, the Angelina, water the red lands of Texas, falls into the Sabine lake, after a meandering course of perhaps two hundred miles.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Natural history—geology—botany—animals—reptiles—government—civil divisions—population—extract from Morfit's report.*

IN embodying a few facts which belong to the natural history of Texas, we shall confine ourselves almost entirely to those branches of the subject which may be denominated the useful, rather than the ornamental. In treating of these, we shall speak only of such things as serve to administer or otherwise to the comfort, convenience, and necessity of the inhabitants; neither our limits nor ability permitting a more extended notice.

The geological treasures of Texas, aside from her soil, which is believed to be such as to satisfy the most fastidious, can scarcely yet be known, there having been neither time nor opportunity to explore but a small portion of its surface, much less to search for what may be hidden beneath it. The important article of stone, or rock, a material deemed indispensable for building among civilized men, may be sought in vain in the level region of Texas. It soon appears in the beds of the smaller streams on entering upon the undulating lands, but the first specimens exhibited are generally of a friable species of limestone, which crumbles almost as easy as the earth in which it is imbedded; other species soon appear in advancing interior, and at a distance of a hundred and fifty miles from the coast, there is little difficulty in finding stone of a quality suitable for building. Still nearer the mountains, limestone, fit for all the purposes to which it is anywhere applied, is abundant. In a few rare instances, isolated rocks, of from five to a hundred tons weight, are found within a few miles of the line of the level lands; these increase towards the mountains, though far from being numerous; perhaps a circuit of twenty miles will present but a single specimen.

In the district within twenty or thirty miles of the mountains, stone for all useful purposes may be quarried in sufficient abundance to supply the whole country. Lime can be furnished from the same district, and materials for brick making can be found almost anywhere, by removing the soil to a sufficient depth. Lime may also be manufactured along the coast, from the im-

mense deposits of oyster shells which are found in many places in almost inexhaustible quantities.\*

The mineral kingdom has attracted even less attention than the geological, and although in the neighborhood of some of the richest mines in Mexico, no anticipations of collecting the precious metals, otherwise than from the productions of the soil, appear to have been indulged by the inhabitants of Texas. If there are among them those who are inflamed with an inordinate desire of wealth, it is an agricultural cupidity, which of all others has been found the least injurious, both in its influence upon the individual and the body politic. Placed in a position where an opportunity is afforded them, to compare the results of a passion for "gold hunting," and for "land hunting," the people of Texas can scarcely fail to profit by the lesson which is so forcibly inculcated by the contrast.

The mineralogical discoveries in Texas, are such only as have forced themselves upon the notice of persons in pursuit of other objects; they must therefore form very imperfect data for estimating the mineral resources of the country. That the precious metals abound in the mountain range, is generally believed, and many tales are told, by the native hunters, of former discoveries of rich mines of both gold and silver among the hills between the Colorado river and the head waters of the Guadalupe, and a tradition prevails, of the truth of which there can be little doubt, that a silver mine was once opened and successfully prosecuted here, until the workmen were cut off by the savages.

Coal of the bituminous kind presents itself at the surface in many places in the undulating region. Iron ore is also frequently found in the same region. It is seen in large quantities upon the declivities of some gravel knolls in the neighborhood of Mina, the upper town upon the Colorado. Copper mines have also been found unsought like the others; and the usual indications

\* In descending the live oak bayou, a fine navigable creek of some thirty miles in length, which falls into Matagorda bay at its extreme eastern point, the writer found on both shores, for several miles before entering the bay, an accumulation of oyster shells, in many places ten feet high; thousands of loads were visible at a glance. This creek, though now abounding with the living oyster of the most tempting size and flavor, is not yet visited by the present inhabitants of Texas for the purpose of obtaining them, and yet from the position of these shells, they must have been thrown there by those who had robbed them of their contents. It would seem that the few savages who once roamed the coast of Texas, might have feasted here for centuries. Large collections apparently thrown together in the same manner, are not unusual on the banks of the creeks and bayous along the coast, but no where else did the writer witness an accumulation like this, which appeared as if a populous city had been supplied for ages.



which serve to denote the presence of most of the useful minerals are not wanting, to induce a belief that the country is not deficient in resources of that kind.

To the scientific or amateur botanist, Texas presents a field unsurpassed perhaps by any portion of the earth. There are few kinds of trees, shrubs, or plants, which may not be found with all their various species, growing spontaneously in this highly favored country. Thus say the few initiated, who with uncloying delight have roamed the green fields, woodlands, and meadows, the sloping lawns, and verdant parks, prepared here by the hand of nature, and decked with all that she has of color or fragrance, waiting to be possessed by man, and wanting only the slight edifice which in this mild climate affords a sufficient shelter, to be fitted for his happiest abode.

Of the various species of forest trees suited to the wants of a populous country, the middle region has a sufficient supply of all kinds. In the eastern, as before remarked, the supplies are redundant, but wanting in some districts of the western. The level lands of the eastern division are clothed with the greatest imaginable variety, embracing all the choicest kinds for use or ornament. All the varieties of oak, hickory, pecan, wild cherry, mulberry, ash, elm, sycamore, cypress, cedar, pine, magnolia, holly, and a long catalogue of others, which it would be tedious to repeat, are found in the greatest profusion. In the corresponding district upon the Trinity, the variety or abundance is little diminished. Farther west, upon the Brazos and Colorado, and the intervening streams, the pine, cypress, and magnolia, are wanting, and many new varieties supply their place. The live oak is here most abundant. It is found sometimes mingled with other trees in the bottoms and cross timbers, but more commonly skirting them, or standing out from them, in open groves and sprinkled over the prairies; many of them are the growth of centuries, and have attained a size which would be deemed incredible by those who have not witnessed them. A species of high laurel, called here the wild peach, from the striking resemblance of the foliage to that of the peach, grows profusely in the bottoms, mingled however with the larger class of forest trees excepting the elm; and the bottoms are generally found marked with alternate tracts of peach and elm, and thus they are generally designated throughout the middle region of Texas, as peach or elm bottoms. Both have been found equally productive when brought under the plough, but the peach lands are preferred on account of a greater compactness of soil, which fits them for clearing and subduing at all seasons. The wild peach is valuable also for a fruit that it produces in great abundance, of the size of the large black cherry, which is sought with great avidity by swine, and has been

found highly nutritious and fattening. It comes, too, in a good time, when the last crop of acorns within the range is nearly exhausted, and continues until the new crop begins to fall. The latter then serves to complete the fattening. The acorn, in the perfection in which it is produced here, and especially that of the live oak, as a food for swine, has been found little inferior to corn.

Red cedar is found on several of the small creeks and rivulets near the coast, and is abundant in many parts of the interior. As yet, oak and elm being always at hand on the bottoms and prairies of the low country, are most used for fence rails, and the nearest timber with little regard to its quality, has here, as elsewhere in new settlements, been used for buildings as well as fences.

We have before alluded to the natural vineyards of Texas. To all the different kinds of the grape which are found growing in the United States, may be added many choice varieties which here spring up in favored spots in the interior. Cherries, mulberries, and plums of several species, also grow wild; among the latter is a dwarf which is believed to be peculiar to the country, growing not more than three or four feet high, and bearing a very delicate fruit.

Most of the flowering shrubs, as well as plants which are cultivated with so much care in the gardens and hot houses of the north, are offered to the admiring gaze of the traveller in the lonely forests and prairies of Texas. The deep verdure of the luxuriant herbage is almost every where sufficiently relieved by the variegated flowers scattered over the surface; but the admirer of nature in her gayer and gaudier colors, will find his progress sometimes arrested by a broad parterre so rich and varied, that after looking in vain for the mortal hands which could have been employed in collecting and arranging these gems of the vegetable kingdom, he will be half disposed to credit the tales of the East, and pronounce it the work of fairy hands; and the illusion will not be dispelled by finding that the worthless weed he has broken by the way side, becomes in his hands a fragrant and precious geranium, and the matted mass under his feet, transformed into the far famed sensitive plant, shrinking from his rude steps with instinctive life.

Even the new formed lands along the coast, while yet unclothed with herbage, are not without their ornaments. It is here the sword-leaved palmetto chooses its abode, and displays its gorgeous central flower, surrounded by triple ranks of pointed leaves, bristling like the bayonets of a grenadier guard.

Among the wild animals of Texas, of the ferocious kind, there is probably but a single species that may not be found in the un-

settled parts of the United States, and this is the Pecari, or Mexican hog, an animal bearing considerable resemblance to the common swine, but smaller and more ugly and unshapely in its proportions; when full grown its size is about half that of the common breed of swine. It is the most pugnacious, perhaps, of all animals, being seldom known to retreat, but always ready for fight, and being armed with hooked tusks of several inches in length, it is generally regarded as a very formidable adversary. In a rencounter with man it sometimes inflicts grievous, but not dangerous wounds. It has neither the size nor strength to render it a dangerous adversary, but its readiness at all times, to quarrel with whomsoever and whatsoever it meets, makes it terrible to the negroes, who will flee in troops before the Mexican hog. This animal is but rarely seen, and the presumption is, that it has never been numerous, as it never avoids a conflict with more powerful animals, which alone are willing to encounter it. Its first battle is generally its last, and the race therefore, most of them, perish early in the "field of honor."

Reports have sometimes been spread by the timid, of having seen the South American tiger, or leopard, in the forests of Texas, but the most voracious hunters of the country are incredulous of their existence there, believing that the common American panther had been mistaken for them, in the hasty glance in which the inexperienced woodsman generally indulges himself when such spectacles are presented to him in the forest. The latter animal is found here as elsewhere on the continent, retreating into the wilds as the settlements advance. The black bear, the large black wolf, the dwarf or prairie wolf, and a small assortment of wild cats, are found lingering behind the panther, manifesting a greater reluctance at leaving their old haunts.

Among the small feline race is a very beautiful species, called very appropriately the leopard-cat, being spotted with the same bright and brilliant colors as the leopard.

Among the larger quadrupeds, whose flesh as well as hides richly reward the hunter for the labors of the chase, the buffalo, the common black cattle, and deer, are abundant. The two former, however, must be sought on the frontiers of the settlements, the latter abound every where; large herds are often seen quietly grazing upon the prairies, in sight of the plantations, and in travelling, herds of deer are as common as flocks of sheep, in a well settled country, and scarcely more timid; at two or three hundred yards distance, they will remain quietly gazing at the passing traveller, seldom retreating, unless they discover an evident intention of approaching them with sinister designs. They are seldom hunted in the open prairie, and are therefore bolder in that position than any other. A little before sunset they are gen-

erally seen returning to their shelter in the nearest wood ; and at this time the planter who is in need of a fresh stock of venison, conceals himself with his deadly rifle, in the skirts of the wood, near the track where a herd are known to return to their nightly haunts, which is generally the same through the season, and here he is nearly as certain of his prey as a farmer in New England would be of obtaining a lamb from his own flock.

The buffalo is far more shy, and uniformly leaves his old haunts wherever the settlements approximate very near. This animal may often be approached upon the prairie much nearer than deer ; with a strong wind blowing from the herd, the hunter often comes within fifty yards without alarming them ; showing that they rely principally upon their acute sense of smell, as a warning against danger ; having the wind from their enemy they will fly his approach at the distance of four or five hundred yards.

The buffalo is easily domesticated. When taken young, and fed by the hand of man, no animal is more docile ; and none fly the approach of man with stronger marks of fear and consternation, than the common black cattle in a wild state. The wild cattle of Texas are said to be numerous. They are occasionally seen in large herds by the hunter and the traveller beyond the frontier settlements, but almost always in the forests and thickets, seldom venturing into the open prairie, when in the neighborhood of the haunts of man. In the vast prairies of the north west, or upper Texas, they are still more numerous ; several thousands are sometimes seen in a day's travel. They manifest less fear here, from being less exposed to encounter the sight of man. But it is but very seldom that the hunter can approach within gun shot of the wild cattle of Texas, and of all the species of game which roams these wilds, they are the most difficult to reach, and will probably survive all others. These animals have not strayed from the herds of the present inhabitants. It is believed that no instance has occurred where an animal has been lost in this manner from the domestic herds. Not so with the horse. It is by no means unusual for the inhabitants of the frontier to lose their horses by the seductive arts of the mustangs, and between these and the predatory tribes of savages who are the most arrant horse thieves, it is indeed difficult for the frontier settler to keep a horse.

The mustangs, or wild horses of Texas, are supposed to be far more numerous than the wild cattle. The traveller seldom penetrates far into the interior, without putting to flight a troop of these fine animals ; sometimes he will see them flying in the confusion of an absolute route, but oftener making an orderly retreat, like well disciplined cavalry, under the direction of skilful

and experienced leaders. The wild horse, when taken young, is easily subdued, and rendered serviceable to man, but after reaching mature age it is scarcely within the art of man to break him for service. If he apparently yields, his vicious habits are sure to return, and his rider will find himself unhorsed and deserted at the moment of greatest need. The wild cattle and wild horses of Texas are most of them from a stock which have been wild for ages, originally abandoned, or lost through neglect, by the timid and indolent race of men who inhabited New Mexico.

In regard to the smaller kinds of quadrupeds, serpents, reptiles, and insects in Texas, they are not dissimilar from those found in the southern border of the United States. But owing to the absence of swamps and morasses, venomous serpents and noxious insects are less numerous.

Of the former, the large and small or prairie rattlesnake, and land and water moccasin, make the whole list. The subtle venom of the rattlesnake is well known, and unless an antidote is early applied, it often proves fatal. The bite of the moccasin is said to be equally dangerous. This *on dit* is perhaps questionable, yet we confess our scepticism would not carry us so far as to test the truth by an experiment; so much is certain, however, it may be encountered with much less hazard than the rattlesnake. If it is armed with a weapon as dangerous, it has less courage and skill in using it.

The centipede and the tarantula are the only venomous reptiles in Texas, and these are both found along the whole southern border of the United States. The latter is well known to be a large spider. Its bite has sometimes been pronounced incurable; yet well attested instances of death, caused by the bite of the tarantula, are very rare, not more numerous perhaps than from the sting of the common honey bee. The centipede is the scorpion, and the only scorpion of Texas. It is usually called the stinging scorpion, and northern travellers hearing it called by that name, are not aware that it is a reptile which is common in all parts of the United States below latitude thirty-two. Its sting is as easily cured as that of the hornet.\*

\* To those who have not seen the centipede, a brief description of it will not be uninteresting. It is about an inch and a half in length. Its head the size of a full grown caterpillar, and tapering to a point at the tail, where it carries its sting;—to inflict a wound it throws its tail over its back. It moves quickly but not rapidly, even with its *hundred feet*. When it is held fast by pressing a stick upon its back, after repeated efforts to avenge the affront by applying its sting to the wood, and perceiving them to be ineffectual, it will turn its sting upon itself, and almost instantly expire. While in this situation, it may be resuscitated by the application of a few drops of alcohol. The writer witnessed an experi-

Of animals of the lizard kind, there is one species not common to the United States. It is called here the horned frog; its body bears some resemblance to the frog, but it is clearly of the lizard kind. It has protuberances projecting from the head, of about a half an inch in length, in the shape of horns. The cameleon and various other species of small lizards, may be found every where in the forests.

The rivers and brooks are well stocked with fish, such as are common in the southern waters of the United States, and the bays and bayous along the coast are stored with oysters, large and well flavored, together with such other shell fish as are usually found in a southern latitude.

A short notice of the government, civil division, and present population of Texas, with an extract from Morfit's report, exhibiting his estimate of the population in August, 1836, will close our geographical sketch.

The present government of Texas is a republic, or more properly a representative democracy, in which the powers confided to their representatives are specified, and defined by a written constitution, which in all its essential features is but a counterpart of the constitution of the United States. Texas, however, being but a single state, to the congress is necessarily entrusted the authority to legislate for all its internal as well as its external relations.

The civil divisions are counties organized like those in the United States and towns, (not townships,) and cities.

In regard to the number of inhabitants, it should be remarked that the subjoined extract was evidently intended to sift very closely the estimates and the facts in support of them which had been submitted to the American agent, and on which his own were based. The increase since the date of this report, is probably not far from 15,000, principally by emigration from the United States.

"The population within that territory is said to have been 70,000; but from all that I can learn, it should be estimated at about 50,000, or less. The races consist of Anglo-American, Mexican natives, aborigines, and negroes. Of these, there are perhaps 30,000 Anglo-American settlers, distributed principally between the Nueces river and the Sabine, and on the Trinidad, Colorado, and Brazos rivers; about four or five thousand of the men of this population still remain at home, attending to their farms. There are 3,500 native Mexicans, of Spanish descent,

ment repeated several times, on one of these reptiles, thus expiring under its own sting, and as often restored to life by the application of a few drops of whiskey.

all interested in the cause of Texas. Of these, there are in the neighborhood of

Nacogdoches,	- - -	800 souls.
In San Antonio de Bexar,	-	2,000
In Victoria,	- - -	120
San Patricco,	- - -	50
La Bahia,	- - -	500

The negroes are about 5,000 in number. The *additional* territory claimed by Texas since the declaration of independence on the 2d March, 1836, will increase her population at least 15,000, so that the state may be said at this time to contain 65,000 souls. Of this augmentation, there will be, in the village of Taos, about 1,500, in Santa Fe 2,500, in San Miguel, 1,000, and 2,000 in the other settlements. There are also 8,000 souls belonging to the families of Rancheros, or herdsmen, who will add to the products, but not to the physical force of the country. The Rancheros are several, and in some instances numerous herdsmen, congregated upon a large estate, called a hacienda, generally belonging to one proprietor. Some of the Rancheros are feudal, where the land and greater profits, with certain services, are claimed by the haciendado or proprietary; others are allodial, where the herdsmen are either owners in fee, or are lessees at a rent in money or in kind, without the rendition of any personal duties. The feudal tenures are confined to the district of Santa Fe and Coahuila, and not many even there. Some of the haciendas have herds of 100,000 horned cattle, and very few less than 10,000, exclusive of mules and horses. The Rancheros themselves, of the poorest grade, have never less than 200 head. This information is derived by inquiry of intelligent men, who have traversed all that region of country, and I advert to it in order to show the resources which the newly acquired portion of territory will bring in aid of the future operations of the state, if her independence is acknowledged.

As regards the population of emigrants from the United States, they are said to be not less than 50,000, being all those whom I have denominated Anglo-Americans. They have been coming to this country from the first grant to Moses Austin, in 1820, down to the present moment. Those who were here before the revolution were called settlers, because their objects were agriculture, trade, and commercial enterprises. Those who have come since the declaration of independence, are termed emigrants, and devote themselves in the first instance as volunteers, to secure the soil upon which they afterwards intend to fix their homes."

## CHAPTER V.

*History—general remarks—grant to Moses Austin, to plant a colony in Texas—bequeathed to his son Stephen F. Austin—arrival of the first colonists on the Brazos—their hardships—difficulties—expedition against the Carancahua Indians—federal constitution adopted in Mexico—Texas united to Coahuila—review of events to 1830—Bustamente's authority expelled from Texas—petition to become a separate state—presented by Austin—His arrest and imprisonment.*

A HISTORY of Texas before 1821, when the colony of Stephen F. Austin was established there, can be little more than the history of the wandering tribes of savages who have probably roamed over its meadows and plains for countless ages; the few Spanish settlements within its limits, which were early planted, some of them in the beginning of the last century, can be deemed little better than outposts surrounding the military posts which Spanish cupidity and jealousy led them to establish there, to shut out others from a country which they were eager to hold, although incapable of enjoying.

Nacogdoches was the only post of this kind within the limits of the territory in which settlements had been effected by American emigrants before the war. The San Antonio river, on which stands the town of the same name, being west of the utmost limit of any American settlement.

The contiguity of Nacogdoches to the United States, early drew some of the adventurous spirits who are ever curious to discover what lies hidden beyond the boundaries of their own country, to visit it, and explore the "region round about." Several had taken up their abode there, as early as the beginning of the present century. These had no little influence probably, in diffusing among the Spanish population, that love of liberty, and courage to seek it, which made them first and foremost to stake all in an effort to throw off the Spanish yoke. The disastrous result of that effort, when their brethren in Mexico, instead of seconding their noble resolve, turned their arms against them, is well known, and the detail has often excited the sympathies of the reader. They were driven destitute from their homes, by an overwhelming force, and for years were houseless wanderers in a



foreign land. The lesson was not lost upon them, as the remnant of this population, and their descendants, were found without a single exception faithful to the cause of liberty in the late contest; many of them were in the ranks at the battle of San Jacinto, and displayed a courage worthy the ancient renown of their race.

The deeds of Magee and his associates, so well worthy of record, must now be familiar to our readers; they belong not to the history of Texas, except as the then almost unexplored wilds of the country were the scene of their victories and their glory, but not the object of the conflict; the combatants on both sides were drawn from territories beyond its limits, and met there not to contest the soil of Texas; the prize was also without its limits.

The unimportance of the early history of the country is strongly exhibited in the fact that it was really unknown as late as 1819, the date of the Don Onis treaty. Something more might have been expected from the associates of Magee, many of whom returned to the United States, who had passed through the heart of the country, and among them were some who may fairly be presumed to have been capable both of estimating and giving a just account of its value and importance; had such an account been given even verbally, an impression must have been made which is scarcely reconcileable with the want of intelligence on the subject evinced by the treaty. It is very certain that these daring men, greatly intent upon other objects, did not properly appreciate the country they passed through.

Texas may therefore be considered as unknown, except to the Spanish authorities in Mexico, who carefully concealed their knowledge from the world, until Stephen F. Austin and his colonists gave a true account of it, and this was at first deemed too incredible for belief. It is true, the existence of such a town as San Antonio, the river of that name, as well as the more important rivers, Brazos and Colorado, had been known for more than a century, and this rendered the tale of Austin and others more incredible. It was strange indeed that nobody should have dreamed all this while that the finest country in the world, and so easily accessible, remained unoccupied, and almost unclaimed, while almost every nook and corner of the earth had been eagerly explored in pursuit of a like object.

When Austin arrived in Texas with his colonists, probably the whole number of inhabitants, descended from Europeans, did not exceed 3000; there may have been some thousand or two more half breeds incorporated with them. These were almost all in and about the towns of Nacogdoches and San Antonio, distant about 250 miles, the one from the other.

Until the enterprise of Magee, which led him to their neighborhood, and the subsequent "stirring events" of the Mexican revolution, the inhabitants of San Antonio had been so long isolated from the rest of the civilized world, that their condition, in point of intelligence, was little better than that of the savages who were their most frequent visitors. With much of the sloth and indolence, and without the courage that characterizes the savage of our continent, almost every thing without the walls of the town became a prey to his depredations. It was not uncommon for the Camanches to visit the town in the character of friends, and after bartering for a supply of ammunition, to use it on departing, to murder and rob the inhabitants of the suburbs and neighboring farms.

The beautiful and fertile region, watered by the Trinity, Brazos, Colorado, their tributaries, and the intervening streams, was without a civilized inhabitant, and without a rod of cultivated ground, excepting a few corn fields upon the Trinity, in possession of the Cushatee Indians.

To Moses Austin, a native of Connecticut, the father of General Stephen F. Austin, belongs the credit of conceiving the enterprise of planting a colony of his countrymen in Texas. He so far matured his plan as to obtain a grant from the Spanish authorities in Mexico, but being overtaken by severe indisposition, and finding the enterprise likely to be interrupted by his death, he bequeathed it to his son, Stephen F. Austin, strongly urging him to prosecute it to its final accomplishment. The grant to the elder Austin was made the 17th of January, 1821. It authorized the introduction of 300 families, upon a specified territory, of a little less than one hundred miles in breadth, upon the coast, and in length about one hundred and fifty miles, towards the interior, crossing both the Brazos and Co'orado, and including large tracts east and west of these rivers. By the terms of the grant or contract with Austin, each family was to receive a grant in fee simple of a square of land of the extent of one Spanish league on each side. The grant to Austin, as it has usually been called, but which was nothing more than a contract, the terms of which were that Austin the contractor, (called in the Spanish language the *empresario*,) should introduce the three hundred families, who must be of good character for probity and industry, and for this service, the Spanish authorities, after the foregoing encouragement to the colonists, were bound to convey in fee simple to the contractor, five square leagues of land for each hundred families so introduced. It was stipulated also in favor of the colonists, that they might bring with them all necessary implements for pursuing the trade or occupation which they proposed to follow, and also other goods not exceeding 2000 dollars, free from any

impost or duty, and that their property should remain exempt from taxation for a period of five or six years.

The younger Austin immediately engaged in the undertaking, and pursued it with an ardor and ability worthy of the object. Being but poorly supplied with pecuniary resources, he communicated his plans to most of the capitalists in the south western states, with the hope of drawing them into the enterprise, but in general with little success; and he was finally compelled to embark with a purse made up of the small means of such men as he found willing to embark with him. About one hundred families had engaged to accompany him. A part of them proceeded with him and arrived on the Brazos river in December, 1821.

To draw a parallel between this little band and another which landed upon the inhospitable shores of New England, in the same month, two hundred years before, would be deemed by many too great an honor to the former, and by some would be thought impious; we therefore forbear. A son of the pilgrims, however, and especially one who ranks himself as the friend of Texas, will notice the dates so nearly coincident with many other circumstances in support of the parallel, and to construe them as a favorable augury, can scarcely give offence in any quarter.

The Carancahuas, formerly a very numerous and powerful tribe of Indians, who possessed the coast of Texas, had been reduced by frequent wars with the interior tribes, to a very small number; otherwise their indomitable courage, and untameable ferocity, would have rendered them too formidable to have been encountered by the small band that accompanied Austin. Reduced as they were, the colonists felt themselves unable for two years after their arrival in the country, to chastise them for their insolence, petty thefts, and open depredations upon their property, with which they were continually annoyed. The cargoes of two schooners which followed them from New Orleans, consisting of necessaries for their subsistence and comfort, were totally lost to them, the one by shipwreck, and the other by the depredations of the savages after it was landed. Thus left destitute of supplies, they were reduced for the first year to subsist almost entirely upon the game, wild fruit and vegetables of the country, without bread, and during the greater part of the time without salt. Even their seed corn, to ensure a supply of bread for the coming year, was obtained only by encountering the difficulties and dangers of an overland route of nearly two hundred miles, through an Indian country.

Favored by a mild climate, and encouraged with the hope of future abundance, from the apparent fertility of the soil and the ease with which it could be brought under cultivation, the colonists persevered, in spite of the difficulties and dangers with which

they were already surrounded, and those that they had reason to apprehend, from the unsettled government of the country, into which they had transplanted themselves. They had entered the country on the faith of the Spanish authority in Mexico, which was no longer acknowledged there. The new government, however, had promised to respect the grants, and fulfil the *bona fide* contracts of the old, and in regard to the policy of encouraging the migration of foreigners to reside in the country, less liberality could scarcely be expected from the new than from the old government.

It was deemed necessary to report themselves to the authorities of the country, and for that purpose, in the following March, Austin visited the town of San Antonio, the nearest point where he could communicate with a functionary of the new government. He was here advised to proceed to the city of Mexico, to procure a confirmation or renewal of his grant, from the congress then in session.

Although in the existing condition of the country and the colony, the measure appeared to be fraught with difficulties and dangers on all sides, he yet determined to adopt it. He accordingly communicated his determination, and the reasons which in his opinion made it necessary to the colony, and proceeded across land for Mexico. Many of the colonists were alarmed at this intelligence, and a few were so much discouraged as to induce them to return to the United States.

While the confirmation of the grant was thus suspended, and the future prospects of the colony were clouded in doubt and uncertainty, during the long absence of Austin, which exceeded a year, emigration to this part of Texas was entirely interrupted. The tide which had begun to set in that direction, was checked, but not turned back. Emigrants who took the land route, stopped short, and located themselves in a portion of the country more contiguous to the United States; and the country between the Sabine and the Trinity was thus supplied with many of its present inhabitants. Austin having obtained a confirmation of his grant from the national congress of Mexico, returned to his colony in August, 1833. He found the colonists reduced in number, and those who remained, nearly discouraged. An assurance of a sufficient title to their lands, with all the privileges annexed as citizens of the country, revived their drooping spirits, and reconciled them to their new homes. The presence of their leader, who was endowed with qualities which peculiarly fitted him to be the head of such an enterprise, and in whom they now discovered a determination to persevere in spite of every obstacle, tended to inspire others with a like determination, and produced corresponding efforts to promote the prosperity of the colony.

The tide of emigration began again to flow in, and the colony has since continued to increase in numbers as rapidly as the comfortable subsistence of the inhabitants would permit.

The Carancahua Indians, the only tribe claiming possession of the coast, who as before remarked, continued to commit very frequent depredations upon the property of the colonists, during the two first years of their residence, having received nothing but favors in return for their transgressions, now become bold by impunity, began to butcher the inhabitants. Two families were found murdered in the western part of the colony. Convinced that nothing short of an act of retaliation could secure their future peace and safety, and roused perhaps by a desire to avenge the blood of their slaughtered brethren, a volunteer force of sixty men, headed by Austin, agreed to devote themselves to the service of the colony, until it was delivered from all further danger from these savages. Armed with rifles, and provided with a few horse loads of provisions, they started in the pursuit, and followed it with such success, that in a few days they destroyed more than half the tribe, and compelled the residue to take refuge in the mission house at Goliad. Here a new treaty was concluded with them, by which they were bound never afterwards to enter Austin's colony. This treaty was soon violated by the savages, but with no hostile intentions; their own weakness and the increasing strength of the colonists had allayed all apprehension of danger.\*

In organizing the Mexican territory into separate states, under the constitution of 1824, Texas was united for the time being, with Coahuila, the population at that time not being sufficiently numerous to justify a separate organization. The name was kept distinct, and it was called the state of Coahuila and Texas. Provision was made in the constitution for the creation of new states out of certain territories, whenever they should become sufficiently populous, with an express guarantee in favor of Texas.

The members of the national congress being chosen by the state legislatures, and Texas being always in a minority there,

\* In 1835, the remnant of the tribe, some fifteen or twenty of all ages, (the greater part of them having gone north and united with some other tribe, after they were subdued by Austin,) were seen by the writer near the head of Matagorda bay. They appeared to be preparing to celebrate some festival, evidently connected with the superstition of their race, being descended from the children of the sun. They begun at sunset a song or hymn addressed probably to the great luminary which had just departed, as they feared forever, and continued to sing without a moment's cessation, until sunrise. Sometimes the voices of both sexes were heard at the same time, and at others they were heard alternately; sometimes a *solo*, and again all appeared to unite, accompanied then with an instrument, the well known Indian drum.

never had it in her power to elect one of her own citizens a member of that body. In the state congress, as it was called, she was generally ably represented, and by that means succeeded in allaying, in some degree at least, the feeling of jealousy and intolerance which was indulged by most Mexicans against a people of a different language, religion and manners, and in preventing that feeling from manifesting itself in legal enactments against them.

A report of the grant to Austin, and of the character of the lands in Texas, having spread through the United States and Europe, the Mexican authorities were early beset with numerous applications for similar contracts for the settlement of other portions of the territory. In general, the applicants found little difficulty in obtaining them, and the whole territory of Texas was soon covered with such grants. Many of them were made to Europeans, who engaged at first with great ardor in the enterprise, but being inexperienced in the business, and unprovided for its difficulties, they were found too formidable to be overcome, and the contractor either fell a sacrifice to his imprudence or abandoned the object in disgust.

High expectations were at one time entertained of a rapid settlement of the country by emigrants from Europe, by means of these numerous contracts; but the effect has been rather to retard than to hasten it. These contracts having been limited to a period of six years for their fulfilment, have all long since expired, Austin's being the only one which was completed. In the meantime, several others were partially accomplished, especially those made by citizens of the United States, relying upon colonists from the United States, who alone seem to be fitted to succeed happily in the settlement of a new country.

From 1824, when the colonists first began to feel secure of a permanent foothold in the country, to 1830, they had sparsely spread over an extent of country of one hundred and fifty miles square, besides the considerable settlement in the neighborhood of Nacogdoches, and a less considerable one upon Red river.

During the presidency of Guadalupe Victoria, the constitution of 1824, and the federal system adopted under it, were looked upon as firmly established in Mexico. The rights of the several states, perhaps imperfectly defined, were, so far as they were understood, respected and preserved; and the usual results of a free government, administered upon just principles, began to exhibit themselves in evidences of general happiness and prosperity throughout all the states of the confederacy.

It must not be understood that the great body of the people were fully protected against acts of private oppression, from the aristocracy, the priesthood, and perhaps from officers of the fed-

eral government ; yet in this respect, their condition was far better than at any former or subsequent period ; and the people of Texas, far removed from the Mexican population, had felt nothing of this, but had thus far enjoyed nearly the same degree of liberty and security as would have fallen to their lot, if they had remained in the United States ; their condition indeed had been much like that of the people under the territorial governments of the United States.

For the purposes of internal government, Texas had been divided into five municipalities, each choosing its own sheriffs, judges, and other officers, corresponding in general with county officers in the United States. These officers, whose conduct bears so directly upon the interests and the happiness of the people, being chosen by themselves, from their own body, and for short periods, and being thus rendered responsible for the exercise of their authority, in the best possible manner, afforded them, while that authority was respected, the highest security against violence and oppression.

The American population in Texas at this time, (1830,) was probably not much less than 30,000, more than two thirds of whom were in Austin's colony, and the country immediately adjacent. They had left the United States not from any disapprobation of the government and institutions of the country, but to possess themselves of a portion of the rich soil of Texas, upon the apparently easy terms offered, in the Mexican colonization laws ; and not among the least of the inducements, and that which led them to forego the advantages of the government and institutions of the country of their birth, was the fact that those of their adopted country were nearly identical. They carried with them strong attachments to the institutions of their native country, and they carried with them that loyalty and fidelity, which is so distinguishing a characteristic of their countrymen, and which, as in duty bound, they immediately transferred to their adopted country. Their case was not that of a temporary resident in a foreign land, living in daily contemplation of a return to that of his birth. They had chosen the country as a home for themselves and their posterity, and up to the time we speak of, no part of the Mexican population felt a deeper interest in the prosperity and welfare of the whole country.

We have felt constrained to be thus particular in speaking of the condition of the country, and the feelings and sentiments of the people at this period, because the progress of the settlements in Texas was checked, not to say interrupted, from this time forward, by an entire change of policy on the part of the Mexican government ; and the allegiance of the people of Texas towards that government was from this time gradually weakened by fre-

quent acts of violence and oppression, in direct violation of the constitution and laws of the country.

The tyranny of Bustamante, who had usurped supreme power in Mexico, and exercised the authority of an absolute monarch, under the humble title of Vice President, was made to reach Texas, though from the condition of the people in a new settlement, having as yet little to tempt the rapacity of his myrmidons, they suffered less severely than most other parts of the country ; their distance too from the capital, favored their exemption, as the usurper deemed it necessary to keep most of his instruments within reach, to preserve his power against any sudden attack.

One of the first acts of his administration was the repeal of the colonization laws, so far as regarded the admission of emigrants from the United States, who were forbidden to hold lands in the Mexican territories. This was sufficiently disheartening to the people of Texas, as it not only disappointed their sanguine hopes of the early settlement of their country by a kindred people, but as it served also to exhibit in no very flattering light, the sentiments with which they were regarded by the authorities of Mexico. But a still greater source of trouble and vexation, was the intelligence which was communicated to them, that a new construction had been put upon these laws by the Mexican authorities, by which many of them would be deprived of their lands, now rendered doubly dear by a recollection of the sufferings, the sacrifices, and the labor they had cost. But they were not long left to brood over the apprehension of danger. Several bodies of troops arrived in the country and took their stations at several points on the coast, and at Nacogdoches, under the pretence of aiding the revenue officers, but really to annoy the people by petty acts of oppression, in order to drive them into conduct that might afford a colorable pretext for exterminating or banishing them from the country.

Accordingly, forts were erected at Nacogdoches, Anahuac, and Velasco ; these were to serve as prisons, where the most popular and influential citizens could be confined at the pleasure of the officer in command, and where military tribunals, organized for mock trials, could sit in safety, surrounded and protected by the garrison ; and to this use they were converted. - Citizens were arrested and confined, in several instances, upon vague charges of disaffection to the existing government ; the civil authority in several of the municipalities was declared to be superseded, and in all totally disregarded ; in short the inhabitants of Texas found themselves, in the midst of peace, suddenly subjected to martial law, administered by officers who appeared to have been sent there for no other purpose than to make war upon the rights secured to them by the constitution of the country.



The inhabitants, scattered over a wide extent of country in isolated settlements and single plantations, and as yet without roads, or bridges to shorten or facilitate an intercourse between them, were not immediately made acquainted with the nature and extent of these outrages upon their rights. They were not of a mettle, however, to surrender them without an effort for redress.

The character of the reigning chief now fully developed, and the well known condition of the native inhabitants in most of the states of Mexico, now groaning under multiplied acts of cruelty and oppression, forbid all hope of relief from petition or remonstrance. The alternatives presented, were submission or redress by their own arm.

In the early part of June, 1832, a consultation was held in the neighborhood of Brazoria, consisting of as many of the planters as could be conveniently brought together, in which it was decided not to wait for further deliberation or concert, but promptly to strike a blow for liberty, and trust to the influence of the example to rouse their brethren to action in other sections of the country.

Accordingly a force of about sixty men, under the command of John Austin, appeared on the morning of the 25th of June, before the fort at Velasco, at the mouth of the river Brazos, and sent in a demand for the surrender of the fort, with the assurance that the garrison should be permitted to retire, with their arms, on a pledge from the commanding officer that they should be withdrawn from Texas. This summons was answered as they had anticipated, only by defiance and threats. The plan of attack had been previously arranged. The assailants had possessed themselves of a schooner, which was anchored in the river a few miles above, on board of which they found a small piece of ordnance, and a few bullets, to which they had added a further supply of ammunition and missiles. This schooner, with its bulwarks so far strengthened as to afford a slight defence, was floated down the stream and anchored abreast, and distant about three hundred yards from the fort. This movement unexpectedly consumed most of the day, so that the attack did not commence until about sunset. Among the assailants, were some few skilful gunners who had seen service in the American navy, and a well directed fire was immediately opened upon the fort, which a bright Italian moon enabled them to continue during a greater part of the night. The fort was supplied with two pieces of ordnance, with which a spirited fire had been opened, but so ill directed that scarcely a shot struck the schooner, while almost every missile it sent told with effect. In the course of the evening, a part of the garrison, which consisted of one hundred and fifty men, made a rally with the intention of boarding the schooner, which lay

within a few feet of the shore. Some forty or fifty rifles, well aimed, drove them instantly back to their shelter. On the morning of the 26th, Col. Ugartechea, the Mexican commandant, finding his ammunition nearly exhausted by a lavish and almost useless expenditure, and his men unwilling to continue the contest, surrendered the fort to the assailants, who immediately demolished it, and dismissed the garrison without arms, to dispose of themselves at their pleasure. The loss of the assailants was one man killed, and two or three slightly wounded, while the Mexican killed and wounded was not less than twenty. Several of the assailants during the cannonade advanced within a few yards of the fort, and after discharging their rifles with effect at the garrison, retreated unhurt amidst a shower of musketry.

A report of this brilliant affair, the result of the first open resistance against the agents of the usurper, was almost instantly spread through the country, and failed not, as was anticipated, to rouse the whole people to a determination to demolish the remaining forts, disarm the troops, and thus to restore the authority of the constitution and laws of their country.

On the day following the surrender of Ugartechea, a considerable force was collected near the fort at Anahuac. They were to make an assault the next day, when they learned that Col. Bradburn, the commandant, was a prisoner to his own garrison; the latter having been informed that the garrison at Vera Cruz had declared against the authority of Bustamente, resolved at once to follow their example. They therefore received the Texans as friends, and surrendered the fort without resistance. Bradburn, who had made himself conspicuous above all the other military commandants in Texas, by insolence, rapacity, and cruelty, conscious of his deserts, escaped in disguise, and returned to Mexico.

The post of Nacogdoches now remained. The garrison had rejected an invitation to join the movement at Vera Cruz, and the commandant, Col. Piedras, believing he could confide in their fidelity, made preparations for a vigorous defence. The inhabitants of the district, to the number of two hundred, perhaps, appeared armed before the town; but finding the Mexican force, which exceeded their own in numbers, strongly posted in a large stone building, difficult of approach without exposure to a galling fire, most of them retired. About fifty of the most daring among them remained, and commenced an attack, which was continued during the day from various positions where they could best annoy the enemy, and with little regard to their own safety. This little band of not exceeding fifty men, acting each upon his own impulse, without orders, and without officers, had lost during the day's hard fighting, three killed and seven wounded, while the Mexicans maintained their post with the loss of about twenty killed

and as many wounded. The latter, unwilling to renew the conflict even with such odds in their favor, decamped during the night, and took up their march for the west. In the morning they were pursued by less than twenty mounted men, who by taking a different route, threw themselves in front at a distance of some twenty miles from Nacogdoches, and here taking a position in ambush they waited the approach of the Mexicans. The van soon appeared and were saluted with a volley from the Texans, with such terrible effect as to throw them back upon their companions, to whom they declared in their panic that they had been attacked by a large force. This produced a parley, during which the Texian leader was careful not to remove the impression which the panic had created, and the result was a capitulation by Col. Piedras, by which more than one hundred and fifty Mexicans laid down their arms, before a force of fifteen Texans.

Thus the contest was ended almost as soon as begun. In one short week Texas had shaken off a military despotism. A few planters, scattered over an extent of country equal to most of the kingdoms of Europe, without pecuniary means or resources, without military discipline or munitions of war, and without generals or officers of any grade, had by a spontaneous movement, attacked in their strong holds, defeated and captured nearly a thousand veteran troops, commanded by experienced officers; and without invading the property of a single citizen, and without the slightest commotion or irregularity, had returned again to their peaceable pursuits.

It has been supposed that some concert existed between this movement of the people of Texas and that of the garrison at Vera Cruz, which resulted in the success and elevation of Santa Anna to the presidency of Mexico. The coincidence was accidental: there was no other concert but that which originated in common suffering, and common hatred of the agents of the tyrant Bustamente.

News of the first considerable success which had attended the movements of Santa Anna and his friends in Mexico, reached Texas not until the last vestige of the power of Bustamente had been extinguished there. The intelligence came in a happy time, not only as it afforded hopes which they shared in common with the lovers of liberty, throughout the republic, of a restoration of constitutional order, peace, and tranquillity, but as it relieved them from apprehensions, which will appear but too well founded, of the vengeance of Bustamente and his agents, for the scenes which had just been enacted at home.

The final overthrow of the power of Bustamente, and the triumph of Santa Anna, which succeeded soon after, was then almost every where received, as the triumph of liberty in Mexico.

It was also hailed in Texas as affording a pledge of a just, liberal, and generous policy on the part of the national government towards that young and rising state, whose growth had been checked, and prospects nearly blighted, by a policy so entirely the reverse.

In July and August, of the same year (1832,) the savage tribes in Texas assumed a hostile attitude towards the inhabitants. Great sacrifices were made to avert the danger; these were cheerfully made, as they never had asked nor received aid from the national government to protect them from their foes.

In the following autumn, the cholera, which had been long travelling westward, desolating towns, cities, and hamlets, in its course, reached Texas, and swept off a great number of its inhabitants, and among them, many of its useful and valuable citizens.

In 1833, the tide of emigration from the United States, which had been interrupted during the administration of Bustamante, began again to flow into the country.

Texas having now attained a population equal to some of the smaller states in the confederacy, a convention was called to deliberate and decide upon the expediency of preferring a petition to the general congress, to be admitted into the union as a separate state. The convention met at San Felipeé, and having agreed upon the draft of a petition, Austin was requested, and consented to be the bearer of the petition to the general congress at Mexico, and to act as the agent for the petitioners, in pressing it upon the favorable consideration of that body.

The time was deemed highly favorable for preferring this petition, as the members of the new congress were understood to be the ardent friends of liberty, and the character of the new president, Santa Anna, was then looked upon as a guarantee of just and liberal measures. The people of Texas were therefore sanguine in their expectations of its success; not a thought was then entertained of severing the connexion, but all looked forward to a long career of happiness and prosperity, as citizens of a free state in the Mexican confederacy. The petition represented, that "Coahuila and Texas were totally dissimilar in soil, climate, and productions. That the representatives of the former were so much more numerous than the latter, that all legislation for the benefit of Texas, could be only the effect of a generous courtesy: That laws happily adapted to the one, would on account of the great dissimilarity of their interests be ruinous to the other: That Texas is in continual danger from the aggression of Indian tribes, without any efficient government to protect her in such cases: That the present legislation is calculated to exasperate the Indian tribes by withholding their rights, whereas by doing them

justice, valuable auxiliaries might be gained, instead of deadly enemies, which should be the policy of Texas. That Texas possessed the necessary elements for a state government ;—and that for her attachment to the federal constitution, and to the republic, the petitioners pledged their lives and honor.

For the above reasons among others, the petitioners prayed that Texas might be erected into a separate state of the Mexican confederacy ; in obedience to the decree of the 7th of May, 1824, which declares that Texas shall be provisionally annexed to Coahuila, until its population and resources are sufficient to form a separate state, when the connexion shall be dissolved."

Austin proceeded to Mexico with this petition, and arrived there in the early part of June. He was well received by many of the members of the national congress, who seemed disposed to give a favorable reception to his petition, but they were then deeply engaged in various projects of reform, on the success of which they believed the prosperity and welfare of the whole people depended. It was already manifest that Santa Anna, the new president, looked coldly upon these projects ; and notwithstanding the liberal sentiments of his message, his sincerity began to be doubted, and his designs suspected.

Austin presented his petition, and embraced every opportunity to urge upon many of the individual members such considerations as he believed calculated to advance the object of it. But after waiting several months, without obtaining a hearing from congress, and finding no encouragement on the part of the executive, he abandoned all hope of success in the present state of affairs at Mexico. He therefore addressed a letter to the municipal authorities of San Antonio, advising the call of a convention to organise a state government in Texas, and expressing his belief that such a step on their part might tend to advance, rather than prejudice their claim before the national congress.

He soon after left Mexico, in order to return to Texas, and had proceeded as far as Saltillo, in the state of Coahuila, where he was arrested and thrown into prison on a charge of treason, a charge which had no other foundation than the letter above spoken of.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Effect of the news of Austin's imprisonment upon the colonists—Santa Anna, the president of the Mexican republic, dissolves the national congress by force—establishes a military government—Texas prepares to resist—Austin returns to Texas—extracts from his address.*

IN the mean time the affairs of Texas had been highly prosperous at home, and the people, free from the insolence and rapacity of the military bands, which infested other portions of the republic, and being too far removed to participate in the inciting topics which distracted the capital, were tranquil in their present condition, and happy in the prospect of a bright future ; as the cloud which foretold the storm was yet invisible to them.

The news of Austin's arrest and imprisonment, aroused them from their dream of security. Several of the most influential citizens met at San Felipe, to consult upon the expediency of adopting some measure for his relief. Various propositions were submitted and discussed, but prudent counsels prevailed, and the members separated without having adopted any resolution upon the subject. The colonists in general were sufficiently indignant at the contempt with which their just claims and pretensions had been treated, and could not but feel that the imprisonment of Austin was an outrage upon their own rights through the person of their agent. There was no remedy within their reach, and it was thought, besides, that any open expression of their feelings might still more endanger his safety.

Some there were who then looked upon this apparently small matter, as the precursor of the great events which now belong to the history of Texas, and were unwilling to afford the slightest pretext for bringing on prematurely a contest which they foresaw was inevitable, but which it was the duty of Texas to await, and husband all her resources to meet manfully when it should come.

In the mean time every additional arrival from Mexico tended to strengthen these anticipations.

In the beginning of 1834, Santa Anna threw off the mask, and openly appeared as the champion of the aristocracy and the church. The liberal congress was dissolved by force, when the

term of its election had but half expired. To save appearances, a new election was ordered, when care was taken to post the military so as to overawe the suffrages, and procure the return of the creatures of the executive. This congress, which was convened only to register the decrees of a military despot, very quietly performed that duty.

From the date of the forcible dissolution of the national congress, in May, 1824, most of the states in the Mexican confederacy had submitted to military government, though the decree terminating their existence as states was not registered until the following year.

Then followed the bloody drama of Zacatecas, the catastrophe of which is well known; and this terminated the reign of the constitution and civil law in Mexico. Texas alone remained without the presence of the new authorities which had been adopted to supply their place; a military governor, with his tribunals for administering justice, composed of the officers of his regiment, with a thousand bayonets ready to execute its decrees, had not yet entered Texas. They were without government. *That*, to which they *lately* owed allegiance, had been forcibly dissolved, without their agency. It would seem therefore that they were now at liberty to choose for themselves, and to deny them the right to resist with *force*, an attempt to *force* upon them a system of government to which they were utter strangers, and to which their assent, either expressed or implied, had never been given, must certainly appear unreasonable. Yet for this they have been reproached in no gentle terms. The banner under which they fought has been called the banner of slavery, while that of their invaders has been pronounced the banner of freedom.

With the fall of Zacatecas, before the arms of the supreme chief, which happened in May, 1835, ended all resistance to his authority in the old territories of Mexico. In Texas alone it remained unacknowledged; neither had it been resisted, as yet, no attempt had been made to establish it there. The wide space of uncultivated land between the settlements in Texas, and those of the other states of Mexico, and the want of any exchangeable commodities to create an intercourse by water, rendered Mexican news slow in reaching Texas. This difficulty was still increased by a difference of language, which rendered the press of Mexico a sealed book to most of the people of Texas. In this case, too, great precaution had been used by Santa Anna to disguise the character of his late movements, and suppress all accounts of their true character. So that the late events in Mexico were not fully known and understood by the people of Texas, until a very few days before the arrival of an armed force of Mexicans upon their borders. The danger could no longer be concealed;

nor could the remedy be longer delayed. Nothing but a resort to arms could save them from a bondage, which, to them, appeared worse than death.

Sprung from a race, which in every age has poured out its blood in resisting the exactions of arbitrary power, and born and nurtured in a land where liberty is looked upon as an inheritance, to be lost only with life,—both the past and the future now met in their path, to forbid a compromise with tyranny. Yet, a contest with such stupendous odds against them was indeed fearful; and rash as the undertaking would certainly be pronounced, could they hope for succor or even sympathy from their kindred in “father land.”

There remained an alternative. To abandon the land now endeared by so many sacrifices, and return, to be strangers in that of their birth; this would avoid a surrender of personal liberty, but at an expense of rights fairly and honorably acquired, and possessions dearly bought. To sacrifice these without first striking a blow in their defence, was forbidden by *duty* as well as *pride*.

The incipient measure of organization to prepare for the struggle, was commended to them by the example of their ancestors. The arrival of a large Mexican force at Bexar, was the signal for holding public meetings in all the principal settlements, in which committees of correspondence and public safety were appointed, and the latter invested with such powers as the crisis demanded. No doubt could be entertained of the designs of the dictator, in sending troops into Texas, nevertheless it was determined not to begin the contest without the clearest necessity, and so long as the troops made no attempt to advance into the American settlements, and indicated no movements in that direction, to leave them quietly in possession of their present position.

It was supposed that the mass of the Mexican people could not be willing slaves, and hopes were entertained that early efforts on their part to recover their lost rights, in which they (the Texans) might co-operate, would lighten the weight of the contest, and render the issue less doubtful.

In the mean time, however, the committees of safety were busy in preparations for the worst, and almost every able bodied man in the country stood prepared with his rifle and stock of ammunition, to march at a moment's warning. The month of August was a season of gloom and anxiety, but all remained quiet as the silence that precedes the storm.

In the early part of September, Stephen F. Austin, the father of the colony, whose counsel and advice was greatly needed in the present emergency, returned once more to Texas, after an



absence of more than two years, a considerable part of which he had been immured in the former inquisition dungeons of Mexico.

Austin must necessarily have been minutely acquainted with the merits of the controversy between Mexico and Texas; his interest was for peace, as his all must be staked upon the unequal contest. If any error was ever imputed to him, it was that of carrying prudence to an extreme bordering upon timidity. He is now "gone to his account," and left behind him a character which malice dare not assail; we therefore feel it due to the people, a sketch of whose history we have undertaken to pen, to pause in our narrative, while we permit the man, who, of all the world, best knew their affairs, to speak in their behalf. It is due also to the memory of Austin, of whom our limits will not permit a further notice. We therefore extract the following, from an address of the late Stephen F. Austin, delivered at Louisville, Kentucky, on the 7th of March, 1836.

"It is with the most unfeigned and heartfelt gratitude that I appear before this enlightened audience, to thank the citizens of Louisville, as I do in the name of the people of Texas, for the kind and generous sympathy they have manifested in favor of the cause of that struggling country; and to make a plain statement of facts explanatory of the contest in which Texas is engaged with the Mexican Government.

"The public has been informed, through the medium of the newspapers, that war exists between the people of Texas and the present government of Mexico. There are, however, many circumstances connected with this contest, its origin, its principles and objects which, perhaps, are not so generally known, and are indispensable to a full and proper elucidation of this subject.

"When a people consider themselves compelled by circumstances or by oppression, to appeal to arms and resort to their natural rights, they necessarily submit their cause to the great tribunal of public opinion. The people of Texas, confident in the justice of their cause, fearlessly and cheerfully appeal to this tribunal. In doing this the first step is to show, as I trust I shall be able to do by a succinct statement of facts, that our cause is just, and is the cause of light and liberty:—the same holy cause for which our forefathers fought and bled:—the same that has an advocate in the bosom of every freeman, no matter in what country, or by what people it may be contended for.

"But a few years back Texas was a wilderness, the home of the uncivilized and wandering Comanche and other tribes of Indians, who waged a constant and ruinous warfare against the Spanish settlements. These settlements at that time were limited

to the small towns of Bexar, (commonly called San Antonio) and Goliad, situated on the western limits. The incursions of the Indians also extended beyond the Rio Bravo del Norte, and desolated that part of the country.

"In order to restrain these savages and bring them into subjection, the government opened Texas for settlement. Foreign emigrants were invited and called to that country. American enterprise accepted the invitation and promptly responded to the call. The first colony of Americans or foreigners ever settled in Texas was by myself. It was commenced in 1821, under a permission to my father, Moses Austin, from the Spanish government previous to the independence of Mexico, and has succeeded by surmounting those difficulties and dangers incident to all new and wilderness countries infested with hostile Indians. These difficulties were many and at times appalling, and can only be appreciated by the hardy pioneers of this western country, who have passed through similar scenes.

"The question here naturally occurs, what inducements, what prospects, what hopes could have stimulated us, the pioneers and settlers of Texas, to remove from the midst of civilized society, to expatriate ourselves from this land of liberty, from this our native country, endeared to us as it was, and still is, and ever will be, by the ties of nativity, the reminiscences of childhood and youth and local attachments, of friendship and kindred? Can it for a moment be supposed that we severed all these ties—the ties of nature and education, and went to Texas to grapple with the wilderness and with savage foes, merely from a spirit of wild and visionary adventure, without guarantees of protection for our persons and property and political rights? No, it cannot be believed. No American, no Englishman, no one of any nation who has a knowledge of the people of the United States, or of the prominent characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race to which we belong—a race that in all ages and in all countries wherever it has appeared, has been marked for a jealous and tenacious watchfulness of its liberties, and for a cautious and calculating view of the probable events of the future—no one who has a knowledge of this race can or will believe that we removed to Texas without such guarantees, as free born and enterprising men naturally expect and require.

"The fact is, we *had* such guarantees; for, in the first place the government bound itself to protect us by the mere act of admitting us as citizens, on the general and long established principle, even in the dark ages, that *protection* and *allegiance* are reciprocal—a principle which in this enlightened age has been extended much further; for its received interpretation now is, that the object of government is the well being, security, and

happiness of the governed, and that allegiance ceases whenever it is clear, evident, and palpable, that this object is in no respect effected.

"But besides this general guarantee, we had others of a special, definite, and positive character—the colonization laws of 1823, '24, and '25, inviting emigrants generally to that country, especially guaranteed protection for person and property, and the right of citizenship.

"When the federal system and constitution were adopted in 1824, and the former provinces became states, Texas, by her representative in the constituent congress, exercised the right which was claimed and exercised by all the provinces, of retaining within her own control, the rights and powers which appertained to her as one of the *unities* or distinct societies, which confederated together to form the federal republic of Mexico. But not possessing at that time sufficient population to become a state, by herself, she was with her own consent, united provisionally with Coahuila, a neighboring province or society, to form the state of COAHUILA AND TEXAS, '*until Texas possessed the necessary elements to form a separate state of herself.*' I quote the words of the constitutional or organic act passed by the constituent congress of Mexico, on the 7th of May, 1824, which establishes the state of Coahuila and Texas. This law, and the principles on which the Mexican federal compact was formed, gave to Texas a specific political existence, and vested in her inhabitants the special and well defined rights of self-government as a state of the Mexican confederation, so soon as she '*possessed the necessary elements.*' Texas consented to the provisional union with Coahuila on the faith of this guarantee. It was therefore a solemn compact, which neither the state of Coahuila and Texas, nor the general government of Mexico, can change without the consent of the people of Texas.

"In 1833 the people of Texas, after a full examination of their population and resources, and of the law and constitution, decided, in general convention elected for that purpose, that the period had arrived contemplated by said law and compact of 7th May, 1824, and that the country possessed the necessary elements to form a state separate from Coahuila. A respectful and humble petition was accordingly drawn up by this convention, addressed to the general congress of Mexico, praying for the admission of Texas into the Mexican confederation as a state. I had the honor of being appointed by the convention, the commissioner or agent of Texas, to take this petition to the city of Mexico, and present it to the government. I discharged this duty to the best of my feeble abilities, and, as I believed, in a respectful manner. Many months passed and nothing was done with the

petition, except to refer it to a committee of congress, where it slept and was likely to sleep. I finally urged the just and constitutional claims of Texas to become a state, in the most pressing manner, as I believed it to be my duty to do; representing also the necessity and good policy of this measure, owing to the almost total want of local government of any kind, the absolute want of a judiciary, the evident impossibility of being governed any longer by Coahuila, (for three fourths of the legislature were from there,) and the consequent anarchy and discontent that existed in Texas. It was my misfortune to offend the high authorities of the nation—my frank and honest exposition of the truth was construed into threats.

"At this time (September and October, 1833,) a revolution was raging in many parts of the nation, and especially in the vicinity of the city of Mexico. I despaired of obtaining any thing, and wrote to Texas, recommending to the people there to organize as a state *de facto* without waiting any longer. This letter may have been imprudent, as respects the injury it might do me personally, but how far it was criminal or treasonable, considering the revolutionary state of the whole nation, and the peculiar claims and necessities of Texas, impartial men must decide. It merely expressed an opinion. This letter found its way from San Antonio de Bexar, (where it was directed,) to the government. I was arrested at Saltillo, two hundred leagues from Mexico, on my way home, taken back to that city and imprisoned one year, three months of the time in solitary confinement, without books or writing materials, in a dark dungeon of the former inquisition prison. At the close of the year I was released from confinement, but detained six months in the city on heavy bail. It was nine months after my arrest before I was officially informed of the charges against me, or furnished with a copy of them. The constitutional requisites were not observed, my constitutional rights as a citizen were violated, the people of Texas were outraged by this treatment of their commissioner, and their respectful, humble and just petition was disregarded.

"These acts of the Mexican government, taken in connexion with many others, and with the general revolutionary situation of the interior of the republic, and the absolute want of local government in Texas, would have justified the people of Texas in organizing themselves as a state of the Mexican confederation, and if attacked for so doing, in separating from Mexico. They would have been justifiable in doing this, because such acts were unjust, ruinous and oppressive, and because self-preservation required a local government in Texas suited to the situation and necessities of the country, and the character of its inhabitants. Our forefathers in '76, flew to arms for much less. They resist

ed a principle, '*the theory of oppression,*' but in our case it was the *reality*—it was a denial of justice and of our guaranteed rights—it was oppression itself.

"Texas, however, even under these aggravated circumstances forbore and remained quiet. The constitution, although outraged and the sport of faction and revolution, still existed in name, and the people of Texas still looked to it with the hope that it would be sustained and executed, and the vested rights of Texas respected. I will now proceed to show how this hope was defeated by the total prostration of the constitution, and the destruction of the federal system, and the dissolution of the federal compact.

"It is well known that Mexico has been in constant revolutions and confusion, with only a few short intervals, ever since its separation from Spain in 1821. This unfortunate state of things has been produced by the efforts of the ecclesiastical and aristocratical party to oppose republicanism, overturn the federal system and constitution, and establish a monarchy, or a consolidated government of some kind.

"In 1834, the president of the republic, Gen. Santa Anna, who heretofore was the leader and champion of the republican party and system, became the head and leader of his former antagonists—the aristocratic and church party. With this accession of strength, this party triumphed. The constitutional general congress of 1834, which was decidedly republican and federal, was dissolved in May of that year, by a military order of the president, before its constitutional term had expired. The council of government composed of half the senate which, agreeably to the constitution, ought to have been installed the day after closing the session of congress, was also dissolved; and a new, revolutionary, and unconstitutional congress was convened by another military order of the president."

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"For the information of those who are not acquainted with the organization of the Mexican republic under the federal system and constitution of 1824, it may be necessary to state that this constitution is copied, as to its general principles, from that of the United States."

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"By keeping these facts in view, and then supposing the case that the president and congress of these United States were to do, what the president and congress of Mexico have done, and that one of the states was to resist, and insist on sustaining the federal constitution and state rights, and a parallel case would be presented of the present contest between Texas and the revolutionary government of Mexico.

"In further elucidation of this subject, I will present an extract from a report made by me to the provisional government of

Texas on the 30th of November last, communicating the said decree of 3d October.

“That every people have the right to change their government, is unquestionable ; but it is equally certain and true, that this change, to be morally or politically obligatory, must be effected by the free expression of the community, and by legal and constitutional means ; for otherwise, the stability of governments and the rights of the people, would be at the mercy of fortunate revolutionists, of violence, or faction.

“Admitting, therefore, that a central and despotic, or strong government, is best adapted to the education and habits of a portion of the Mexican people, and that they wish it ; this does not, and cannot, give to them the right to dictate, by unconstitutional means and force, to the other portion who have equal rights, and differ in opinion.

“Had the change been effected by constitutional means, or had a national convention been convened, and every member of the confederacy been fairly represented, and a majority agreed to the change, it would have placed the matter on different ground ; but, even then, it would be monstrous to admit the principle, that a majority have the right to destroy the minority, for the reason, that self-preservation is superior to all political obligations. That such a government as is contemplated by the before mentioned decree of the 3d of October, would destroy the people of Texas, must be evident to all, when they consider its geographical situation, so remote from the contemplated centre of legislation and power ; populated as it is, by a people who are so different in education, habits, customs, language, and local wants, from all the rest of the nation ; and especially when a portion of the central party have manifested violent religious and other prejudices and jealousies against them. But no national convention was convened, and the constitution has been, and now is, violated and disregarded. The constitutional authorities of the state of Coahuila and Texas, solemnly protested against the change of government, for which act they were driven by military force from office, and imprisoned.\* The people of Texas protested against it, as they had a right to do, for which they have been declared rebels by the government of Mexico.

\* “The legislature of the state of Coahuila and Texas of 1835, which made this protest, was dissolved by a military force acting under the orders of Gen. Cos, and the governor, Don Augustin Viesca, the secretary of state, and several of the members of the legislature were imprisoned. Col. Benjamin R. Milam, who fell at San Antonio de Bexar, and several other Texans, were at Monclova, the capital of the state, when these events took place—they took a decided stand in support of the state au-

“‘However necessary, then, the basis established by the decree of the 3d of October, may be to prevent civil wars and anarchy in other parts of Mexico, it is attempted to be effected by force and unconstitutional means. However beneficial it may be to some parts of Mexico, it would be ruinous to Texas. This view presents the whole subject to the people. If they submit to a forcible and unconstitutional destruction of the social compact, which they have sworn to support, they violate their oaths. If they submit to be tamely destroyed, they disregard their duty to themselves, and violate the first law which God stamped upon the heart of man, civilized or savage; which is the law of the right of self-preservation.

“‘The decree of the 3d October, therefore, if carried into effect, evidently leaves no remedy for Texas but resistance, secession from Mexico, and a direct resort to natural rights.’

“These revolutionary measures of the party who had usurped the government in Mexico, were resisted by the people in the states of Puebla, Oaxaca, Mexico, Jalisco, and other parts of the nation. The state of Zacatecas took up arms, but its efforts were crushed by an army, headed by the president, Gen. Santa Anna, in person; and the people of that state were disarmed, and subjected to a military government. In October last, a military force was sent to Texas, under Gen. Cos, for the purpose of enforcing these unconstitutional and revolutionary measures, as had been done in Zacatecas, and other parts of the nation. This act roused the people of Texas, and the war commenced.

“Without exhausting the patience by a detail of numerous other vexatious circumstances, and violations of our rights, I trust that what I have said on this point, is sufficient to show that the federal social compact of Mexico is dissolved; that we have just and sufficient cause to take up arms against the revolutionary government which has been established; that we have forborne until the cup was full to overflowing; and that further forbearance or submission on our part, would have been both ruinous and degrading; and that it was due to the great cause of liberty, to ourselves, to our posterity, and to the free blood which I am proud to say, fills our veins, to resist and proclaim *war* against such acts of usurpation and oppression.

“The justice of our cause being clearly shown, the next important question that naturally presents itself to the intelligent and

thorities and the constitution. Milam was taken prisoner with the governor, the others escaped to Austin's colony, and the local authorities were commanded by a military order from General Cos, to deliver them up to him. This order was not obeyed of course: it was the precursor of the invasion of Texas by this general in October.

inquiring mind, is, *what are the objects and intentions of the people of Texas?*

"To this we reply, that our object is *freedom*—civil and religious freedom—emancipation from that government, and that people, who, after fifteen years experiment, since they have been separated from Spain, have shown that they are incapable of self-government, and that all hopes of any thing like stability or rational liberty in their political institutions, at least for many years, are vain and fallacious.

"This object we expect to obtain, by a total separation from Mexico, as an independent community, a new republic, or by becoming a state of the United States. Texas would have been satisfied to have been a state of the Mexican Confederation, and she made every constitutional effort in her power to become one. But that is no longer practicable, for that confederation no longer exists. One of the two alternatives above mentioned, therefore, is the only resource which the revolutionary government of Mexico has left her. Either will secure the liberties and prosperity of Texas, for either will secure to us the right of self-government over a country which we have redeemed from the wilderness, and conquered without any aid or protection whatever from the Mexican government, (for we never received any,) and which is clearly ours. Ours, by every principle on which original titles to countries are, and ever have been founded. We have explored and pioneered it, developed its resources, made it known to the world, and given to it a high and rapidly increasing value. The federal republic of Mexico had a *constitutional* right to participate *generally* in this value, but it had not, and cannot have any other; and this one has evidently been forfeited and destroyed by unconstitutional acts and usurpation, and by the total dissolution of the social compact. Consequently, the true and legal owners of Texas, the only legitimate sovereigns of that country, are the people of Texas.

"It is also asked, *what is the present situation of Texas, and what are our resources to effect our objects, and defend our rights?*

"The present position of Texas is an *absolute Declaration of Independence*—a *total separation* from Mexico. This declaration was made on the 7th of November last. It is as follows:—

"Whereas Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, and other military chieftains, have by force of arms, overthrown the federal institutions of Mexico, and dissolved the social compact which existed between Texas and the other members of the Mexican Confederacy, now the good people of Texas, availing themselves of their natural rights, **SOLEMNLY DECLARE,**

"1st. That they have taken up arms in defence of their rights and liberties, which were threatened by encroachments of mili-



tary despots, and in defence of the republican principles of the federal constitution of Mexico, of 1824.

“2d. That Texas is no longer morally or civilly bound by the compact of union; yet stimulated by the generosity and sympathy common to a free people, they offer their support and assistance to such of the members of the Mexican Confederacy as will take up arms against military despotism.

“3d. That they do not acknowledge that the present authorities of the nominal Mexican Republic have the right to govern within the limits of Texas.

“4th. That they will not cease to carry on war against the said authorities, whilst their troops are within the limits of Texas.

“5th. That they hold it to be their right, during the disorganization of the federal system, and the reign of despotism, to withdraw from the union, to establish an independent government, or to adopt such measures as they may deem best calculated to protect their rights and liberties; but that they will continue faithful to the Mexican government so long as that nation is governed by the constitution and laws, that were framed for the government of the political association.

“6th. That Texas is responsible for the expenses of her armies now in the field.

“7th. That the public faith of Texas is pledged for the payment of any debts contracted by her agents.

“8th. That she will reward by donations in land, all who volunteer their services in her present struggle, and receive them as citizens.

“These declarations we solemnly avow to the world, and call God to witness their truth and sincerity, and invoke defeat and disgrace upon our heads, should we prove guilty of duplicity.”

“It is worthy of particular attention that this declaration affords another and unanswerable proof of the forbearance of the Texans, and of their firm adherence, even to the last moment, to the constitution which they had sworn to support, and to their political obligations as Mexican citizens. For, although at this very time the federal system and constitution of 1824, had been overturned and trampled under foot by military usurpation; in all other parts of the republic, and although our country was actually invaded by the usurpers for the purpose of subjecting us to military rule, the people of Texas still said to the Mexican nation—‘restore the federal constitution and govern in conformity to the social compact, which we are all bound by our oaths to sustain, and we will continue to be a member of the Mexican Confederation.’ This noble and generous act, for such it certainly

was, under the circumstances, is of itself sufficient to repel and silence the false charges which the priests and despots of Mexico have made of the ingratitude of the Texans. In what does this ingratitude consist? I cannot see, unless it be in our enterprise and perseverance, in giving value to a country that the Mexicans considered valueless, and thus exciting their jealousy and cupidity.

"The true interpretation of this charge of ingratitude is as follows:—The Mexican government have at last discovered that the enterprising people who were induced to remove to Texas by certain promises and guaranties, have by their labors given value to Texas and its lands. An attempt is therefore now made to take them from us and to annul all those guaranties, and we are ungrateful because we are not sufficiently '*docile*' to submit to this usurpation and injustice as the '*docile*' Mexicans have in other parts of the nation.

"Another interesting question which naturally occurs to every one, is, what great benefits and advantages are to result to philanthropy and religion, or to the people of these United States from the emancipation of Texas? To this we reply, that ours is most truly and emphatically the cause of liberty, which is the cause of philanthropy, of religion, of mankind; for in its train follow freedom of conscience, pure morality, enterprise, the arts and sciences, all that is dear to the noble minded and the free, all that renders life precious. On this principle, the Greeks and the Poles, and all others who have struggled for liberty, have received the sympathies or aid of the people of the United States; on this principle the liberal party in priest-ridden Spain, is now receiving the aid of high-minded and free born Englishmen; on this same principle Texas expects to receive the sympathies and aid of their brethren, the people of the United States, and of the freemen of all nations. But the Greeks and the Poles are not parallel cases with ours—they are not the sons and daughters of Anglo-Americans. We are. We look to this happy land as to a fond mother from whose bosom we have imbibed those great principles of liberty which are now nerving us, although comparatively few in numbers and weak in resources, to contend against the whole Mexican nation in defence of our rights.

"The emancipation of Texas will extend the principles of self-government, over a rich and neighboring country, and open a vast field there for enterprise, wealth, and happiness, and for those who wish to escape from the frozen blasts of a northern climate, by removing to a more congenial one. It will promote and accelerate the march of the present age, for it will open a door through which a bright and constant stream of light and in-

telligence will flow from this great northern fountain over the benighted regions of Mexico.

"That nation of our continent will be regenerated; freedom of conscience and rational liberty will take root in that distant, and, by nature, much favored land, where for ages past the upas banner of the inquisition, of intolerance, and of despotism, has paralyzed, and sickened, and deadened every effort in favor of civil and religious liberty.

"But apart from these great principles of philanthropy, and narrowing down this question to the contracted limits of cold and prudent political calculation, a view may be taken of it, which doubtless has not escaped the penetration of the sagacious and cautious politicians of the United States. It is the great importance of *Americanizing* Texas, by filling it with a population from this country, who will harmonize in language, in political education, in common origin, in every thing, with their neighbors to the east and north. By this means, Texas will become a great outwork on the west, to protect the outlet of this western world, the mouths of the Mississippi, as Alabama and Florida are on the east; and to keep far away from the southwestern frontier—the weakest and most vulnerable in the nation—all enemies who might make Texas a door for invasion, or use it as a theatre from which mistaken philanthropists and wild fanatics, might attempt a system of intervention in the domestic concerns of the south, which might lead to a servile war, or at least jeopardize the tranquillity of Louisiana and the neighboring states.

"This view of the subject is a very important one, so much so that a bare allusion to it is sufficient to direct the mind to the various interests and results, immediate and remote, that are involved.

"To conclude, I have shown that our cause is just and righteous, that it is the great cause of mankind, and as such merits the approbation and moral support of this magnanimous and free people. That our object is independence, as a new republic, or to become a state of these United States; that our resources are sufficient to sustain the principles we are defending; that the results will be the promotion of the great cause of liberty, of philanthropy, and religion, and the protection of a great and important interest to the people of the United States.

"With these claims to the approbation and moral support of the free of all nations, the people of Texas have taken up arms in self-defence, and they submit their cause to the judgment of an impartial world, and to the protection of a just and omnipotent God.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Delegates chosen—arrival of Cos with additional troops—affair of Gonzales—beginning of hostilities—Texians proceed to San Antonio, and encamp below the town—capture of Goliad—battle of Conception—Texians make a successful assault upon the town of San Antonio—surrender of Cos—official bulletin and articles of capitulation—affair of Lepantican—campaign closes.*

THE intelligence brought by Austin from Mexico, far from relieving the apprehensions of the people of Texas, served only to create additional alarm, and confirm their worst fears of the designs of the Mexican chief. The few who were before incredulous, and who had refused to aid in preparations for the defence of the country, were now found among the foremost.

Austin entered warmly into these measures, advised to hasten the call of a general consultation, to organize a provisional government, and devoted, promptly and without reserve, all his private resources to the service of his country.

Meetings for the choice of delegates were immediately called by the committees of safety; and the 15th of October was appointed for the general consultation to assemble.

The arrival of General Cos at Goliad, with four hundred additional troops, and a demand of the citizens to surrender into his hands all depots of arms, at once seemed to give a new impulse to the people, and a new direction to affairs. It "sounded the tocsin" and "lit the beacon fires." It was every where received as a signal call to use the arms whose surrender had been demanded.

In this highly excited state of public feeling, which as yet had exhibited itself only in a "burnishing of arms," and which might perhaps have subsided for the time being, if nothing had occurred to direct it to a definite point, came an appeal from the people of Gonzales, for aid against a threatened attack, for refusing to surrender a piece of ordnance, which had been demanded by order of the Mexican commandant at San Antonio; thus proving that the demand for the surrender of arms was not a vain ceremony, but was to be enforced, or at least followed up by an effort to take them. This appeal, if it had not found the torch already

in a blaze, would of itself have been sufficient to kindle the flame, in the feverish state in which it would have found the public feeling, at any time during the previous summer.

They needed no General now, to point to the object of the contest, nor the place of rendezvous. Gonzales was to be the "Lexington of Texas." This town is on the extreme western limit of the American settlements in Texas. It had just sprung into existence, and contained at the time some twenty or thirty log houses. The nearest American settlements were on the Colorado, distant about sixty miles. Gonzales was also a northern frontier, and the gun in controversy had been procured for its defence against the Indians. Below this, on the same river, (Guadalupe,) was the Mexican town of Victoria, and some few scattering settlements, principally, if not exclusively, Mexican. In a north westerly direction, distant about eighty miles, is the old Spanish garrisoned town of San Antonio, or Bexar, whence the order came for the ordnance, and whence the force must come to take it.

"As was expected, when the cannon was refused, a detachment was ordered from the Mexican garrison to come and take it, and punish the citizens of Gonzales for daring to refuse it. This detachment, consisting of 150 men, (cavalry,) reached the banks of the Guadalupe, opposite Gonzales, on the evening of the 28th of September; and so promptly had the appeal of the citizens been repended to, that on the same evening, nearly one hundred Texians, mostly from the neighborhood of Mina, on the Colorado, had collected in town (in the language of one of the number,) ready for fight. The Mexicans finding a force ready to repel them, made no attempt to cross the river.

Several conferences were held with the commandant of the detachment. He was told if he wanted the cannon, he must "come and take it." Both parties remained in their position until the evening of the second day, when the Texians resolved to cross the river, and compel them to fight, surrender, or run away. Accordingly, about one hundred crossed over, and advanced upon the enemy. At the first fire the Mexicans retreated at full speed."

The Texian force was swelled by daily arrivals, and in ten days amounted to five hundred men. Austin, who had been among the first to hasten to the spot, was chosen general by acclamation; and it was decided to march upon San Antonio, and if possible, to capture or drive out the present invaders, before others should be introduced into the country. Accordingly, on the 12th of October, they commenced their march westward, and on the sixth day afterwards, encamped in the neighborhood of the town.

The capture of Goliad by a little band of heroes, headed by the immortal Milam, having preceded in time any active operations against San Antonio, and having contributed largely to the complete success of the campaign, we shall here insert an account of it, and then resume our narrative. Our account is from the correspondent of the New Orleans Bulletin. It has the vigor and freshness of a first impression, and the brief episode upon Milam will be read with deep interest.

"While all eyes were directed with intense anxiety towards the military operations near Gonzales—supposing that to be the only point from whence we might expect important news—we were astonished by receiving information of the capture of the fort and town of Goliad, (La Bahia) by a party of colonists. These were volunteers from the transcendently fertile banks of the Caney and from the town of Matagorda, a place destined to become an important city.

"Before this party entered the field, most of the volunteers were at Gonzales; and fearing that the harvest of honors would be reaped before they could arrive there, they struck off from La Baca with the daring determination of taking Goliad by surprise.

"Goliad is situated on the southwest side of the San Antonio river, thirty leagues below Bexar, and it is fifteen leagues from Copano, the landing place of Aransas bay, and about the same distance from the La Baca end of Matagorda bay. The fort is built upon the point of a very steep and high hill, formed of rock, with a deep ravine upon one side, and a low prairie upon the opposite, while a broad elevated prairie extends towards the southwest.

"The walls of the fort are of stone and lime, and bear in places the marks of the storms of an hundred winters, but are still proof against any thing less than the batterings of heavy artillery.

"A long forced march brought the van-guard of the colonists to the San Antonio river fording below the town, at 11 o'clock on the night of the 9th inst. Here they halted for the main body and to make arrangements for the attack. A very small party were sent into the town, and they brought out, with the utmost secrecy, a worthy citizen friendly to the constitution of 1824; and by his assistance guides were procured, perfectly acquainted with the place.

"The main body of the colonists missed their road in the night, and before they found out their mistake, were at the upper ford, immediately opposite the town. They then struck across, for a short cut, to the position occupied by the van-guard. Their route led through a *muskeet* thicket. The *muskeet* is a tree of

the locust family, full of thorns, and at a little distance resembles the common peach tree in size and appearance. While the party were threading their way through this thicket, the horse of one of them started in affright at an object beneath a bush. The rider checked his horse and said 'who's there?' A voice answered in Spanish. One of the party supposed that he recognized in the voice an old acquaintance of La Bahia, and asked if it was not such an one, mentioning the name. 'No,' was the reply, 'my name is *Milam*.'

"Col. Milam is a native of Kentucky. At the commencement of the Mexican war of independence he engaged in the cause, and assisted in establishing the independence of the country. When Iturbide assumed the purple, Milam's republican principles placed him in fetters—dragged him into the city of Mexico, and confined him in prison until the usurper was dethroned. When Santa Anna assumed the Dictatorship, the republican Milam was again thrust into the prison at Monte Rey; but his past services and sufferings wrought upon the sympathies of his hard-hearted jailors. They allowed him the luxury of the bath. He profited by the indulgence, and made arrangements with an old compatriot to place a fleet horse, suitably equipped, upon the bank of the stream at a time appointed. The colonel passed the sentinel as he was wont to go into the water—walked quietly on—*mounted the horse and fled*.

"Four hundred miles would place him in safety. The noble horse did his duty, and bore the colonel clear of all pursuit to the place where our party surprised him. At first he supposed himself in the power of his enemy; but the *English language* soon convinced him that he was in the midst of his countrymen.

"He had never heard that Texas was making an effort to save herself. No whisper of the kind had been allowed to pass to his prison. When he learnt the object of the party, his heart was full. He could not speak—*for joy*.

"When the company arrived at the lower ford, they divided themselves into four parties of *twelve* men each. One party remained as a guard with the horses. The other three, each with a guide, marched by different routes to the assault.

"Their axes hewed down the door where the colonel commanding the place slept, and he was taken a prisoner from his bed. A sentinel hailed, and fired. A rifle ball laid him dead upon the spot. The discharge of fire-arms and the noise of human voices now became commingled. The Mexican soldiers fired from their quarters, and the blaze of their guns served as targets for the colonist riflemen.

"The garrison were called upon to *surrender*, and the call was

translated by a gentleman present who spoke the language. They asked for terms.

"The interpreter now became the chief speaker. 'No,' answered he. 'They say they will massacre every one of you, unless you come out immediately and surrender. Come out—come out quick. I cannot keep them back—come out if you wish to save your lives—I can keep them back no longer.' 'O do for God's sake keep them back!' answered the Mexicans in their own language: 'we will come out and surrender immediately'—and they rushed out with all possible speed and laid down their arms.

"And thus was the fort of Goliad taken—a fort which, with a garrison of three hundred and fifty patriots in the war of 1812–13, withstood a siege of an army of more than two thousand Spanish troops, and forced them to retire, discomfited.

"At the capture of the fort, three Mexican soldiers were killed and seven wounded, and one colonel, one captain, one lieutenant, with twenty-one petty officers and privates were made prisoners. Others of the garrison escaped in the dark and fled.

"In the fort were found two pieces of brass cannon, 500 muskets and carbines, 600 spears, with ammunition and provisions.

"One of the colonists was wounded in the shoulder.

"Col. Milam assisted in the capture of the fort, and then he spoke: 'I assisted Mexico to gain her independence; I have spent more than twenty years of my life; I have endured heat and cold, hunger and thirst; I have borne losses and suffered persecutions; I have been a tenant of every prison between this and Mexico—but the events of this night have compensated me for all my losses and all my sufferings.'

"The colonists were commanded by George M. Collinsworth—but it would be difficult to find in the company a man not qualified for the command."

A great part of the provisions, arms, and munitions captured at Goliad, was destined for the use of the garrison at San Antonio. It now found its way there, but for a very different use.

The Texian force which had advanced from Gonzales had taken a temporary position on the river, about eight miles below the town. Here they endeavored to obtain intelligence of the strength and means of the garrison. This was not difficult, as there were many Mexicans friendly to the Texian cause, in and about the town.

Finding by the best estimates he could obtain, that the Mexican force must exceed a thousand men, well supplied with arms, and all the munitions of war, that the streets of the town had been strongly barricaded and defended with cannon, Austin, whose force was less than half that of his enemy, and as yet without a



single piece of ordnance, relinquished the intention of an immediate attack upon the town, and decided to wait the arrival of reinforcements, which were daily coming in, and a few pieces of ordnance which were hoped for rather than expected.

In the mean time, he made an effort to draw the Mexican General, Cos, into a correspondence in relation to the affairs of the country. This was closed at once by the reply of General Cos, that he could treat with them only as rebels, and then only upon the terms of their submission. Slight skirmishes happened almost every day after the arrival of the Texian force in the neighborhood, which uniformly terminated to their advantage, and without loss on their part, while, on the side of the Mexicans, several men had been killed and many more wounded and made prisoners.

On the 27th of October, it was decided to occupy a position nearer the town, to watch the movements of the enemy, and if possible to provoke them to a contest without the walls. Accordingly, a detachment of ninety men, under the command of Colonels Fannin and Bowie, were ordered to proceed in that direction, and to select suitable ground for an encampment. In the evening of that day, this detachment arrived at Mission Conception, distant about one mile, and in plain view of the town; here they rested on their arms for the night. In the mean time their approach had been watched by the Mexicans, and their exact number and position had been communicated to Cos the same night. On the morning of the 28th, they found themselves nearly surrounded by the enemy, who were still at some distance, advancing to close them in. Sentinels had been posted, and suitable precaution taken, to avoid surprise, but a thick fog had thus far concealed the movements and approach of the enemy. Though the Texans were so nearly surprised, they were not intimidated. The Mexican force, numbering little short of 500 men, were now from the clearing up of the fog, brought into full view. Undismayed by the immense odds against them, the Texans decided instantly for battle, and after despatching a courier to their main body, they fell back a few yards, to the bank of the river, where was a slight bluff, which might afford them a breastwork, and there awaited the approach of the enemy.

On the other side, the Mexicans, encouraged by their great numerical superiority, advanced briskly to the charge; they were permitted to approach unopposed within about forty yards, when they were saluted at once with the deadly aim of nearly a hundred rifles. They faltered and retreated, leaving their cannon, (two pieces,) which they had brought up in their advance, but soon rallied and returned to their cannon, which they bore off to the distance of about a hundred yards, where they again halted

and prepared to return the fire of the Texians, and pick them off as they appeared above the bluff, but finding this position also too warm for them, they again fell back beyond the reach of the rifles.

Another expedient was now attempted, to dislodge the Texians from their position. While they affected to keep up a fire from the line, they despatched their ordnance and a few artilleryists to take a position on the river, a short distance above, that would enable them to rake the Texian line beneath the bank.

The Texians had been apprehensive of this movement, which if executed, must drive them from their present position, upon the bayonets of a line of infantry, supported by nearly three hundred cavalry, waiting to cut them to pieces; and seeing it now about to be executed, a doubt of the issue came over them for a moment, but to defeat the movement was the resolve of the next moment. A small detachment moved rapidly, covered by the bank of the river, to the exposed point, and before the first gun was discharged at their companions, the gunners were cut down or put to flight, and the guns spiked. In the act of spiking these guns, fell the only Texian killed in the conflict. The main body of the Texians coming in view soon after, the Mexicans made a hasty retreat, leaving their cannon, ammunition-carts, many muskets, and twenty-seven men dead upon the field, carrying with them most of their wounded, the number of which has not been ascertained; the whole Texian loss was the one brave man who fell in spiking the cannon. The spot will be forever consecrated as a monument to his memory, which shall endure until the crystal stream which flows by the spot, and the fountains that feed it, shall be dried up. Thus terminated the battle of Conception, the Texian Bunker Hill, in which the successful combatants won a wreath of victory as well as a halo of glory.

The Texians, now confident of success in the field, and desiring nothing more ardently than to meet the enemy without the walls, however great the disparity of numbers, determined to divide their force, and occupy two positions, to enable them to watch his movements more closely, and cut off every party that should appear without the town.

To assault the town, with their present force and means of annoyance, was still deemed imprudent by General Austin. Barricadoed at the entrance, and affording strong positions within, by its stone houses, where the assailed might shelter themselves from the assailants, while the latter, in the uncovered streets, would be exposed to their fire, these were obstacles sufficiently formidable, but to these must be added the guns of the Alamo, a strong fort which commanded the town, and might open its batteries upon any part of it where an enemy had obtained a lodgment. All

together they might have deterred a less prudent man than General Austin from attempting an assault ; yet in anticipation they had already crumbled and fallen before the daring prowess of many of the heroes who composed his little army.

The Mexicans were cautious in venturing without the walls, after the battle of Conception, and the next conflict in the field, called the "grass fight," having with an equal disparity of numbers, resulted equally fatal to them, seemed to extinguish the last of their rural attachments, and shut them up effectually in town.

The Texians soon crossed the river and concentrated in a position within a few hundred yards of the town ; a cannonade was opened upon them from the Alamo, but with little effect. The shot only served to furnish the Texians, who now had cannon, but no shot ; and the balls were many of them actually collected and thrown back upon the town.

Towards the close of November, General Austin having been appointed by the general consultation of Texas, then in session, a foreign commissioner, left the army to enter upon the duties of his new post. New counsels now prevailed, and the spirit of daring, which had been restrained and controlled by a high respect for the character and unaffected regard for the person of the general, now found room to display itself under the guidance of a new leader. The prudent counsels of Austin, which elsewhere might have claimed their respect, were deemed out of place in a field where success has oftener crowned the efforts of the "rashly brave," than of the "over prudent." Let it not be understood that the distinguished individual, now no more, who had planted the colony, and who watched over its every interest, with more than parental care, until his latest breath, was ever accused or even suspected of cowardice, by those who knew him ; far from it. No considerations of personal danger ever for one moment swerved him from what he deemed to be the path of duty. The error with which he was charged in "the field," could scarcely have been deemed an error in a common contest. It was insisted that as they had embarked in this contest in spite of the odds against them, they must not hesitate to encounter the odds, and that upon such terms only could they hope for success.

Col. Milam had now arrived from Goliad, and to him all eyes were turned to lead them to an assault of the town. The whole Texian force in the neighborhood of San Antonio at this time, was short of seven hundred men. Col. Edward Burleson, a plain unpretending farmer, from the frontier settlements on the Colorado, whose whole stock of military experience had been acquired in the present campaign, had been chosen to succeed Austin, as general and commander in chief of the volunteer army.

Col. Milam, with the sanction of the General, made a selection of 300 men, with whom to commence the assault. The residue were to remain as a reserve, to be ready to reinforce or relieve, and to cooperate as circumstances should require. The attack commenced on the morning of December 5th, and continued without interruption until that of the 9th. On the part of the assailants, almost the whole time was a scene of hard fighting, intermitted only by severe and incessant labor. The houses being of stone, served as so many citadels, each of which must be stormed in succession, and an enemy outnumbering the assailants more than three to one, were thus driven from one to another of these strong posts, until forced from the last and compelled to seek shelter in the Alamo.

It was not a scene in which a single daring effort or a few brilliant achievements might decide the fate of a battle, but one of severe labor, night and day, for almost a week, amidst the roar of artillery and the rattle of musketry. Men capable of continuing the most vigorous efforts, during four days, in the face of manifest and imminent danger, under circumstances where it is in their power to retreat to a place of safety, may well be pronounced heroes. Almost every day, opposing parties were brought into close contact, often within the walls of the same house, separated only by thin partitions; such of the assailants as spoke the Spanish language, were often holding a parley with the Mexicans, while their companions were collecting materials to renew the assault. In these conversations, the Mexicans were sometimes unmercifully rallied for their tame submission to the will of a tyrant, and not unfrequently the weapons of war and wit were handled by the same parties at the same time. For a further account of the action, we subjoin Col. F. W. Johnson's official bulletin, and the articles of capitulation, together with General Burleson's letter addressed to the Provisional Governor of Texas.

{ " Head Quarters, Volunteer Army,  
{ Bejar, December 14, 1835.

*" To his Excellency the Provisional Governor of Texas.*

"SIR,—I have the satisfaction to enclose a copy of Col. Johnson's account of the storming and surrender of San Antonio de Bejar, to which I have little to add that can in any way increase the lustre of this brilliant achievement, to the federal arms of the volunteer army under my command; and which will, I trust, prove the downfall of the last position of military despotism in our soil of freedom.

" At three o'clock in the morning of the 5th instant, Col. Neil, with a piece of artillery, protected by Capt. Roberts and his company, was sent across the river, to attack, at 5 o'clock, the Alamo, on the north side, and draw the attention of the enemy from the advance of the divisions which had to attack the suburbs of the town, under colonels Milam and Johnson. This service was effected to my entire satisfaction; and the party returned to camp at nine o'clock A. M.

" On the advance of the attacking divisions, I formed all the reserve, with the exception of the guard necessary to protect the camp, at the old mill position; and held myself in readiness to advance, in case of necessity, to assist when required; and shortly afterwards passed into the suburbs to reconnoitre, where I found all going on prosperously, and retired with the reserve to the camp. Several parties were sent out mounted, under captains Cheshire, Coleman, and Roberts, to scour the country, and endeavor to intercept Ugartechea, who was expected, and ultimately forced an entry, with reinforcements for Gen. Cos. Captains Cheshire, Sutherland, and Lewis, with their companies, were sent in as reinforcements to Col. Johnson, during the period of attack; and captains Splane, Ruth, and lieutenant Borden, with their companies, together with lieutenant-colonels Somerville and Sublett, were kept in readiness as further assistance if required. On the evening of the 8th, a party from the Alamo, of about fifty men, passed up in front of our camp and opened a brisk fire, but without effect; they were soon obliged to retire precipitately, by opening a six pounder on them, commanded by Capt. Hunnings, by sending a party across the river, and by the advance of Capt. Bradley's company, who were stationed above.

" On the morning of the 9th, in consequence of advice from Col. Johnson, of a flag of truce having been sent in, to intimate a desire to capitulate; I proceeded to town, and by two o'clock, A. M., of the 10th, a treaty was finally concluded by the commissioners appointed, to which I acceded immediately, deeming the terms highly favorable, considering the strong position and large force of the enemy, which could not be less than thirteen hundred effective men; one thousand one hundred and five having left this morning with Gen. Cos, besides three companies and several small parties which separated from him in consequence of the fourth article of the treaty.

" In addition to a copy of the treaty, I enclose a list of all the valuable property ceded to us by virtue of the capitulation.

" Gen. Cos left this morning for the mission of San José, and to-morrow commences his march to the Rio Grande, after complying with all that had been stipulated.

"I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing in the warmest terms, my entire approbation of every officer and soldier in the army, which I have the honor to command, and particularly those who so gallantly volunteered to storm the town, and to say that their bravery and zeal on the present occasion, merit the warmest eulogies which I can confer, and the gratitude of their country. The gallant leader of the storming party, Col. Benjamin R. Milam, fell gloriously on the third day, and his memory will be dear to Texas as long as there exists a grateful heart to feel, or a friend of liberty to lament his worth. His place was most ably filled by Col. F. W. Johnson, adjutant-general of the army, whose coolness and prudence, united to daring bravery, could alone have brought matters to so successful an end, with so very small a loss, against so superior a force, and such strong fortifications. To his shining merits on this occasion, I bore ocular testimony during the five days action.

"I have also to contribute my praise to Maj. Bennet, quartermaster general, for the diligence and success with which he supplied both armies during the siege and storm.

"These despatches, with a list of killed and wounded, will be handed to your excellency by my first aid-de-camp, Col. William T. Austin, who was present as a volunteer during the five days' storm, and whose conduct on this and every other occasion, merits my warmest praise.

"To-morrow, I leave the garrison and town under the command of Col. Johnson, with a sufficient number of men and officers to sustain the same in case of attack, until assisted from the colonies: so that your excellency may consider our conquest as sufficiently secured against every attempt of the enemy. The rest of the army will retire to their homes.

"I have the honor to be

Your excellency's ob't serv't,

EDWARD BURLESON,

*Commander-in-chief of the volunteer army."*

*"Gen. Burleson, commander-in-chief of the volunteer army of Texas.*

"SIR,—I have the honor to acquaint you, that on the morning of the 5th inst., the volunteers for storming the city of Bejar, possessed by the troops of Gen. Cos, entered the suburbs in two divisions, under the command of Col. Benjamin R. Milam. The first division, under his immediate command, aided by Maj. R. C. Morris, and the second, under my command, aided by colonels Grant and Austin, and adjutant Brister.

"The first division, consisting of the companies of captains York, Patten, Lewellyn, Crane, English, and Landrum, with two

pieces, and fifteen artillerymen commanded by lieutenant-colonel Franks, took possession of the house of Don Antonio de la Garza. The second division, composed of the companies of captains Cook, Swisher, Edwards, Alley, Duncan, Peacock, Breece, and Placido Benavides, took possession of the house of Berrimendi. The last division was exposed for a short time to a very heavy fire of grape and musketry from the whole of the enemy's line of fortification, until the guns of the first division opened their fire, when the enemy's attention was directed to both divisions. At 7 o'clock, a heavy cannonading from the town was seconded by a well directed fire from the Alamo, which for a time prevented the possibility of covering our lines, or effecting a safe communication between the two divisions. In consequence of the twelve pounder having been dismounted, and the want of proper cover for the other gun, little execution was done by our artillery, during the day. We were, therefore, reduced to a close and well directed fire from our rifles, which, notwithstanding the advantageous position of the enemy, obliged them to slacken their fire, and several times to abandon their artillery, within the range of our shot. Our loss during this day was one private killed, one colonel and one first lieutenant severely wounded; one colonel slightly, three privates dangerously, six severely, and three slightly. During the whole of the night, the two divisions were occupied in strengthening their positions, opening trenches, and effecting a safe communication, although exposed to a heavy crossfire from the enemy, which slackened towards morning. I may remark that the want of proper tools rendered this undertaking doubly arduous. At daylight of the 6th, the enemy were observed to have occupied the tops of the houses in our front, where, under the cover of breastworks, they opened through loop holes a very brisk fire of small arms on our whole line, followed by a steady cannonading from the town, in front, and the Alamo on our left flank; with few interruptions during the day. A detachment of Capt. Crane's company, under lieutenant W. McDonald, followed by others, gallantly possessed themselves, under a severe fire, of the house to the right, and in advance of the first division, which considerably extended our line; while the rest of the army was occupied in returning the enemy's fire and strengthening our trenches, which enabled our artillery to do some execution, and complete a safe communication from right to left.

"Our loss this day amounted to three privates severely wounded, and two slightly. During the night the fire from the enemy was considerable, and our people were occupied in making and filling sand bags, and otherwise strengthening our lines. At daylight on the 7th, it was discovered that the enemy had, during

the night previous, opened a trench on the Alamo side of the river, and on the left flank, as well as strengthening their battery on the cross street leading to the Alamo. From the first they opened a brisk fire of small arms; from the last a heavy cannonade, as well as small arms, which was kept up until eleven o'clock, when they were silenced by our superior fire. About twelve o'clock, Henry Carns, of Capt. York's company, exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy, gallantly advanced to a house in front of the first division, and with a crow bar forced an entrance, into which the whole of the company immediately followed him, and made a secure lodgment. In the evening, the enemy renewed a heavy fire from all the positions which could bear upon us; and at half-past three o'clock, as our gallant commander, Col. Milam, was passing into the yard of my position, he received a rifle shot in the head, which caused his instant death; an irreparable loss at so critical a moment. Our casualties, otherwise, during this day, were only two privates slightly wounded.

"At a meeting of officers held at seven o'clock, I was invested with the chief command; and Maj. Morris, as my second. At ten o'clock, P. M., Captains Llewellyn, English, Crane, and Landrum, with their respective companies, forced their way into, and took possession of the house of Don J. Antonio Navarro, an advanced and important position close to the square. The fire of the enemy interrupted and slack during the whole night, and the weather exceedingly cold and wet.

"The morning of the 8th continued cold and wet, and but little firing on either side. At nine o'clock the same companies who took possession of Don J. Antonio Navarro's house, aided by a detachment of the Grays, advanced and occupied the Zambrano row, leading to the square, without any accident. The brave conduct, on this occasion, of William Graham, of Cook's company of grays, merits mention. A heavy fire of artillery and small arms was opened on this position by the enemy, who disputed every inch of ground; and, after suffering a severe loss in officers and men, were obliged to retire from room to room, until at last they evacuated the whole house. During this time our men were reinforced by a detachment from York's company, under command of Lieut. Gill.

"The cannonading from the camp was exceedingly heavy from all quarters during the day, but did no essential damage.

"Our loss consisted of one captain seriously wounded, and two privates severely. At seven o'clock, P. M., the party in Zambrano's row were reinforced by captains Swisher, Alley, Edwards, and Duncan, and their respective companies.

"This evening we had undoubted information of the arrival of a strong reinforcement to the enemy, under Col. Ugartechea.



At half past ten o'clock, P. M., captains Cook and Patton, with the company of New Orleans grays, and a company of Brazoria volunteers, forced their way into a priest's house in the square, although exposed to the fire of a battery of three guns, and a large body of musketeers.

"Before this, however, the division was reinforced from the reserve, by captains Cheshire, Lewis, and Sutherland, with their companies.

"Immediately after we got possession of the priest's house, the enemy opened a furious cannonade from all their batteries, accompanied by incessant volleys of small arms against every house in our possession, and every part of our lines, which continued unceasingly until half past six o'clock, A. M., of the 9th, when they sent a flag of truce, with an intimation that they desired to capitulate. Commissioners were immediately named by both parties; and herewith I accompany you a copy of the terms agreed upon.

"Our loss in this night attack, consisted of one man only, (Belden, of the grays,) dangerously wounded, while in the act of spiking a cannon.

"The attempt to give you a faint idea of the intrepid conduct of the gallant citizens who formed the divisions under my command, during the whole period of the attack, would be a task of no common nature, and far above the power of my pen. All behaved with the bravery peculiar to freemen, and with a decision becoming the sacred cause of liberty.

"To signalize every individual act of gallantry, where no individual was found wanting to himself or to his country, would be a useless and endless effort. Every man has merited my warmest approbation, and deserves his country's gratitude.

"The memory of Col. B. R. Milam, the leader of this daring and successful attack, deserves to be cherished by every patriotic bosom in Texas.

"I feel indebted to the able assistance of Col. Grant, (severely wounded the first day,) Col. Austin, majors Morris and Moore, adjutant Bristow, lieutenant colonel Franks of the artillery, and every captain (names already given) who entered with either division, from the morning of the 5th, until the day of capitulation.

"Doctors Levy and Pollard also deserve my warmest praise, from their unremitting attention and assiduity.

"Dr. Clameron's conduct during the siege and treaty of capitulation, merits particular mention: the guides, Messrs. Erastus Smith, Norwich, Arnold, and John W. Smith, performed important service; and I cannot conclude without expressing my

thanks to the reserve under your command, for such assistance as could be afforded me during our most critical movements.

"The period put to our present war by the fall of San Antonio de Bejar, will, I trust, be attended with all the happy results to Texas, which her warmest friends could desire.

"I have the honor to subscribe myself,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed.) F. W. JOHNSTON,  
Colonel commanding.

"A true copy of the original,  
WM. T. AUSTIN, *Aid-de-camp*.

*"Capitulation, entered into by Gen. Martin Perfecto de Cos, of the permanent troops, and Gen. Edward Burleson, of the colonial troops of Texas.*

"Being desirous of preventing the further effusion of blood, and the ravages of civil war, have agreed on the following stipulations.

"1st. That Gen. Cos and his officers retire with their arms and private property, into the interior of the republic, under parole of honor; that they will not in any way oppose the re-establishment of the federal constitution of 1824.

"2d. That the one hundred infantry lately arrived with the convicts, the remnant of the battalion of Morelos, and the cavalry, retire with the general: taking their arms and ten rounds of cartridges for their muskets.

"3d. That the general take the convicts brought in by Col. Ugartechea, beyond the Rio Grande.

"4th. That it is discretionary with the troops to follow their general, remain, or go to such point as they may deem proper: but in case they should all or any of them separate, they are to have their arms, &c.

"5. That all the public property, money, arms and munitions of war, be inventoried and delivered to Gen. Burleson.

"6th. That all private property be restored to its proper owners.

"7th. That three officers of each army be appointed to make out the inventory, and see that the terms of the capitulation be carried into effect.

"8th. That three officers on the part of Gen. Cos remain for the purpose of delivering over said property, stores, &c.

"9th. That Gen. Cos with his force, for the present, occupy the Alamo; and Gen. Burleson, with his force, occupy the town of Bejar; and that the soldiers of neither party pass to the other, armed.

" 10th. Gen. Cos shall, within six days of the date hereof, remove his force from the garrison he now occupies.

" 11th. In addition to the arms before mentioned, Gen. Cos shall be permitted to take with his force, a four-pounder, and ten rounds of powder and ball.

" 12th. The officers appointed to make the inventory and delivery of the stores, &c., shall enter upon the duties to which they have been appointed, forthwith.

" 13th. The citizens shall be protected in their persons and property.

" 14th. Gen. Burleson will furnish Gen. Cos with such provisions as can be obtained, necessary for his troops to the Rio Grande, at the ordinary price of the country.

" 15th. The sick and wounded of Gen. Cos's army, together with a surgeon and attendants, are permitted to remain.

" 16th. No person, either citizen or soldier, to be molested on account of his political opinions hitherto expressed.

" 17th. That duplicates of this capitulation be made out in Castilian and English, and signed by the commissioners appointed, and ratified by the commanders of both armies.

" 18th. The prisoners of both armies, up to this day, shall be put at liberty.

" The commissioners, José Juan Sanchez, adjutant inspector; Don Ramon Musquez, and lieutenant Francisco Rada, and interpreter, Don Miguel Arciniega; appointed by the commandant and inspector, Gen. Martin Perfecto de Cos, in connection with Col. F. W. Johnston, Maj. R. C. Morris, and Capt. J. G. Swisher, and interpreter, John Cameron; appointed on the part of Gen. Edward Burleson: after a long and serious discussion, adopted the eighteen preceding articles, reserving their ratification by the generals of both armies.

" In virtue of which, we signed this instrument in the city of Bejar, on the 11th of December, 1835.

" Signed,

JOSE JUAN SANCHEZ,  
RAMON MUSQUEZ,  
J. FRANCISCO DE RADA,  
MIGUEL ARCINIEGA, *Interpreter.*

F. W. JOHNSTON,  
ROBERT C. MORRIS,  
JAMES G. SWISHER,  
JOHN CAMERON, *Interpreter.*

" I consent to, and will observe the above articles.

" (Signed,) MARTIN PERFECTO DE COS.

" Ratified and approved.

" (Signed,) EDWARD BURLESON,  
*Commander-in-chief of the volunteer army.*

" A true copy.

" EDWARD BURLESON,  
*Commander-in-chief.*

{ " Council Hall, San Felipe de Austin,  
December 18, 1836.

" On motion of Mr. Barrett,

" *Resolved*, That the general council feel that no better or more suitable report can be made to the people of Texas, and to the world, of the brilliant storming and taking of Bejar, than that contained in the returns of the brave officers who have communicated their achievements to the provisional government; and that the same be given to the printer for publication, and that five hundred copies in hand-bill form be printed as soon as possible.

JAMES W. ROBINSON,  
*Lieutenant governor, and ex-officio President  
of the general council.*

JOHN J. LINN,  
DANIEL PARKER,  
D. C. BARRETT,  
ALEXANDER THOMPSON,  
JOHN McMULLEN,  
C. WEST,  
J. D. CLEMENTS,  
ASA MITCHELL,  
WYATT HANKS,  
W. P. HARRIS,  
R. R. ROYALL,  
JAMES KERR,  
WILLIAM MENIFEE,  
JAMES POWERS,  
HENRY MILLARD.

E. M. PRASE, *Secretary to general council.*"

In the early part of November, the Mexican fort at Lepanti-clan, on the west bank of the Nueces, had been stormed and taken

by fifty Texians, commanded by Capt. Westover. After dismissing the garrison on the usual parole, the Texians dismantled the fort, and were recrossing the river to return to Goliad, whence they had proceeded on the expedition, when they found themselves suddenly attacked by a company of seventy Mexicans. A smart action ensued, which continued about thirty minutes, when the Mexicans retreated, with the loss of twenty-eight men killed and wounded. On the side of the Texians one man was slightly wounded. Thus the surrender of San Antonio left the Mexican chief without a single post in Texas, and consequently terminated the campaign of 1835.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Civil affairs resumed—delegates convene in general convallation, and organize a provisional government—Message of Gov. Smith—measures of general council—a convention recommended—delegates are chosen and convene—independence declared—declaration of independence—constitution of Texas.*

WE shall not enter here upon a review of the events of this campaign, in which there was nothing to wound the pride, or dampen the joy of the Texians, saving the loss of a few brave men, who had fallen in the arms of victory. But first resume our notice of the civil affairs of the country which we had brought only to the choice of delegates.

The 15th of October had been named as the day on which the congress, or consultation, were to convene at Washington. When the day arrived the war had commenced, and most of the members were in the field; a few however convened, who immediately adjourned, to meet at San Felipe on the first of November; at which time a sufficient number assembled to form a quorum. The consultation was immediately organised by the choice of the necessary officers, and entered at once upon business.

The condition of the country had changed since their election. The war, then threatened, but with the possibility of being averted, had now become a horrid reality. Most of the citizens had exchanged their peaceful homes for the tented field, and the "strife of arms" had already begun.

The first measure adopted, may serve to exhibit to the world the true character of the contest. They made a solemn declaration\* in favor of the constitution of 1824, which was still the lawful government of the country, although elsewhere prostrated by a military usurper, and appealed to the "liberals" of the nation to support them.

They then organised a provisional government, consisting of a governor, lieutenant governor, and general council, composed of one member from each district which had sent delegates. This government was to continue in force until the following March, when it would be ascertained whether the nation had responded to their declaration.

\* For this declaration, see Austin's address, page 276 of this work.

The provisional government went into operation on the 14th of November. Measures were immediately adopted for raising a regular army for the defence of the country, and for providing resources for its support. In pursuance of this object, Samuel Houston was appointed commander in chief of the army to be raised, and Branch T. Archer, who had been president of the consultation, Stephen F. Austin, and William H. Wharton, commissioners to visit the United States, for the purpose of negotiating a loan upon the credit of the new government, and purchasing supplies and munitions for the use of the army.

In further organization of the provincial government, Henry Smith was chosen governor, and J. W. Robinson lieutenant governor. On the 15th of November, a message from the governor was read before the general council, in which he called their attention to such measures as seemed to demand their immediate attention; the most prominent of which were the organising a militia, and providing for calling them into service, and establishing a tariff of duties upon imports. The message concluded with urging upon the council the necessity of acting with "energy, boldness, and promptitude, as the welfare of thousands depended upon their actions. The country, it said, possessed numerous resources, if properly developed, and it was their business to bring them fairly forth, to quicken and enliven the body politic, and make Texas, the Eden of America—what the God of nature designed her to be, a land of liberty and laws, of agriculture and commerce, the pride and support of their lives, and a legacy, of price unspeakable, to posterity."

The general council followed up the suggestions of the governor, by carrying out, to the extent of their authority, most of the measures recommended. They remained in session, assiduously engaged in various plans to provide for the defence of the country and for the civil administration; when the arms of Texas were crowned with complete success by the capitulation of the Mexican garrison of San Antonio. The happy results of the campaign, so fortunate for the country, and so glorious to her arms, which were unstained by a single defeat, gave also new dignity and importance to the provisional government, whose authority was now unquestioned, at least in the country where it was exercised.

It must expire, however, by its own limitation, in March, 1836. It had been made provisional, and temporary, to await the action and co-operation of the people, in other states of the republic, in restoring the constitution of the country. Nothing as yet indicated any such movement; on the contrary, every vestige of authority had been swept from the states, and the federal constitutions, whose provisions had long been superseded by military

power, had now been formally abolished by a decree of a congress, which was the mere creature of the instrument, it assumed a right to destroy.

Under these circumstances, and in obedience to indications of public sentiment, the general council of Texas, on the 17th day of December, adopted a resolution inviting the people to elect delegates, clothed with full powers to declare the independence of the country, and adopt a permanent form of government. A day was also named for the choice of delegates, and another for the meeting of the convention.

This resolve met the entire approbation of the people. Indeed it had been loudly called for, and the public mind was therefore fully prepared for it. Candidates for seats in the convention immediately opened the canvass, and made public their sentiments, not only upon the question of independence, but also upon various distinct propositions in regard to the most important provisions of the proposed constitution.

The prescribed number of delegates having been elected in due form, from each of the municipalities, assembled according to appointment at Washington on the first day of March, 1836, and on the second day, unanimously agreed upon a declaration of independence, and on the seventeenth of the same month, upon a constitution for the republic of Texas. These important papers will appear at the close of this chapter.

The convention then provided for submitting the constitution to the sanction of the people, and in the event of its adoption by them, for an election of officers under it. A day was also named on which it was to go into operation.

It was deemed important by the convention, to collect the sentiments of the people upon the question of annexation of Texas to the United States. Accordingly they were invited to declare their sentiments upon this question at the time of passing upon the constitution.

The authority of the late provisional government, having now expired, by its own limitation, a government *ad interim* was organised by the convention, of which David Burnet was chosen president; and thus closed their labors.



## UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,

By the Delegates of the People of Texas, in General Convention, at the town of Washington, on the second day of March, 1836.

"When a government has ceased to protect the lives, liberty, and property of the people, from whom its legitimate powers are derived, and for the advancement of whose happiness it was instituted; and so far from being a guarantee for their inestimable and inalienable rights, becomes an instrument in the hands of evil rulers for their oppression. When the Federal Republican Constitution of their country, which they have sworn to support, no longer has a substantial existence, and the whole nature of their government has been forcibly changed, without their consent, from a restricted Federative Republic, composed of Sovereign States, to a consolidated Central Military despotism, in which every interest is disregarded but that of the army and the priesthood, both the eternal enemies of civil liberty, the ever ready minions of power, and the usual instruments of tyrants. When, long after the spirit of the constitution has departed, moderation is at length so far lost by those in power, that even the semblance of freedom is removed, and the forms themselves of the constitution discontinued, and so far from their petitions and remonstrances being regarded, the agents who bear them are thrown into dungeons, and mercenary armies sent forth to force a new government upon them at the point of the bayonet.

"When, in consequence of such acts of malfeasance and abduction on the part of the government, anarchy prevails and civil society is dissolved into its original elements, in such a crisis, the first law of nature, the right of self preservation, the inherent and inalienable right of the people to appeal to first principles, and take their political affairs into their own hands in extreme cases, enjoins it as a right towards themselves and a sacred obligation to their posterity to abolish such government, and create another in its stead, calculated to rescue them from impending dangers, and to secure their welfare and happiness.

"Nations, as well as individuals, are amenable for their acts to the public opinion of mankind. A statement of a part of our grievances is therefore submitted to an impartial world, in justification of the hazardous but unavoidable step now taken, of severing our political connection with the Mexican people, and assuming an independent attitude among the nations of the earth.

"The Mexican Government, by its colonization laws, invited and induced the Anglo American population of Texas to colonize

its wilderness under the pledged faith of a written constitution, that they should continue to enjoy that constitutional liberty and republican government to which they had been habituated in the land of their birth, the United States of America.

"In this expectation they have been cruelly disappointed, inasmuch as the Mexican nation has acquiesced in the late changes made in the government by General Antonio Lopez Santa Anna, who having overturned the constitution of his country, now offers, as the cruel alternative, either to abandon our homes acquired by so many privations, or submit to the most intolerable of all tyranny, the combined despotism of the sword and the priesthood.

"It hath sacrificed our welfare to the state of Coahuila, by which our interests have been continually depressed through a jealous and partial course of legislation, carried on at a far distant seat of government, by a hostile majority in an unknown tongue, and this too, notwithstanding we have petitioned in the humblest terms for the establishment of a separate state government, and have, in accordance with the provisions of the national constitution, presented to the general congress a republican constitution, which was, without a just cause, contemptuously rejected.

"It incarcerated in a dungeon, for a long time, one of our citizens, for no other cause but a zealous endeavor to procure the acceptance of our constitution and the establishment of a state government.

"It has failed and refused to secure, on a firm basis, the right of trial by jury, that palladium of civil liberty and only safe guarantee for the life, liberty, and property of the citizen.

"It has failed to establish any public system of education, although possessed of almost boundless resources, (the public domain;) and although it is an axiom in political science, that unless a people are educated and enlightened, it is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty, or the capacity for self government.

"It has suffered the military commandants, stationed among us, to exercise arbitrary acts of oppression and tyranny, thus trampling upon the most sacred rights of the citizen, and rendering the military superior to the civil power.

"It has dissolved, by force of arms, the state congress of Coahuila and Texas, and obliged our representatives to fly for their lives from the seat of government, thus depriving us of the fundamental political right of representation.

"It has demanded the surrender of a number of our citizens, and ordered military detachments to seize and carry them into the interior for trial, in contempt of the civil authorities, and in defiance of the laws and the constitution.

"It has made piratical attacks upon our commerce by commissioning foreign desperadoes, and authorizing them to seize our

vessels and convey the property of our citizens to far distant parts for confiscation.

"It denies us the right of worshipping the Almighty according to the dictates of our own conscience, by the support of a National Religion, calculated to promote the temporal interest of its human functionaries, rather than the glory of the true and living God.

"It has demanded us to deliver up our arms, which are essential to our defence—the rightful property of freemen—and formidable only to tyrannical governments.

"It has invaded our country both by sea and by land, with the intent to lay waste our territory, and drive us from our homes; and has now a large mercenary army advancing, to carry on against us a war of extermination.

"It has, through its emissaries incited the merciless savage, with the tomahawk and scalping knife, to massacre the inhabitants of our defenceless frontiers.

"It has been, during the whole time of our connection with it, the contemptible sport and victim of successive military revolutions, and hath continually exhibited every characteristic of a weak, corrupt, and tyrannical government.

"These, and other grievances, were patiently borne by the people of Texas, until they reached that point at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue. We then took up arms in defence of the National Constitution. We appealed to our Mexican brethren for assistance: our appeal has been made in vain; though months have elapsed, no sympathetic response has yet been heard from the interior. We are therefore forced to the melancholy conclusion, that the Mexican people have acquiesced in the destruction of their liberty, and the substitution therefor of a military government; that they are unfit to be free, and incapable of self government.

"The necessity of self preservation, therefore, now decrees our eternal political separation.

*"We, therefore, the delegates, with plenary powers, of the people of Texas, in solemn convention assembled, appealing to a candid world for the necessities of our condition, do hereby resolve and DECLARE, that our political connection with the Mexican nation has forever ended, and that the people of Texas, do now constitute a FREE, SOVEREIGN, and INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC, and are fully invested with all the rights and attributes which properly belong to independent nations; and, conscious of the rectitude of our intentions, we fearlessly and confidently commit the issue to the decision of the Supreme Arbiter of the destinies of nations.*

RICHARD ELLIS, *President.*

## HISTORICAL VIEW

C. B. STEWART,	}	<i>Austin.</i>
THOMAS BARNETT.		
JAS. COLLINSWORTH,	}	<i>Brazoria.</i>
EDWIN WALLER,		
ASA BRIGHAM,	}	<i>Bexar.</i>
J. S. D. BYROM,		
FRANCISCO RUIS,	}	<i>Colorado.</i>
ANTONIO NAVARO,		
JESSE B. BADGETT.	}	<i>Sabine.</i>
WILLIAM D. LACY,		
WILLIAM MENIFEE,	}	<i>Gonzales.</i>
JAMES GAINES,		
W. CLARK, JR.,	}	<i>Goliad.</i>
JOHN FISHER,		
MATT. CALDWELL,	}	<i>Harrisburgh.</i>
WILLIAM MOTLEY,		
L. DE ZAVALA,	}	<i>Jasper.</i>
STEPH. H. EVERITT,		
GEORGE W. SMITH,	}	<i>Jackson.</i>
ELIJAH STAPP,		
CLAIBORNE WEST,	}	<i>Jefferson.</i>
WILLIAM B. SCATES,		
M. B. MENARD,	}	<i>Liberty.</i>
A. B. HARDIN,		
BAILEY HARDIMAN,	}	<i>Matagorda.</i>
J. W. BUNTON,		
THOS. J. GAZELEY,	}	<i>Mina.</i>
R. M. COLEMAN,		
ROBERT POTTER,	}	<i>Nacogdoches.</i>
THOMAS J. RUSK,		
CH. S. TAYLOR,	}	<i>Red River.</i>
JOHN S. ROBERTS,		
ROBERT HAMILTON,	}	<i>San Augustin.</i>
COLLIN MCKINNEE,		
ALB. H. LATTIMER,	}	<i>Shelby.</i>
MARTIN PARMER,		
E. O. LEGRAND,	}	<i>Refugio.</i>
STEPH. W. BLOUNT,		
SYD. O. PENNINGTON,	}	<i>San Patricio.</i>
W. CAR'L. CRAWFORD,		
JAMES POWER,	}	
SAM. HOUSTON,		
DAVID THOMAS,	}	
EDWARD CONRAD,		
JOHN TURNER,	}	

B. BRIGGS GOODRICH,  
G. W. BARNETT,  
JAMES G. SWISHER,  
JESSE GAIMES, } *Washington.*

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“CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS.

“We, the people of Texas, in order to form a Government, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence and general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution :

ARTICLE I.

“SECTION 1. The powers of this Government shall be divided into three departments, viz. : Legislative, Executive and Judicial, which shall remain forever separate and distinct.

“SEC. 2. The Legislative power shall be vested in a Senate and House of Representatives, to be styled The Congress of the Republic of Texas.

“SEC. 3. The members of the House of Representatives shall be chosen annually, on the first Monday of September each year, and shall assemble on the first Monday in November, until Congress shall otherwise provide by law, and shall hold their offices one year from the date of their election.

“SEC. 4. No person shall be eligible to a seat in the House of Representatives until he shall have attained the age of twenty-five years, shall be a citizen of the Republic, and shall have resided in the county or district six months next preceding his election.

“SEC. 5. The House of Representatives shall not consist of less than twenty-four, nor more than forty members, until the population shall amount to one hundred thousand souls, after which time the whole number of Representatives shall not be less than forty nor more than one hundred : provided, however, that each county shall be entitled to at least one Representative.

“SEC. 6. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

“SEC. 7. The Senators shall be chosen by districts, as nearly equal in free population (free negroes and Indians excepted) as practicable, and the number of Senators shall never be less than one-third, nor more than one-half the number of Represent-

atives, and each district shall be entitled to one member and no more.

"SEC. 8. The Senators shall be chosen for the term of three years, on the first Monday in September, shall be citizens of the Republic, reside in the district for which they are respectively chosen at least one year before the election, and shall have attained the age of thirty years.

"SEC. 9. At the first session of the Congress after the adoption of this Constitution, the Senators shall be divided by lot into three classes, as nearly equal as practicable; the seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the end of the first year, of the second class at the end of the second year, the third class at the end of the third year, in such a manner that one-third shall be chosen each year thereafter.

"SEC. 10. The Vice President of the Republic shall be President of the Senate, but shall not vote on any question, unless the Senate be equally divided.

"SEC. 11. The Senate shall choose all other officers of their body, and a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or whenever he shall exercise the office of President; shall have the sole power to try impeachments, and when sitting as a court of impeachment, shall be under oath; but no conviction shall take place without the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members present.

"SEC. 12. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall only extend to removal from office, and disqualification to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit under this Government; but the party shall nevertheless be liable to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

"SEC. 13. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, qualifications and returns of its own members. Two-thirds of each House shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day and may compel the attendance of absent members.

"SEC. 14. Each House may determine the rules of its own proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, may expel a member, but not a second time for the same offence.

"SEC. 15. Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be fixed by law, but no increase of compensation, or diminution, shall take effect during the session at which such increase or diminution shall have been made. They shall, except in case of treason, felony or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during the session of Congress, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any

speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

"SEC. 16. Each House may punish, by imprisonment, during the session, any person not a member, who shall be guilty of any disrespect to the House, by any disorderly conduct in their presence.

"SEC. 17. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and publish the same, except such parts as, in its judgment, require secrecy. When any three members shall desire the yeas and nays on any question, they shall be entered on the journals.

"SEC. 18. Neither House, without the consent of the other, shall adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses may be sitting.

"SEC. 19. When vacancies happen in either House, the Executive shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

"SEC. 20. No bill shall become a law until it shall have been read on three several days in each House, and passed by the same, unless, in cases of emergency, two-thirds of the members of the House where the bill originated, shall deem it expedient to dispense with the rule.

"SEC. 21. After a bill shall have been rejected, no bill containing the same substance shall be passed into a law during the same session.

"SEC. 22. The style of the laws of the Republic shall be, 'Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas in Congress assembled.'

"SEC. 23. No person holding an office of profit under the Government shall be eligible to a seat in either House of Congress, nor shall any member of either House be eligible to any office which may be created, or the profits of which shall be increased during his term of service.

"SEC. 24. No holder of public moneys, or collector thereof, shall be eligible to a seat in either House of Congress, until he shall have fully acquitted himself of all responsibility, and shall produce the proper officer's receipt thereof. Members of either House may protest against any act or resolution, and may have such protest entered on the journals of their respective Houses.

"SEC. 25. No money shall be drawn from the public treasury but in strict accordance with appropriations made by law; and no appropriations shall be made for private or local purposes, unless two-thirds of each House concur in such appropriations.

"SEC. 26. Every act of Congress shall be approved and signed by the President before it becomes a law; but if the President will not approve and sign such act, he shall return it to the House in which it shall have originated, with his reasons for not approving the same, which shall be spread upon the journals of

such House, and the bill shall then be reconsidered, and shall not become a law unless it shall then pass by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses. If any act shall be disapproved by the President, the vote on the reconsideration shall be recorded by ayes and noes. If the President shall fail to return a bill within five days (Sundays excepted,) after it shall have been presented for his approval and signature, the same shall become a law, unless the Congress prevent its return within the time above specified, by adjournment.

"Sec. 27. All bills, acts, orders, or resolutions, to which the concurrence of both Houses may be necessary, (motions or resolutions for adjournment excepted,) shall be approved and signed by the President, or being disapproved, shall be passed by two-thirds of both Houses, in manner and form as specified in section twenty.

## ARTICLE II. .

"Sec. 1. Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes and imposts, excise and tonnage duties, to borrow money on the faith, credit and property of the Government, to pay the debts and to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the Republic.

"Sec. 2. To regulate commerce, to coin money, to regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, to fix the standard of weights and measures, but nothing but gold and silver shall be made a lawful tender.

"Sec. 3. To establish post offices and post roads, to grant charters of incorporation, patents, and copy-rights and secure to the authors and inventors the exclusive use thereof for a limited time.

"Sec. 4. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and to regulate captures.

"Sec. 5. To provide and maintain an army and navy, and to make all laws and regulations necessary for their Government.

"Sec. 6. To call out the militia to execute the law, to suppress insurrections and repel invasion.

"Sec. 7. To make all laws which shall be deemed necessary and proper to carry into effect the foregoing express grants of power, and all other powers vested in the Government of the Republic, or in any officer or department thereof.

## ARTICLE III.

"Sec. 1. The Executive authority of this Government shall be vested in a chief magistrate, who shall be styled The President of the Republic of Texas.



"Sec. 2. The first President elected by the People shall hold his office for the term of two years, and shall be ineligible during the next succeeding term; and all subsequent Presidents shall be elected for three years, and be alike ineligible; and in the event of a tie, the House of Representatives shall determine between the two highest candidates by a viva voce vote.

"Sec. 3. The returns of the elections for President and Vice President shall be sealed up and transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, by the holders of elections of each county; and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall open and publish the returns, in presence of a majority of each House of Congress.

#### ARTICLE IV.

"Sec. 1. The Judicial powers of the Government shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges of the supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices for four years, be eligible to re-election, and shall, at stated periods, receive for their services a compensation not to be increased or diminished during the period for which they were elected.

"Sec. 2. The Republic of Texas shall be divided into convenient judicial districts, not less than three nor more than eight. There shall be appointed for each district, a judge, who shall reside in the same, and hold the courts at such times and places as Congress may by law direct.

"Sec. 3. In all admiralty and maritime cases, in all cases affecting ambassadors, public ministers or consuls, and in all capital cases, the district courts shall have exclusive original jurisdiction, and original jurisdiction in all civil cases when the matter in controversy amounts to one hundred dollars.

"Sec. 4. The judges, by virtue of their offices, shall be conservators of the peace, throughout the Republic. The style of all process shall be, The Republic of Texas; and all prosecutions shall be carried on in the name and by the authority of the same, and conclude, Against the peace and dignity of the Republic.

"Sec. 5. There shall be a district attorney appointed for each district, whose duties, salaries, perquisites, and term of service shall be fixed by law.

"Sec. 6. The clerks of the district courts shall be elected by the qualified voters for members of Congress in the counties where the courts are established, and shall hold their offices for four years, subject to removal by presentment of a grand jury, and conviction of a petit jury.

"SEC. 7. The Supreme Court shall consist of a chief justice and associate judges; the district judges shall compose the associate judges, a majority of whom, with the chief justice, shall constitute a quorum.

"SEC. 8. The Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction only, which shall be conclusive, within the limits of the Republic; and shall hold its sessions annually at such times and places as may be fixed by law; provided that no judge shall sit in a case in the Supreme Court, tried by him in the court below.

"SEC. 9. The judges of the supreme and district courts shall be elected by joint ballot of both Houses of Congress.

"SEC. 10. There shall be in each county, a county court, and such justices' courts as the Congress may, from time to time, establish.

"SEC. 11. The Republic shall be divided into convenient counties, but no new county shall be established, unless it be done on the petition of one hundred free male inhabitants of the territory sought to be laid off and established, and unless the said territory shall contain nine hundred square miles.

"SEC. 12. There shall be appointed, for each county, a convenient number of justices of the peace, one sheriff, one coroner, and a sufficient number of constables, who shall hold their offices for two years, to be elected by the qualified voters of the district or county, as Congress may direct. Justices of the peace and sheriffs shall be commissioned by the President.

"SEC. 13. The Congress shall, as early as practicable, introduce, by statute, the common law of England with such modifications as our circumstances, in their judgment, may require; and in all criminal cases the common law shall be the rule of decision.

## ARTICLE V.

"SEC. 1. Ministers of the gospel being, by their profession, dedicated to God and the care of souls, ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions, therefore, no minister of the gospel or priest of any denomination whatever, shall be eligible to the office of the Executive of the Republic, nor to a seat in either branch of the Congress of the same.

"SEC. 2. Each member of the Senate and House of Representatives shall, before they proceed to business, take an oath to support the Constitution, as follows:

"I, A B, do solemnly swear [or affirm, as the case may be] that, as a member of this General Congress, I will support the Constitution of the Republic, and that I will not propose or assent

to any bill, vote, or resolution, which shall appear to me injurious to the people.

"SEC. 3. Every person who shall be chosen or appointed to any office of trust or profit shall, before entering on the duties thereof, take an oath to support the Constitution of the Republic, and also an oath of office.

## ARTICLE VI.

"SEC. 1. No person shall be eligible to the office of President who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, shall be a citizen of the Republic at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, or an inhabitant of this Republic at least three years immediately preceding his election.

"SEC. 2. The President shall enter on the duties of his office on the second Monday in December next succeeding his election, and shall remain in office until his successor shall be duly qualified.

"SEC. 3. The President shall, at stated times, receive a compensation for his services, which shall not be increased or diminished during his continuance in office; and before entering upon the duties of his office, he shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation: I, A B, President of the Republic of Texas, do solemnly and sincerely swear [or affirm, as the case may be] that I will faithfully execute the duties of my office, and to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the Republic.

"SEC. 4. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the Republic, and the militia thereof, but he shall not command in person without the authority of a resolution of Congress. He shall have power to remit fines and forfeitures, and to grant reprieves and pardons, except in cases of impeachment.

"SEC. 5. He shall, with the advice and consent of two thirds of the Senate, make treaties; and with the consent of the Senate, appoint ministers and consuls, and all officers whose offices are established by this Constitution, not herein otherwise provided for.

"SEC. 6. The President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate; but he shall report the same to the Senate within ten days after the next Congress shall convene; and should the Senate reject the same, the President shall not re-nominate the same individual to the same office.

"SEC. 7. He shall, from time to time, give Congress information of the state of the Republic, and recommend for their consideration, such measures as he may deem necessary. He may,

upon extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses or either of them. In the event of a disagreement as to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he may think proper. He shall receive all foreign ministers. He shall see that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the Republic.

"Sec. 8. There shall be a seal of the Republic, which shall be kept by the President and used by him officially; it shall be called the great seal of the Republic of Texas.

"Sec. 9. All grants and commissions shall be in the name and by the authority of the Republic of Texas, shall be sealed with the great seal, and signed by the President.

"Sec. 10. The President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint a Secretary of State and such other heads of Executive departments as may be established by law, who shall remain in office during the term of service of the President, unless sooner removed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate.

"Sec. 11. Every citizen of the Republic who has attained the age of twenty-one years, and shall have resided six months within the district or county where the election is held, shall be entitled to vote for members of the General Congress.

"Sec. 12. All elections shall be by ballot, unless Congress shall otherwise direct.

"Sec. 13. All elections by joint vote of both Houses of Congress shall be viva voce, shall be entered on the journals, and a majority of the votes shall be necessary to a choice.

"Sec. 14. A Vice President shall be chosen at every election for President, in the same manner, continue in office for the same time, and shall possess the same qualifications of the President. In voting for President and Vice President, the electors shall distinguish for whom they vote as President, and for whom as Vice President.

"Sec. 15. In cases of impeachment, removal from office, death, resignation, or absence of the President from the Republic, the Vice President shall exercise the powers and discharge the duties of the President until a successor be duly qualified, or until the President, who may be absent or impeached, shall return or be acquitted.

"Sec. 16. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the Republic, shall be removable from office by impeachment for, and on conviction of, treason, bribery, and other high crimes and misdemeanors.

## SCHEDULE.

"Sec. 1. That no inconvenience may arise from the adoption of this Constitution, it is declared by this Convention that all laws now in force in Texas, and not inconsistent with this Constitution, shall remain in full force until declared void, repealed, altered, or expire by their own limitation.

"Sec. 2. All fines, penalties, forfeitures, and escheats, which have accrued in Coahuila and Texas, or Texas, shall accrue to this Republic.

"Sec. 3. Every male citizen, who is, by this Constitution, a citizen, and shall be otherwise qualified, shall be entitled to hold any office or place of honor, trust, or profit, under the Republic, any thing in this Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Sec. 4. The first President and Vice President that shall be appointed after the adoption of this Constitution, shall be chosen by this Convention, and shall immediately enter on the duties of their offices, and shall hold said offices until their successors be elected and qualified, as prescribed in this Constitution, and shall have the same qualifications, be invested with the same powers, and perform the same duties which are required and conferred on the Executive head of the Republic by this Constitution.

"Sec. 5. The President shall issue writs of election directed to the officers authorised to hold elections of the several counties, requiring them to cause an election to be held for President, Vice President, Representatives and Senators to Congress, at the time and mode prescribed by this Constitution, which election shall be conducted in the manner that elections have been heretofore conducted. The President, Vice President and members of Congress, when duly elected shall continue to discharge the duties of their respective offices for the time and manner prescribed by this Constitution, until their successors be duly qualified.

"Sec. 6. Until the first enumeration shall be made, as directed by this Constitution, the precinct of Austin shall be entitled to one representative; the precinct of Brazoria to two Representatives; the precinct of Bexar two representatives; the precinct of Colorado one representative; Sabine one; Gonzales one; Goliad one; Harrisburg one; Jasper one; Jefferson one; Liberty one; Matagorda one; Mina two; Nacogdoches two; Red River three; Victoria one; San Augustine two; Shelby two; Refugio one; San Patricio one; Washington two; Milam one; and Jackson one Representative.

"Sec. 7. Until the first enumeration shall be made, as described by this Constitution, the Senatorial districts shall be com-

posed of the following precincts : Bexar shall be entitled to one Senator ; San Patricio, Refugio and Goliad one ; Brazoria one ; Mina and Gonzales one ; Nacogdoches one ; Red River one ; Shelby and Sabine one ; Washington one ; Matagorda, Jackson and Victoria one ; Austin and Colorado one ; San Augustine one ; Milam one ; Jasper and Jefferson one ; and Liberty and Harrisburg one Senator.

"Sec. 8. All judges, sheriffs, commissioners, and other civil officers shall remain in office, and in the discharge of the powers and duties of their respective offices, until there shall be others appointed or elected under the Constitution.

### "GENERAL PROVISIONS.

"Sec. 1. Laws shall be made to exclude from office, from the right of suffrage, and from serving on juries, those who shall hereafter be convicted of bribery, perjury, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

"Sec. 2. Returns of all elections for officers who are to be commissioned by the President, shall be made to the Secretary of State of this Republic.

"Sec. 3. The Presidents and heads of Departments shall keep their offices at the seat of Government, unless removed by the permission of Congress, or unless, in cases of emergency in the time of war, the public interest may require their removal.

"Sec. 4. The President shall make use of his private seal until a seal of the Republic shall be provided.

"Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of Congress as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law, a general system of education.

"Sec. 6. All free white persons who shall emigrate to this Republic, and who shall, after a residence of six months, make oath before some competent authority that he intends to reside permanently in the same, and shall swear to support this Constitution, and that he will bear true allegiance to the Republic of Texas, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizenship.

"Sec. 7. So soon as convenience will permit there shall be a penal code formed, on principles of reformation, and not on vindictive justice ; and the civil and criminal laws shall be revised, digested and arranged under different heads ; and all laws relating to land titles shall be translated, revised and promulgated.

"Sec. 8. All persons who shall leave the country for the purpose of evading a participation in the present struggle, or shall refuse to participate in it, or shall give aid or assistance to the present enemy, shall forfeit all rights of citizenship and such lands as they may hold in the Republic.

"SEC. 9. All persons of color who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the bona fide property of the person so holding said slave as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from bringing their slaves into the Republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States; nor shall Congress have power to emancipate slaves; nor shall any slave-holder be allowed to emancipate his or her slave or slaves without the consent of Congress, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the Republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the Republic, without the consent of Congress, and the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this Republic, excepting from the United States of America, is forever prohibited, and declared to be piracy.

"SEC. 10. All persons, (Africans, the descendants of Africans, and Indians excepted,) who were residing in Texas on the day of the Declaration of Independence, shall be considered citizens of the Republic, and entitled to all the privileges of such. All citizens now living in Texas, who have not received their portion of land, in like manner as colonists, shall be entitled to their land in the following proportion and manner: Every head of a family shall be entitled to one league and "labor" of land, and every single man of the age of seventeen and upwards, shall be entitled to the third part of one league of land. All citizens who may have, previously to the adoption of this Constitution, received their league of land as heads of families, and their quarter of a league of land as single persons, shall receive such additional quantity as will make the quantity of land received by them equal to one league and "labor" and one-third of a league, unless by bargain, sale or exchange, they have transferred or may henceforth transfer their right to said land, or a portion thereof, to some other citizen of the Republic; and in such case the person to whom such right shall have been transferred, shall be entitled to the same, as fully and amply as the person making the transfer might or could have been. No alien shall hold land in Texas, except by titles emanating directly from the government of this Republic. But if any citizen of this Republic should die intestate or otherwise, his children or heirs shall inherit his estate, and aliens shall have a reasonable time to take possession of and dispose of the same, in a manner hereafter to be pointed out by law. Orphan children, whose parents were entitled to land under the colonization law of Mexico, and who now reside in the Republic, shall be en-

titled to all the rights of which their parents were possessed at the time of their death. The citizens of the Republic shall not be compelled to reside on the land, but shall have their lines plainly marked.

" All orders of survey legally obtained by any citizen of the Republic, from any legally authorized Commissioner, prior to the act of the late consultation closing the land offices, shall be valid. In all cases the actual settler and occupant of the soil shall be entitled, in locating his land, to include his improvement, in preference to all other claims not acquired previous to his settlement, according to the law of the land and this Constitution ; *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall prejudice the rights of any citizen from whom a settler may hold land by rent or lease.

" And whereas the protection of the public domain from unjust and fraudulent claims, and quieting the people in the enjoyment of their lands, is one of the great duties of this Convention : and whereas the legislature of Coahuila and Texas having passed an act in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-four, in behalf of General John T. Mason, of New York, and another on the fourteenth day of March, eighteen hundred and thirty-five, under which the enormous amount of eleven hundred leagues of land have been claimed by sundry individuals, some of whom reside in foreign countries, and are not citizens of the Republic, which said acts are contrary to articles fourth, twelfth and fifteenth of the laws of eighteen hundred and twenty-four, of the General Congress of Mexico, and one of said acts, for that cause has, by said General Congress of Mexico, been declared null and void : It is hereby declared, that the said act of eighteen hundred and thirty-four, in favor of John T. Mason, and of the fourteenth of March, eighteen hundred and thirty-five, of the said Legislature of Coahuila and Texas, and each and every grant founded thereon, is, and was from the beginning, null and void ; and all surveys made under pretence of authority derived from said acts are hereby declared to be null and void ; and all eleven league claims, located within twenty leagues of the boundary line between Texas and the United States of America, which have been located contrary to the laws of Mexico, are hereby declared to be null and void : and whereas many surveys and titles to lands have been made whilst most of the people of Texas were absent from home, serving in the campaign against Bejar, it is hereby declared that all the surveys and locations of land made since the act of the late consultation closing the land offices, and all titles to land made since that time, are and shall be null and void.

" And whereas the present unsettled state of the country and



the general welfare of the people demand that the operations of the land office, and the whole land system shall be suspended until persons serving in the army can have a fair and equal chance with those remaining at home to select and locate their lands, it is hereby declared, that no survey or title which may hereafter be made shall be valid, unless such survey or title shall be authorised by this Convention, or some future Congress of the Republic. And with a view to the simplification of the land system, and the protection of the people and the Government from litigation and fraud, a general land office shall be established, where all the land titles of the Republic shall be registered, and the whole territory of the Republic shall be sectionised, in a manner hereafter to be prescribed by law, which shall enable the officers of the Government or any citizen, to ascertain with certainty the lands that are vacant, and those lands which may be covered by valid titles.

"Sec. 11. Any amendment or amendments to this Constitution, may be proposed in the House of Representatives or Senate, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members elected to each of the two Houses, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on the journals, with the yeas and nays thereon, and referred to the Congress then next to be chosen, and shall be published for three months previous to the election; and if the Congress next chosen as aforesaid, shall pass said amendment or amendments by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each House, then it shall be the duty of said Congress to submit said proposed amendment or amendments to the people, in such manner and at such times as the Congress shall prescribe; and if the people shall approve and ratify such amendment or amendments by a majority of the electors qualified to vote for members of Congress voting thereon, such amendment or amendments shall become a part of this Constitution: *Provided, however,* that no amendment or amendments be referred to the people oftener than once in three years.

#### DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

"This Declaration of Rights is declared to be a part of this Constitution, and shall never be violated on any pretence whatever. And in order to guard against the transgression of the high powers which we have delegated, we declare that every thing in this bill of rights contained, and every other right not hereby delegated, is reserved to the People.

"First. All men, when they form a social compact have equal rights, and no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive public privileges or emoluments from the community.

“Second. All political power is inherent in the People, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit; and they have at all times an inalienable right to alter their government in such manner as they may think proper.

“Third. No preference shall be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship over another, but every person shall be permitted to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

“Fourth. Every citizen shall be at liberty to speak, write, or publish his opinions on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that privilege. No law shall ever be passed to curtail the liberty of speech or of the press; and in all prosecutions for libels, the truth may be given in evidence, and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and fact, under the direction of the court.

“Fifth. The People shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers and possessions, from all unreasonable searches or seizures, and no warrant shall issue to search any place or seize any person or thing, without describing the place to be searched, or the person or thing to be seized, without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation.

“Sixth. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have the right of being heard, by himself, or counsel, or both; he shall have the right to demand the nature and cause of the accusation, shall be confronted with the witnesses against him, and have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor. And in all prosecutions by presentment or indictment, he shall have the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury; he shall not be compelled to give evidence against himself, or be deprived of life, liberty, or property, but by due course of law. And no freeman shall be holden to answer for any criminal charge, but on presentment or indictment by a grand jury, except in the land and naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger, or in cases of impeachment.

“Seventh. No citizen shall be deprived of privileges, outlawed, exiled, or in any manner disfranchised, except by due course of the law of the land.

“Eighth. No title of nobility, hereditary privileges or honors, shall ever be granted or conferred in this Republic. No person holding any office of profit or trust shall, without the consent of Congress, receive from any foreign state any present, office, or emolument, of any kind.

“Ninth. No person, for the same offence, shall be twice put in jeopardy of life or limbs. And the right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate.

"Tenth. All persons shall be bailable by sufficient security, unless for capital crimes, when the proof is evident or presumption strong; and the privilege of the writ of "habeas corpus" shall not be suspended, except in case of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

"Eleventh. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, or cruel or unusual punishments inflicted. All courts shall be open, and every man for any injury done him in lands, goods, person, or reputation, shall have remedy by due course of law.

"Twelfth. No person shall be imprisoned for debt in consequence of inability to pay.

"Thirteenth. No person's particular services shall be demanded, nor property taken or applied to public use, unless by the consent of himself or his representative, without just compensation being made therefor according to law.

"Fourteenth. Every citizen shall have the right to bear arms in defence of himself and the Republic. The military shall at all times and in all cases be subordinate to the civil power.

"Fifteenth. The sure and certain defence of a free people is a well-regulated militia; and it shall be the duty of the Legislature to enact such laws as may be necessary to the organizing of the militia of this Republic.

"Sixteenth. Treason against this Republic shall consist only in levying war against it, or adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and support. No retrospective or ex post facto law, or laws impairing the obligations of contracts, shall be made.

"Seventeenth. Perpetuities or monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free government, and shall not be allowed; nor shall the law of primogeniture or entailment ever be in force in this Republic.

"The foregoing constitution was unanimously adopted by the Delegates of Texas, in Convention assembled, at the town of Washington on the seventeenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, and of the Independence of the Republic the first year.

"In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

RICHARD ELLIS,

*President and Delegate from Red River.*

ALBERT H. S. KIMBLE, *Secretary.*

C. B. Stewart,  
James Collinsworth,  
Edwin Waller,  
A. Brigham,

John S. D. Byrom,  
Francis Ruiz,  
J. Antonio Navarro,  
William D. Lacy,

William Menifee,  
John Fisher,  
Mathew Caldwell,  
William Motley,  
Lorenzo de Zavala,  
George W. Smyth,  
Stephen H. Everett,  
Elijah Stepp,  
Claiborne West,  
William B. Scates,  
M. B. Menard,  
A. B. Hardin,  
John W. Bunton,  
Thomas J. Gazley,  
R. M. Coleman,  
Sterling C. Robertson,  
George C. Childress,  
Bailey Hardiman,  
Robert Potter,  
Charles Taylor,  
John S. Roberts,  
Robert Hamilton,  
Collin McKinney,  
A. H. Latimore,

James Powers,  
Sam. Houston,  
Edward Conrad,  
Martin Palmer,  
James Gaines,  
William Clark, Jun.,  
Sydney C. Pennington,  
Samuel P. Carson,  
Thomas J. Rusk,  
William C. Crawford,  
John Turner,  
Benjamin Briggs Goodrich,  
James G. Swisher,  
George W. Barnet,  
Jesse Grimes,  
E. O. Legrand,  
David Thomas,  
S. Rhoads Fisher,  
John W. Bower,  
J. B. Woods,  
A. Briscoe,  
Thomas Barnett,  
Jesse B. Badgett,  
Stephen W. Blount.

"I do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the foregoing Constitution, and find it to be a true copy from the original filed in the archives of the Convention.

"Given under my hand, this 17th day of March, 1836.

"Attest :

H. S. KIMBLE,  
*Secretary of the Convention.*"

## CHAPTER X.

*Review of the condition and prospects of the country at the time of declaring independence—military affairs resumed—volunteers from the United States—Col. Johnson marches for the Rio Grande—is surprised and defeated—Santa Anna with an army of eight thousand men invades Texas—unprepared state of the country—the Alamo besieged by Santa Anna—heroic defence of Travis—fall of the Alamo—operations at Goliad—Capt. Holland's account—Fanning and his army surrender as prisoners of war, and are massacred by order of Santa Anna.*

SINCE the first provisional government went into operation, and especially since the surrender of the Alamo, the last Mexican post in the country, Texas had been, *de facto*, an independent state. She had, however, hitherto acknowledged a qualified dependence upon the federal government of Mexico—such as the states of this union owe to the general government; and this dependence, so far from seeking to throw off, she had faithfully observed, and indeed, striven to maintain, until the authority to which it was due, no longer existed even in name.

The people of Texas had now put forth their pretensions to the rank of an independent nation, and published them to the world in solemn form, not from vain pride, but from stern necessity. We shall not pause here to enquire into their right. The enquiry cannot be necessary, since the measure was forced upon them; or if indeed there was an alternative presented to them, and rejected with becoming scorn; the people of Texas will never be reproached for having rejected such an alternative, by any faithful citizen of the United States; to him it must appear that the motive was imperative. Had the measure been adopted a few months earlier, in the midst of the confidence inspired by the astonishing success which had crowned the efforts of a few armed citizens, it might have been pronounced a mere ebullition of pride, from which she would shrink in the day of trial, when threatened with real dangers, or overtaken by adverse fortune; but never, in the eyes of the world, was Texas further from independence, than at the moment which was chosen to proclaim it. It was done in face of the chief, whose right was disputed, surrounded by a force which had been pronounced

sufficient to crush the country at a blow. A chief whose military career had hitherto been attended with unvaried success ; whose repeated victories had acquired him the reputation of the ablest general of the age, of the appellation—" Napoleon of the south." However men may differ in opinion about the right, or the expediency of a declaration of independence by the people of Texas ; all must respect the courage which called it forth in face of the dangers which surrounded them.

We have here anticipated in some degree, the events of the second campaign. This seemed to be necessary in order to bring down our history of the civil affairs of the country to an important epoch, as well as to avoid a too frequent interruption of the narrative. We will now return to the military affairs of the country, which were left at the surrender of San Antonio.

This event having closed the campaign, the Texian citizens of whom the volunteer army was mostly composed, returned to their homes, and the forts of San Antonio and Goliad were left to be garrisoned by the volunteers coming in from the United States. During the months of December and January, probably not less than a thousand young men arrived in Texas from the United States. Direct appeals had been made to their sympathies, by various addresses from the Texian authorities at home, and from their agents in the United States. But the best and most effectual appeal, was the simple fact, that their brethren were doing battle in the cause of liberty, against fearful odds.

Much has been said of the character of Texian volunteers, too much indeed, by those who know *little* of the men, and still *less* of the motive that led them to the field. It was an impulse that finds a response only in kindred bosoms. The generosity that withholds *nothing*, but pours out its *blood* like the mountain stream, in the cause of the oppressed, can be little understood by him who withholds all, and whose sympathies flow only for the oppressor. There are those who envy La Fayette the fame acquired by a like sacrifice, to whom nature has denied the courage to imitate his example ; and there are those who envy him only for the accidents of birth and fortune, which he sacrificed in such a cause. The former were never found among the Texian volunteers, and the latter will condemn all who were, and scoff at the generous impulse which led them there.

Finding that the enemy had been already driven from the country, and no certain intelligence that he was about to return, and finding also that their support would be a heavy burthen to the people, many of the volunteers, and especially those who were unprovided with means for their own support, returned to the United States before the opening of the campaign. Those who remained were, a portion of them, scattered through the country

waiting a demand for their services, but the greater number joined the garrisons at San Antonio and Goliad ;—the Texans still remaining at their homes, waiting also a call for their services.

Continual rumors were afloat during the winter, that the Mexican chief was preparing to invade the country ; and reports frequently came that he had already entered it, and was advancing upon San Antonio. Alarm and preparation followed, which soon subsided on a contradiction of the report. Rumors were also afloat of commotions and insurrections in different parts of Mexico. And many believed that in the unsettled state of the country, Santa Anna could neither invade Texas himself, nor spare any considerable force for that purpose.

In this state of things, an expedition against Matamoras was much talked of among the volunteers, and for this purpose most of those at San Antonio were drawn to Goliad. Col. James W. Fannin, a brave and accomplished officer, who commanded at the latter place, finding the expedition disapproved by the authorities of Texas, declined proceeding. Colonels Grant and Johnson, notwithstanding, determined to go on with about one hundred volunteers, who were willing to accompany them. About the last of February, they had reached the neighborhood of San Patricio, and having neither seen, nor heard of an enemy, were moving carelessly on, unsuspecting of danger, when they were surprised by a large force, (which proved to be the van of the right division of the invading army,) and nearly all cut off. Col. Johnson, with two or three others, escaped and brought the first intelligence of the approach of the enemy.

At this time the whole Texian force in the field did not exceed five hundred men ; and an army of eight thousand Mexicans in two divisions, had already advanced far into the country, and was rapidly approaching the settlements. Such was the rumor that reached San Felipe, and spread over the country, about the first of March. The effect of this report upon the minds of the Texian people, was neither what it ought to have been, nor what might have been expected, in view of the heroic courage they had exhibited during the last campaign. So much may be said in general terms. But the degree of censure to which they are justly liable, will best appear from a detail of the principal facts and circumstances which may be supposed to have exerted an important, not to say controlling, influence over their minds at the time.

The events of the last campaign, so flattering to themselves, and so discreditable to their enemy, were little calculated to stimulate to vigorous effort in preparing for another. That vigilance, which keeps a wakeful eye upon the slightest movement of an enemy, the sure precursor of success in war, had been lulled

asleep, by too much confidence in their own prowess, and too great contempt for their enemy. From the proneness of the human mind to fly from one extreme to the other, there was now great danger that this high-wrought confidence would be succeeded by a panic, and unhappily for the Texians, there were too many other circumstances to aid in producing such a result. It was certain that the enemy in great force had reached the very threshold of their settlements, while they were wholly unprepared to meet him. This force, which, when truly represented, must in their condition be sufficiently appalling, was variously exaggerated; different reports making it from ten to twenty thousand men. The offended chief had come with the declared intention, if he found resistance, to spare neither age nor sex, but to lay the country in utter desolation; and as an earnest of his sincerity, he had come with his hands yet stained with the blood of the Zacatecans.

He had advanced thus far with a celerity, which from the condition of the country, would have been deemed scarcely practicable. His arrival therefore, in the heart of the settlements, might be almost daily expected. And should they now leave their homes to meet him in the field, uncertain of his progress or of his course, their families, with no one to give notice of his approach, or aid them in flight, might fall a prey to worse than savage barbarity.

That Santa Anna in person would presume to leave Mexico when so recently seated in power, and the elements of opposition so powerful as they were believed to be at home, or that in the impoverished state of the country, he could muster sufficient resources to support a large force at home, and bring another across land into Texas, had been deemed incredible by many, and not a few of the most intelligent men in the United States, as well as in Texas, had partaken of this incredulity. It required indeed, to accomplish it, the power to extract from the country its resources, for some years in anticipation.

But had all the circumstances of his coming been known, saving the time, which he could easily conceal, separated as the countries were, by hundreds of miles of almost untrodden wilds, and all intercourse prohibited by land or water, the Texians had no resources to keep themselves constantly in the field to await his approach. It was difficult even, while at home on their farms, to subsist the small force then in the field. They could only have concentrated this force, kept a sharp look out, and rushed to the conflict when the enemy appeared. Had this been done, and a skill and intrepidity been exerted, equal to that displayed in the last campaign, it is probable the historian of Texas might have been spared from recording events whose first recital



was every where listened to with a chill of horror ; which brought mourning and desolation into many families, scattered over this whole continent, and which came near extinguishing forever the new risen star of Texas.

It has been already remarked, that the invading army had entered Texas in two divisions ; the right commanded by Gen. Urea, were following the line of the coast, and advancing upon Goliad, while the left, commanded by Santa Anna in person, was marching upon San Antonio, by an interior route. The van of the latter, consisting of more than a thousand men, arrived in the neighborhood of the town, on the 23d day of February. The Texian garrison, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, mostly volunteers from the United States, who had arrived in Texas since the beginning of the war, was commanded by Col. W. B. Travis.

The garrison on discovering the approach of the enemy in so large a force, retired into the Alamo, carrying with them all the provisions they could collect, in order to be prepared for a siege. On the morning of the 23d, they received a summons from the Mexican commandant, demanding a surrender of the fort, and threatening in case of a refusal to put the garrison to the sword. This was answered by a shot, and a cannonading now commenced on both sides, which was kept up, with perhaps a few intervals of repose, until the 6th of March. In the mean time, on the side of the Mexicans, successive bodies of troops were daily coming in, until on the 3d of March, an army of 4000 men, with Santa Anna at its head, invested the fort, defended by the little band of volunteers before mentioned, aided now by the services of some thirty Texian citizens, from Gonzales and its neighborhood, who had found their way into the fort since the enemy had invested it.

The measures adopted by Travis to apprise the authorities and people of Texas, and commandant at Goliad, of his situation, that they might hasten reinforcements to his relief, will best appear from the subjoined letters ; they contain also interesting details of the progress of the siege, and serve to exhibit the spirit and mind of the man ; they constitute the only legacy of a brave man ; and the patriot soldier who would form himself upon the most perfect model, need not look beyond the letters and the example of Travis.

## (PROCLAMATION AND LETTER OF TRAVIS.)

*"To the people of Texas and all Americans in the world.*

*"Commandancy of the Alamo,  
Bejar, Feb. 24, 1836.*

*"Fellow citizens and compatriots,*

*"I am besieged by a thousand or more of the Mexicans, under Santa Anna. I have sustained a continual bombardment and cannonade for twenty-four hours, and have not lost a man. The enemy have demanded a surrender at discretion; otherwise the garrison is to be put to the sword, if the fort is taken. I have answered the summons with a cannon shot, and our flag still waves proudly from the walls. I shall never surrender or retreat. Then I call on you in the name of liberty, patriotism, and every thing dear to the American character, to come to our aid with all despatch. The enemy are receiving reinforcements daily, and will no doubt increase to three or four thousand in four or five days. Though this call may be neglected, I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible, and die like a soldier who never forgets what is due to his own honor and that of his country. *Victory or death!**

*W. BARRETT TRAVIS, Lieut. Col. Com't."*

*To the President of the Convention.*

*"Commandancy of the Alamo,  
Bejar, March 3d, 1836.*

*"SIR,—In the present confusion of the political authorities of the country, and in the absence of the commander-in-chief, I beg leave to communicate to you the situation of this garrison. You have doubtless already received my official report of the action of the 25th ult. made on that day to General Samuel Houston, together with the various communications heretofore sent by express; I shall therefore confine myself to what has transpired since that date. From the 25th to the present date, the enemy have kept up a bombardment from two howitzers, and a heavy cannonade from two long nine pounders, mounted on a battery, on the opposite side of the river, at the distance of four hundred yards from our walls. During this period, the enemy have been busily employed, in encircling us with entrenched encampments on all sides, at the following distances, viz. in Bejar, four hundred yards west, in Lavilleta, three hundred yards south, at the powder house, one thousand yards east of south, on the ditch, eight hundred yards north east, and at the old mill eight hundred yards*

north. Notwithstanding all this, a company of thirty-two men from Gonzales made their way in to us on the morning of the 1st inst. at 3 o'clock, and Col. Bonham, (a courier from Gonzales,) got in this morning at 11 o'clock, without molestation.

"I have so fortified this place, that the walls are generally proof against cannon balls, and I still continue to entrench on the inside, and strengthen the walls by throwing up the earth. At least two hundred shells have fallen inside of our works without having injured a single man. Indeed, we have been so fortunate as not to lose a man from any cause, and we have killed many of the enemy. The spirits of my men are still high, although they have had much to depress them. We have contended for ten days against an enemy whose numbers are variously estimated at from 1500 to 6000 men, with Gen. Ramirer Siesma, and Col. Batres, the aids-de-camp of Santa Anna, at their head. A report was circulated that Santa Anna himself was with the enemy, but I think it false. A reinforcement of about 1000 men is now entering Bejar from the west, and I think it more than probable, from the rejoicing we hear, that Santa is now in town.

"Col. Fannin is said to be on the march to this place with reinforcements, but I fear it is not true, as I have repeatedly sent to him for aid without receiving any. Col. Bonham, my special messenger, arrived at La Bahia fourteen days ago, with a request for aid, and on the arrival of the enemy in Bejar, ten days ago, I sent an express to Col. Fannin, which arrived at Goliad next day, urging him to send us reinforcements; *none have yet arrived*. I look to the colonies alone for aid; unless it arrives soon I shall have to fight the enemy on his own terms. I will however do the best I can under the circumstances, and I feel confident that the determined valor and desperate courage heretofore evinced by my men will not fail them in the last struggle, and although they may be sacrificed to the vengeance of a Gothic enemy, the victory will cost the enemy so dear that it will be worse for him than a defeat. I hope your honorable body will hasten on reinforcements, ammunition and provisions, to our aid, as soon as possible. We have provisions for twenty days, for the men we have; our supply of ammunition is limited; at least five hundred pounds of cannon powder, and two hundred rounds of six, nine, twelve, and eighteen pound cannon balls, ten kegs of rifle powder, and a supply of lead, should be sent to this place without delay, under a sufficient guard. If these things are promptly sent, and large reinforcements are hastened to this frontier, this neighborhood will be the great and decisive battle ground. The power of Santa Anna is to be met here or in the colonies. We had better meet them here, than to suffer a war of desolation to rage in our settlements. A blood red banner waves from the church

of Bejar, and in the camp above us, in token that the war is one of vengeance against rebels ; they have declared us as such, and demanded that we should surrender at discretion, or that this garrison should be put to the sword ; their threats have had no influence on me or my men, but to make all fight with desperation, and that high souled courage which characterizes the patriot who is willing to die in defence of his country's liberty and his own honor.

"The citizens of this municipality are all our enemies except those who have joined us heretofore ; we have but three Mexicans now in the fort. Those who have not joined us in this extremity, should be declared public enemies, and their property should aid in paying the expenses of the war. The bearer of this will give your honorable body a statement more in detail should he escape through the enemy's lines. *God and Texas, liberty or death.*

Your obedient servant,  
W. BARRETT TRAVIS,  
Lieut. Col. Com't."

No other communications from the lamented Travis, or any of his associates in the siege, ever reached the authorities or people of Texas. Many fancy sketches of the further progress of the siege, and the conduct of individuals who composed the garrison, have been published. The following is all that can be relied upon as authentic.\*

"From the beginning of the siege, (Feb. 23d,) to the 6th of March, the Mexicans had made frequent attempts to storm the fort, which were as often repelled, generally with great loss on the side of the enemy. The garrison were occupied night and day, in fighting and watching the foe, and strengthening their works, (which were large, and required at least five hundred men to man them well.) On the night of the 5th, they had been working until nearly exhausted ; they retired to rest two hours before day. That morning had been chosen by Santa Anna to make a more desperate assault than had hitherto been attempted,

\* This account our informant derived from a colored servant boy of Col. Travis, the only male survivor of the garrison. Moved to compassion by his age, or more probably by his complexion, the enemy had spared him ; and he remains, the only monument of Mexican sparing mercy. This boy had been actively employed in waiting on the garrison, during the last terrible conflict, and relates these few facts with great apparent simplicity and truth. The circumstances of the attack by the Mexicans, came from a Mexican officer taken prisoner at the battle of San Jacinto, who had been actively engaged in storming the Alamo, and whose account of the closing scene also, corroborates that of the colored boy.

and for that purpose he had drawn up his infantry around the fort, and posted his cavalry outside, with orders to shoot down every man who turned back, and thus, about an hour before day, the Mexican chief drove his own forces to the attack. Most of the Texian sentinels, worn out with fatigue, had fallen asleep, and were killed at their posts. On the first alarm, the assailants were on and within the walls, in great numbers. The garrison soon rallied and attacked the assailants with the energy of desperation; twice they cleared the yard and the walls.

"They fought like brave men long and well,  
They piled that ground with foemen slain,"

But overpowered by numbers, and covered with wounds, they sunk, one by one, with weariness and loss of blood; one man alone was found alive when the Mexicans had gained full possession of the fort; he was immediately shot by order of the Mexican chief."

The victory must be ascribed to the Mexicans, since there was no man left to dispute it. But the heroic Travis had redeemed his pledge. "It cost them dearer than a defeat." More than a thousand Mexicans had fallen by the weapons of the garrison, since the commencement of the siege.

While these events were passing at San Antonio, Col. Fannin was at Goliad, ninety miles below, with a garrison of about four hundred men. He had received a letter from Col. Travis, apprising him of the attack upon San Antonio, and requesting reinforcements, and was preparing to comply with the request, when Col. Johnson and the other survivors of the party who had been surprised near San Patricio, arrived at Goliad, bringing intelligence of the fate of their companions, and of the approach of a large division of the Mexican army towards that post. The strength of this division was reported to be between three and four thousand men, with a large body of cavalry, whose arrival in the neighborhood might be daily expected. It will be readily seen, that under these circumstances, Fannin could spare no part of his force for the relief of San Antonio, unless he abandoned his own post, which was deemed as important as the other. He therefore made the best preparation in his power for an attack or a siege, and awaited the arrival of the enemy.

For an account of the further progress of events at Goliad, and of the tragic fate of Fannin and most of his associates, we avail ourselves of the following communication from Capt. Benjamin H. Holland, who was a captain of artillery, in active service until the surrender. This account is corroborated by the statements of other survivors of the massacre. It has, too, the char-

acter of a semi-official, as there was no other officer of equal rank among the survivors, and as such it was ordered for publication by the President ad interim of Texas.

"On or about the 12th of March, orders were issued by Gen. Houston, to destroy the town and fort of La Bahia, and the forces to fall back to Gonzales, to unite with him and concentrate all the Texian forces.

"Prior to the receipt of these orders, Captain King's company was ordered to the Mission, (a distance of about twenty-five miles,) in order to relieve some families who were in danger of falling into the enemy's hands. Upon their arrival at the Mission they were met and attacked by a large body of the enemy, and after a gallant and well sustained fight, retreated in an orderly and judicious manner to the church, where they sustained themselves against a very superior number of Mexicans and Indians with but small loss to themselves, but a severe loss to the enemy, until relieved by the Georgia battalion under Col. Ward, who had been sent to their aid. The separation of our forces caused us to delay our retreat. An express was sent to Col. Ward, at the Mission, to fall back and join the forces at Goliad with all possible despatch, or should he be cut off by the enemy, (of whose advance from San Patricio we had intelligence,) to make good his retreat through the Gaudaloupe bottoms, and join the main army at Victoria.

"On the 16th our scouts brought intelligence that a body of the enemy, 1500 strong, were on the San Antonio road. Many of the cannon having been dismounted preparatory to a retreat, we immediately remounted them, as we anticipated an attack that night. About 12 o'clock the picket guard gave the alarm, and retreated into the fort; it however proved to be only the enemy's spies reconnoitering. On the 17th the enemy forded the San Antonio river and showed themselves at the old Mission, a distance from our fort of four miles. This day we destroyed the whole town of La Bahia by fire, battering down all ruined walls, so as to secure us a full sweep of the enemy, should they attack the fort.

"March 18.—The enemy still hovering round the old Mission, a council of war was called, when it was decided, that inasmuch as our ammunition was not sufficient to sustain a siege, and as our provisions were short, and as we were well aware of the overwhelming force of the enemy, it was advisable to fall back to Victoria.

"This night we made every preparation for an early retreat in the morning, and by day-light every one was in marching order: before day a scouting party was despatched to ascertain the position of the enemy, who returned shortly after day-light and re-

ported the lower road being clear. Col. Horton was then ordered by Col. Fannin to post all, advance, rear, right and left guard.

" March 19th, at about half-past 6 A. M., took the line of retreat towards the lower ford, and about 9 A. M. got our baggage and cannon across. We had nine pieces of brass artillery, consisting of one six inch howitzer, three short sixes, two long and two short fours, with several small pieces for throwing musket balls; we then commenced our advance towards Victoria. We had advanced several miles without receiving any intelligence of the enemy by our videtts, and at about 10 A. M. halted to graze our cattle and take some refreshment, on the outskirts of some timber we had just passed; we tarried about three-fourths of an hour, when we again took up the line of march; we had advanced about four miles into the prairie, when we had intelligence of the enemy's approach; Col. Horton's cavalry, who were ordered in the rear, had neglected to remain in that position, and in consequence the enemy had advanced within the distance of from one to two miles ere they were discovered by the infantry in the rear, and almost simultaneously they were descried upon both flanks, evidently with the design of surrounding us. The enemy had now formed a semi-circle on our right and left, and as we had no means of moving our artillery but by exhausted and worn out men, were fast surrounding us; Captains Hurst and Holland of the artillery, were ordered to the rear to keep up a retreating fire, under cover of which the army advanced about a mile and a half in the face of the enemy; it now became necessary for us to take a position, as we were entirely surrounded, our cavalry cut off from us and escaped, leaving us now two hundred and fifty effective men, consisting of the following companies:

New Orleans Greys—Capt. Pellis.

Red Rovers—Capt. Jack Shackleford, from Alabama.

Mustangs—Capt. Duval.

Mobile Greys—Capt. McManaman.

Regulars—Capt. Westover.

1st Company Artillery—Capt. Hurst.

2d do. do. —Capt. Holland.

3d do. do. —Capt. Schrusnecki, a Polish Engineer.

We were about three hundred yards to the left of the road, in a valley, with an elevation towards the road, of about six feet in the whole distance; we were unfortunately obliged to take that very disadvantageous position in consequence of our having pursued our advance so far in order to gain the woods; we drew our waggons into a cluster, formed ourselves into an oblong circle around them, and posted our artillery in positions to defend it; the circle was about 49 feet of shortest central diameter, and about 60 feet of longest diameter. It was now 1 o'clock, P. M., at which time

we were attacked on all sides by the enemy, with a brisk fire of musketry ; we were ordered not to fire until the word of command was given, in order to draw the enemy within rifle shot—we reserved our fire for about ten minutes, and several were wounded in our ranks previous to our firing ; at the request of the officers, the artillery was permitted to open fire ; the wind was blowing slightly from the N. E. and the smoke of our cannon covered the enemy, under which they made a desperate charge, but were repulsed with a very severe loss ; our cannon was loaded with cannisters of musket balls, and the howitzer with grist. In this manner the action was kept up with great fury by the enemy ; charge after charge being made by the cavalry and infantry, and always repelled by a heavy loss on their part. Our men behaved nobly, and although surrounded by overwhelming numbers, not a change of countenance could be seen.

“ Thus was the battle kept up, and upon the repulse of each charge, column upon column of the enemy were seen to fall like bees before smoke. Here would be seen horses flying in every direction without riders, and there dismounted cavalry making their escape on foot, while the field was literally covered with dead bodies. It was a sorry sight to see our small circle ; it had become muddy with blood ; Col. Fannin had been so badly wounded at the first or second fire as to disable him ; the wounded shrieking for water which we had not to give them. The fight continued until dusk, when the enemy retreated, leaving us masters of the field, with ten men killed and wounded, while the enemy lay around heap upon heap. We possessed a great advantage over the Mexicans, they having no artillery, and we having nine brass pieces, with which we kept up an incessant fire of musket balls.

“ It now became prudent to take measures as to our next procedure ; accordingly the officers were all summoned to Col. Fannin, where he lay wounded, and the question was whether we should maintain our present position or retreat ; it was carried that we should sustain ourselves as long as possible ; consequently, we commenced heaving up a redoubt some three feet above the mean level of the prairie, exclusive of the dyke.

“ The night was now very dark and cloudy ; drizzling with rain and misty fog, the enemy encompassed us, and kept up a continual sound to charge, so that we appeared to be surrounded with bugles. We had with us 1000 spare muskets, which we loaded, and each man took an equal share, our cannon ammunition being nearly exhausted. Daylight broke upon us in this situation, and some of our men went out about a hundred yards and brought into camp two Mexican prisoners, both badly wound-



ed ; from them we ascertained that the number opposed to us was 1900 men, and that a reinforcement of two brigades of artillery would be there that morning if they had not already arrived. We had no sooner received this intelligence than this very artillery opened their cannon upon us ; they had placed themselves behind a small hillock, and were entirely under cover ; we could neither touch them with our cannon, nor charge, as they had so placed their cavalry, that the moment we should quit our artillery they would cut us to pieces. We accordingly met in council to devise means and measures ; it was accordingly decided that we should send a flag of truce to the enemy, and if possible, obtain a treaty, if upon fair and honorable terms ; accordingly Capt. F. J. Desanque, the bearer of the express from General Houston, Capt. B. H. Holland, of the artillery, and an ensign, were despatched with a flag of truce ; the flags met midway between the two armies, and it was decided that the two commanders should meet to decide the matter—in pursuance of which Col. Fannin was conveyed out and met Gen. Urea, Governor of Durango, commander of the Mexican forces, and the following treaty was concluded upon, and solemnly ratified ; a copy of it in Spanish was retained by Gen. Urea, and one in English by Col. Fannin.

“ Seeing the Texian army entirely overpowered by a far superior force, and to avoid the effusion of blood, we surrender ourselves prisoners of war, under the following terms :

“ Art. 1st. That we should be received and treated as prisoners of war, according to the usages of civilized nations.

“ Art. 2d. That the officers should be paroled immediately upon their arrival at La Bahia, and the other prisoners should be sent to Copano, within eight days, there to await shipping to convey them to the United States, so soon as it was practicable to procure it : no more to take up arms against Mexico until exchanged.

“ Art. 3d. That all private property should be respected, and officers’ swords should be returned on parole or release.

“ Art. 4th. That our men should receive every comfort, and be fed as well as their own men. Signed,

Gen. UREA,  
Col. MORATEAS,  
Col. HOBZINGER.

On the part of the enemy ; and on our part, signed by  
Col. FANNIN, and  
Maj. WALLACE.

“ The officers were then called upon to deliver up their side arms, which were boxed up, with their names placed by a ticket upon each, and a label upon the box, stating they should soon

have the honor of returning them, and it was their principle to meet us now as friends, not as enemies.

"Col. Fannin and the men were that afternoon marched back to La Bahia ; the wounded, together with the captain of each company, and our surgeons, were left on the field to dress the wounded, which was completed on the 21st, when we were all conveyed back to the fort, where we found the men in a most miserable state. They were brutally treated—they were allowed but very little water to drink, in consequence of its having to be brought from the river, and but a small piece of meat, without salt, bread or vegetables. On the 23d, Major Miller and ninety men were brought into the fort prisoners ; they had just landed at Copano from the United States.

"On the 25th the Georgia battalion was also brought in ; it had been surprised and captured between Victoria and Demill's Point, and marched back and confined with us. Here we were now nearly 500 strong, guarded by 1000 Mexicans, without being allowed the slightest liberty in any respect.

"The Mexicans had always said that Santa Anna would be at La Bahia, on the 27th, to release us. Accordingly, on that day, we were ordered to form all the prisoners ; we were told that we were going to bring wood and water, and that Santa Anna would be there that day ; we were ordered to march all the officers at the head of the file, except Col. Fannin, who lay wounded in the Hospital. As we marched out of the sally port we saw hollow squares formed ready to receive us ; we were ordered to file left, and marched into a hollow square of double filed cavalry, on foot, armed with carbines, commonly called scopets, and broad-swords.

"This square was filled and closed, and the head of the remaining files wheeled off into another square, and so on, until all were strongly guarded in squares : the company of which the writer of this was one, was ordered to forward, and no more was seen of our unfortunate comrades ; we marched out on the Bexar road, near the burying ground, and as we were ordered to halt, we heard our companions shrieking in the most agonizing tones, 'Oh, God ! Oh, God ! Spare us !' and nearly simultaneously a report of musketry. It was then we knew what was to be our fate. The writer of this then observed to Major Wallace, who was his file leader, that it would be best to make a desperate rush—he said no, we were too strongly guarded ; he then appealed to several others, but none would follow ; he then sprang and struck the soldier on his right a severe blow with his fist ; they being at open files, the soldier at the outer file attempted to shoot him, but being too close, was unable ; the soldier then turned his gun and struck the writer a severe blow upon the left,

hand. I then seized hold of the gun and wrenched it from his hand, and instantly started and ran towards the river. A platoon of men (I have been since informed, by two others who made their escape by falling when fired upon among the dead bodies of their comrades,) wheeled and fired upon me, but all missed.

"I then had a chain of sentinels to pass at about 300 yards distance; they were about thirty yards apart, three of them closed to intercept my retreat, the central one raised his gun to fire—I still ran towards him in a serpentine manner in order to prevent his taking aim—I suddenly stopped—dropped my piece, fired, and shot the soldier through the head and he fell instantly dead. I ran over his dead body, the other two firing at me but missing, and immediately ran and leaped into the river, and while swimming across was shot at by three horsemen, but reached the opposite banks in safety; and after wandering six days without food in the wilderness, succeeded on the tenth of April in joining General Houston's army, after having been retaken by the enemy once, but succeeded in making my escape in company with a wounded man who had got off from La Bahia, by falling among the dead as before stated. I am happy to state, that six more succeeded in saving their lives and regaining their liberty by the same stratagem. The number of the enemy according to their own account, killed at the battle of Cotello, varies from nine to eleven hundred."

The only material events, connected with this part of the campaign, which are omitted in the foregoing, relate to the movements of the Georgia battalion, under Col. Ward; which, it will be recollected, had been ordered to the relief of Capt. King, at the Mission Refugio. We are told by Holland, only of their arrival, to relieve King, and their surrender, and return to Goliad as prisoners. Some events intervened, which in justice to the intrepid Ward, and his dauntless associates, whose lips are now sealed forever, ought not to be overlooked. They had not probably come to the knowledge of Capt. Holland, when he wrote his communication.

Col. Ward, with about one hundred men of the Georgia battalion, arrived at the Mission, on the evening of the 13th of March. A single salute from their rifles served to drive off the enemy, who had invested King in his position, which was the ruins of a stone church. Having marched during the day twenty-five miles, and most of the way in wet prairie, with the water often ankle deep, they were too greatly fatigued to think of returning the same night. Orders were given to commence their return march at day-break, the next morning; and after posting sentinels the men were permitted to sleep on their arms. On mustering in the morning, a report of one of the sentinels excited

suspicious that the enemy had returned into the neighborhood, accompanied with a much larger force, and it was thought most prudent to send out a reconnoitering party, preceding the march of the main body. Accordingly Capt. King, with his company, was sent forward. A discharge of musketry was soon after heard in the direction they had taken. Ward with his men immediately pressed forward to the relief of the advance, but at a distance of only a few hundred yards they were met in front by a body of Mexicans of six or eight hundred men. At the same instant, they discovered a body of cavalry moving at some distance in flank in order to fall upon their rear, and cut off their retreat to the Mission. A moment's deliberation determined them to retreat again to the walls of the Mission house, and by reserving their fire, they kept the cavalry at a distance, and reached the walls without loss.

Preparations were immediately set about, to defend themselves against an assault, as the large force of the enemy rendered it very certain that this would soon be attempted.

On three sides of the church there was nothing to cover the approach of an enemy, but in advancing to make an assault, he must be exposed to the deadly aim of the garrison, the moment he came within rifle shot. On the fourth side was the church-yard, of some fifty yards in length, walled in. From the end of this the ground sloped for some distance. This would cover the advance of an enemy, until it became necessary to scale the wall, and then there were some tombs within that would still partially cover them in a nearer approach to the walls of the church. This point must therefore be defended by a force posted in the yard.

Bullock's company, consisting of about thirty-five men, then without a commissioned officer present, but acting as a band of brothers, volunteered for this dangerous service. Ward himself, although looking well to his duty as commandant of the battalion, was never long absent from this outpost; he scarcely affected to assume the command, but ranked with the band, and none could be more expert in using the rifle.

The order of defence was promptly adopted, and not less promptly executed. The force of the enemy, having been increased by the arrival of another reinforcement, now exceeded thirteen hundred, including the cavalry. At 8 o'clock, they were seen advancing briskly to the assault from all points at the same instant. Upon the unenclosed sides of the building, the enemy opened a fire, on reaching musket shot distance. On the side of the yard, they were discovered marching slowly and silently in close column, intending to draw up unperceived, and spring upon their prey from the yard at the moment when he was hard pressed by their companions, and wholly occupied by the attack from that quarter.

Ward had ordered his men not to hazard an ineffectual shot, but that every man should reserve his fire until sure of his aim, and he was obeyed to the letter. At the first discharge of rifles from the building, as many Mexicans bit the dust. This produced some confusion in the Mexican ranks, and one or two parties retreated, but others recovered and made a rush towards the building. A second discharge from within, not less fatal than the first, cut down the foremost ranks and put the survivors to flight. Meantime, the contest had commenced on the side of the yard. The Mexican column had pressed forward as soon as the firing commenced on the other quarters; at something less than one hundred yards, they received the fire of the little band, until then concealed behind the wall. Several of the front ranks fell, almost in a body, as many, perhaps, by the panic as by the bullets; the remaining ranks fell back a few yards, but a further retreat was stopped by the efforts of a few brave officers. The column now displayed, and detachments from the two wings advanced to attack the yard in flank, while the centre once more moved forward to the attack in front. Ward and his little brothers, (as he now called them, for they were all mere striplings in appearance, mostly under the age of eighteen,) stood undaunted, pouring quick and deadly volleys upon the front, regardless of the threatened attack upon their flank, which they left to the care of their companions within the church; and these having now driven the first assailants beyond the reach of their rifles, were at full leisure to attend to the attack on that quarter, and the flankers now falling rapidly from their oblique fire, and unrestrained by the presence of any superior officer, fled like frightened deer, beyond the reach of danger. The contest was more obstinate in front, where several officers made a desperate effort to lead their men to the charge; many had fallen within a few yards of the wall, but every attempt to reach it proved ineffectual, and these men finding that they were maintaining the contest alone, while their companions had retreated out of danger, turned back with the rest.

The Texians having resisted this attack so gallantly and successfully, and with such terrible effects to the enemy, flattered themselves that they should remain unmolested during the remainder of the day. But in this they were mistaken. The pride of the Mexican officers, many of whom had been long in service, was excessively wounded by the result of the attempted assault, which in view of the great inequality of numbers, was felt to be disgraceful to the Mexican arms. The Mexican loss in the first attack had been little short of three hundred in killed and wounded, yet it was followed up in two hours by a second, and in the course of the day by a third attempt to dislodge the hundred vol-

unteers from their crazy walks, but at each time with far less vigor than the first, and with as little success, but with much less loss in their own ranks.

Night now coming on, the Mexicans after posting sentinels around the Mission, to prevent the escape of the besieged, retired to their camp, distant only five or six hundred yards. The Texans, finding their ammunition nearly exhausted, (which with all their care in husbanding it, would not have held out through the last assault, had it been as vigorous as the first,) determined to retreat during the night. This they effected unnoticed, or at least, unmolested, by the enemy. Not a man of the hundred volunteers had been killed in these repeated assaults; three only had been severely wounded;—these were from among the little band of brothers, who had so gallantly defended the outpost during the long day's strife, and the most daring of the band.\* The acknowledged Mexican loss was four hundred men killed and wounded.

Santa Anna in his wretched apology for his cold blooded butchery of prisoners, in violation of the express terms of their capitulation, among other things, introduces this terrible slaughter of his men at Mission Refugio. An apology indeed!—One hundred Texans, attacked by a thousand Mexicans, defended themselves with a gallantry unsurpassed among the records of heroic deeds which mankind have preserved with the greatest care; and this is to excuse the butchery of unarmed prisoners! The apology is precious only as it is an unwilling tribute to the memory of brave men, from the hand of their assassin.

Having been spared the painful detail of the horrid massacre at Goliad, by transferring to our pages an account drawn up by one who had a fearful interest in the scene, we forbear further

\* These men were left in the church. Their companions being unprovided with means of taking them along. "We parted with tears and sobs," says our informant, who was one of the band, and who wept and sobbed again, before he had finished the tale. "When night came on, and the enemy had retired, they began to feel that hunger and thirst which a long day's work, without food or drink, could not fail to create. They had provided themselves with a tierce of water in the morning from a spring some four hundred yards distant, but this had been tapped and drawn off by the Mexican bullets on the first assault. The poor wounded boys now begged as a last favor of their companions, to fill their gourds with water before leaving them. The Mexicans had posted a strong guard at the spring, but the appeal of their stricken brothers was not to be resisted, and they marched in a body, determined to reach the fountain or perish in the attempt. After exchanging a volley the Mexicans left them in possession of the spring; each then filled his gourd and returned unhurt to their companions. Four of the Mexican guard had fallen at the spring;—they brought also the blankets of the foes they had slain, and in these they wrapped their dying comrades, and bid them farewell forever."

comment. The deed is sufficiently characterised by a simple record of the facts.

In dismissing the subject, however, we will introduce one other witness to speak for us, who also bore a part in the tragic scene, different indeed from the last. He was an instrument of the assassin, (and as it would appear from his language, an unwilling instrument,) in consummating the foul deed. We extract the following from a letter written by a Mexican officer after the massacre :—

“This day, Palm Sunday, March 27, has been to me a day of most heartfelt sorrow. At six in the morning, the execution of four hundred and twelve American prisoners was commenced, and continued till eight, when the last of the number was shot. At eleven commenced the operation of burning their bodies. But what an awful scene did the field present, when the prisoners were executed, and fell dead in heaps ! and what spectator could view it without horror ! They were all young, the oldest not more than thirty, and of fine florid complexions. When the unfortunate youths were brought to the place of death, their lamentations and the appeals which they uttered to heaven, in their own language, with extended arms, kneeling or prostrate on the earth, were such as might have caused the very stones to cry out in compassion.”

## CHAPTER XI.

*Reception of the intelligence of Santa Anna's invasion, at the seat of the Texian government—Gen. Houston's appeal to the citizens—he appoints a rendezvous at Gonzales—proceeds there by a forced march—is informed of the fall of the Alamo—retreats upon the Colorado—learns Fannin's surrender—retreats to the Brazos—Mexicans advance to San Felipe—General Houston learns the force of the interior division—decides to give them battle—leaves his position upon the Brazos—arrives near Harrisburg—capture of the Mexican courier—defeat Smith—movement of Santa Anna to Harrisburg and New Washington—the hostile armies meet—affair of the 20th—number and character of the opposing forces—their position described—official account of the battle of San Jacinto.*

HAVING brought the bloody drama, which was acted on the western frontier at the beginning of the campaign, to its closing scene, we turn back a few days to the time that notice of the arrival of the invading army at San Antonio first reached Washington. This was on the morning of the second day of March, and previous to this, no certain intelligence that a Mexican had crossed the Rio Bravo, with hostile intentions, had reached that place. It was probably a part of the plan of the campaign with Santa Anna to surprise the Texians, and in this he had fully succeeded. The news that San Antonio was already besieged by two thousand men, came accompanied with all the circumstances of the advance of the invading army in two divisions, and that Santa Anna was either at San Antonio, or on his way there to direct in person the military operations of the campaign. There was nothing kept back. All the astounding facts came at once, with many exaggerations, rendering them still more fearful and appalling. It was reported that the strength of both divisions could not be less than fifteen thousand men; that the garrison at San Antonio had already been overcome and put to the sword, and that the enemy were on the march for the Colorado.

It will be recollected that the Texian convention, clothed with full powers to declare independence, and form a constitution, were then in session at Washington. And it was at this dark hour, in face of the impending storm which threatened to lay their country



in utter desolation, that the delegates of the people of Texas adopted a declaration of independence, and put their names to the instrument.

General Houston, the commander-in-chief of the Texian army was also at Washington, on the receipt of the foregoing intelligence. From the day of his appointment, he had made unsparing efforts to furnish the means of equipping and subsisting a small army upon the frontier, and for this purpose, every available resource of the country had been put in requisition ; but these were few indeed, and his progress had been slow and discouraging.

The savages upon the frontier, probably excited by the emissaries of Santa Anna, had, during the winter, assumed a hostile attitude, and the commander-in-chief found it necessary to engage personally, in various measures of menace and pacification, to relieve the frontier citizens from apprehensions from that quarter, that they might be ready to take the field against the Mexicans when occasion should demand it.

To embody the citizens, and march with them to the western frontier, when the whole resources of the country were scarcely sufficient for the transportation of a supply of provisions, necessary for their subsistence for a single month, was not to be thought of. There was no other feasible course but to await the event and call them out on the first alarm. That alarm had now come, but the call had come a distance of nearly two hundred miles, crossing rivers and traversing a country without roads or bridges, and over the deep soil of Texas, in the rainy month of March. Its progress had unavoidably been slow, and so must be the response, in spite of human effort.

The commander-in-chief having appointed Gonzales, as a place of general rendezvous, immediately despatched couriers to all the principal settlements with the following order.

#### ARMY ORDERS.

{ " Convention Hall,  
Washington, March 2d, 1836.

" War is raging on the frontiers. Bejar is besieged by two thousand of the enemy under the command of Gen. Siesma. Reinforcements are on their march to unite with the besieging army. By the last report, our force in Bejar was only one hundred and fifty men strong. The citizens of Texas must rally to the aid of our army or it will perish. Let the citizens of the East march to the combat. The enemy must be driven from our soil, or desolation will accompany their march upon us. **INDEPENDENCE IS DECLARED, it must be maintained. Immediate action, united**

with valor, alone can achieve the great work. The services of all are forthwith required in the field.

SAM. HOUSTON,

*Commander-in-chief of the army.*

"P. S. It is rumored that the enemy are on their march to Gonzales, and that they have entered the colonies. The fate of Bejar is unknown. The country must and shall be defended. The patriots of Texas are appealed to in behalf of their bleeding country.

S. H."

After sending out this brief but "stirring" appeal, Houston proceeded to muster all the force that could be collected in the neighboring settlements, and commenced a forced march for Gonzales, his place of rendezvous.

Meantime, the same alarming intelligence that reached Washington on the morning of the second, had previously spread through most of the settlements west of the Brazos. That a panic to some extent was the consequence, we have before intimated. Indeed, in view of all the circumstances, the absence of it might be deemed incredible. Men who might perhaps have acted bravely, where personal safety alone was concerned, became cowards in contemplating the indefinable dangers to which their families might be exposed in their absence. Many therefore proceeded to remove their families before the enemy, instead of manfully facing the enemy and driving him back from their families. There are men however, who cannot be reached by a panic, and in no country is the proportion greater than in Texas. This class of men hastened from all quarters to the frontiers, and on the 7th of March, when Houston reached Gonzales, he found himself at the head of about five hundred men. On the 8th a Mexican brought in a report of the fall of the Alamo, and the fate of the garrison.

A company, consisting of most of the men able to bear arms in and about Gonzales, had but a few days before marched to the relief of the garrison. They had bravely broken through the lines of the besieging army and reached the fort in safety, but to become early victims to numbers too overwhelming to be resisted. Tidings of their fate now first reached their relatives. "No human pen (says our correspondent, one of the aids of Gen. Houston,) can describe the scene that these sad tidings produced in the little town of Gonzales. Not less than twenty women, with young and helpless children, were made widows. Fathers had lost sons, brother had lost brother. In short, there was not a family,

in the once happy and flourishing settlement of Gonzales, that did not mourn the death of some murdered relative. The soldier too partook of the general affliction of the citizens of the place, for they too had lost many a brother, men fit to have stood by Caesar. For several hours after the receipt of the intelligence, not a sound was heard, save the wild shrieks of the women, and the heartrending screams of the fatherless children. Little groups of men might be seen in various corners of the town, brooding over the past, and speculating of the future, but they scarce spoke above a whisper, for here the public and private grief was alike heavy, and sunk deep into the heart of the rudest soldier.

"It was suggested that the report brought by the Mexican might be an invention of the enemy, although there were too many corroborating circumstances to leave a serious doubt of the awful truth. It was deemed expedient that not only the fate of the Alamo should be known beyond a doubt, but that the position and strength of the enemy should if possible be ascertained. Accordingly the next day, Deaf Smith (the Harvey Birch of the Texian revolution,) and two others, of whom our correspondent was one, volunteered, at the call of the general, to proceed upon this hazardous service. Having advanced about twenty miles on the route to San Antonio, they discovered at a long distance on the prairie in front, three persons approaching on horseback. Supposing at first they might be a Mexican scouting party, they pressed rapidly forward, but on coming nearer they discovered a *bonnet*. The party proved to be the unfortunate Mrs. Dickinson with an infant in her arms, accompanied by Ben, a servant of Almonte, and the boy Sam, the faithful and devoted servant of the lamented Travis. Mrs. D., and the others after recovering from the fright, occasioned by the unceremonious charge of the advancing party, confirmed the report of the Mexican, in regard to the fall of the Alamo, and the fate of the garrison. The party brought also a sort of bragging proclamation from Gen. Siesma, whom they had left that morning on the advance to Gonzales, at the head of a force which they estimated variously from three to ten thousand men." The party then returned with the intelligence thus obtained, to the camp at Gonzales. On the receipt of which, it was decided by Houston, in accordance with the general sentiment of his officers, to burn the town of Gonzales, and fall back upon the Colorado, in the expectation of meeting reinforcements and increasing the strength of his little army. The afflicted inhabitants of the settlement of course accompanied the army in their retreat, and availed themselves of its aid, in taking along their few valuable moveables.

Having crossed the Colorado, the Texian general took a position on its banks, which he continued to occupy until the twenty-fifth of the month, when learning of Fannin's surrender, and the probability that Santa Anna was concentrating his two divisions to attack his position, and having thus far been disappointed in his expected reinforcements, he decided upon a further retreat to the Brazos.

The settlements between these two rivers were now quite deserted of inhabitants, most of whom had crossed the last mentioned river, and were moving east towards the Trinity, and by the time the Texian general had pitched his camp upon the Brazos, the flying inhabitants had all crossed the Trinity, and the whole country west of that river was now occupied alone by the two armies. The position now chosen by Gen. Houston, was on the west bank of the Brazos, about twenty miles above the town of San Felipé. He threw up some slight fortifications about his camp, such as time and means would permit, and waited the advance and attack of the enemy, or for the disclosure of any favorable circumstances that would seem to justify an attack on his part. His fearless and faithful scouts all the while keeping a watchful eye upon the advancing enemy, and almost daily reporting his progress.

Strong hopes had been entertained, that many of the citizens who had been engaged in removing their families out of danger, would, on placing them east of the Trinity, return and join the ranks of the army, but these hopes were not to be realised, and all the reinforcements which had joined the army, since the retreat from Gonzales, left it still short of eight hundred effective men.

In the mean time, Santa Anna had not (as it was believed he would,) united the two divisions of his army, but both had crossed the Colorado and advanced by different routes for the Brazos. The one for San Felipé and the other for Brazoria, places ninety miles distant from each other.

A small company of Texians had been left at the latter place, with orders, on the near approach of the enemy, to set fire to the town, cross the river and retreat to the Texian camp, leaving the scouts to watch and report the next movement of the enemy.

From the report of his scouts now brought to his camp, on the fourteenth or fifteenth of April, Houston became enabled to make a tolerable correct estimate of the strength of the Mexican division, which had reached San Felipé, and finding it greatly below all previous reports, and that it would not present such a disparity of numbers as to weaken the hopes and confidence of his men, he determined to break up his camp, cross the Brazos and take a route which would probably place him in front of this division of

the invading army. That the enemy on crossing the Brazos would proceed first to Harrisburgh, was rendered probable, from the fact, that it was then the seat of the Texian government; the officers of which Santa Anna would be eager to secure, in order to wreak his vengeance upon the chief actors in the *rebellion*. An additional reason for his proceeding in that direction existed in a small depot of military stores at New Washington, on the San Jacinto Bay, of which the enemy would probably seek to possess himself.

Houston left his camp on the 16th, and by a forced march reached the Buffalo Bayou, opposite Harrisburg, a distance of fifty miles, on the evening of the 18th. The difficulties to be overcome in transporting his sick, his baggage, artillery and munitions, and a present supply of provisions, through a country entirely new, and destitute as Houston was of any suitable vehicle to facilitate the operation, must have been seen and felt, to be duly appreciated. The labor could have been performed only by such men as composed the army of San Jacinto.

While at this point, Houston was supplied by one of those accidents which often decide the fate of empires as well as armies, with all the intelligence he could possibly desire in regard to his enemy. A courier was brought in with a despatch, giving an account of Santa Anna's late movements, his present position and force, and designating the point next in view, and his intended route.

We have said the Texian general was supplied by accident, and if we had said that he was providentially supplied, the same idea would have been conveyed to our readers. But in this case as in thousands of others, results attained only by a courage, vigilance and foresight, unsurpassed among the cherished records of patriotic deeds, are called accidental, or providential, because the agent is deemed too undignified to be brought into view, when if the same deed had been performed by any man of exalted rank, full credit would have been given to the true agent, and all the world would have sung his praise.

For the injustice we had inadvertently done, by imputing to accident, what was justly due to a great and good man, (if greatness and goodness arise from services as difficult, valuable, and disinterested, as ever mortal man rendered in a just and holy cause,) we will now endeavor to atone, by rescuing the man, and his services from oblivion, so far as our humble work can achieve that object. To Erastus Smith, better known as Deaf Smith, who has been called the Harvey Birch of Texas, but who has been to Texas as a second providence, watching with sleepless vigilance the evil designs of her enemies, and thwarting them with a wisdom, a courage, and an energy in action, almost super-

human, was Texas indebted, for revealing to her defenders, in this crisis of her fate, when about to strike the last blow in her behalf, all they could have desired to know, of the intentions of their enemy, if they had been privileged to read his heart. Smith had tracked the route of the enemy, he had foreseen the return of the courier, and duly estimating the value to his own country of the despatches with which he must be charged, he had stationed himself at a point he must necessarily pass, and the rest followed of course. No enemy of his country, on whom he had once fixed his eye, ever attempted to escape him, without rueing the day. He thus made himself master of that which possibly, nay probably, involved the destiny of his country, and if Texians were compelled to choose among mortals, one in whom the destinies of their country must be confided, every eye would turn to Deaf Smith. The narrow limits of this work has restricted us to a passing notice of the heroes of the Texian revolution. Indeed, but few among them, living or dead, have received at our hands even that poor tribute of our admiration. Yet why should we regret this, since deeds like theirs cannot fail to command the rich homage of those pens which, like Plutarch's, confer immortality on their subject.

We need not enlarge upon the value and importance of the intelligence with which the Texian General had been so opportunely furnished. To our readers who have the slightest acquaintance with military operations, it must appear obvious at a glance.

Houston having determined to hazard a battle, the time, the place, and the numerical force of his enemy at the moment of meeting, were considerations which must greatly influence, and might control the result. The two first might be accidental, or perhaps be at the choice of his enemy, and as to numbers his enemy might have it in his power to avoid the conflict, until he had concentrated his whole force. These considerations which continually presented themselves to perplex the mind of the Texian General, while occupied with other cares, sufficiently distracting, were now no longer dubious. The precise point where they could meet the enemy, the time with sufficient certainty, and the number they should meet there, was now disclosed to the Texians, and they had only to press forward and be the first to occupy the ground. This secured them not a victory but only a battle. This was the object of their present movement, and so much was now secured to them. But in this, however, they would have no advantage over their enemy. Neither party could then escape the conflict, unless by permission of the other. Thus on the evening of the 18th, the Texians could anticipate the battle of San Jacinto. But no one, it may be presumed, in the wildest dream of enthusiasm, if indeed such dreams were given at that gloomy hour, had

then even a faint glimpse of the glorious result. They had determined to hazard all upon a blow, which if ineffectual, they well knew must be fatal to their country and themselves, since Texas had no other army, and the enemy spared no prisoners. In a week, the enemy would reach the Sabine—the soil would drink the blood of the last of their race, who had not crossed that river, and their beloved country, which had so lately come into existence, beautiful as Eve from the hand of her Maker, would be again blotted from the map of nations; even their own existence, and that of their country must be staked upon the issue. The fate of Fannin too was before them, and his blood unavenged. The highest and holiest appeals therefore, from the voice of duty, would come seconded by the calls of vengeance to strengthen the heart, and nerve the arm in the day of battle.

History furnishes few if any examples, where men have engaged in a conflict of arms with higher or more powerful incentives than those which may be supposed to have animated the Texians at the battle of San Jacinto, and the event was answerable to the preparation.

Santa Anna having crossed the Brazos at Fort Bend, thirty miles below San Felipe, had directed his march upon Harrisburg, as Houston had anticipated, but the movement had taken place earlier than was expected. The Mexican chief having been disappointed in his hopes of seizing upon the officers of the Texian government, who had gained intelligence of his approach, and taken their departure for Galveston Island, a few hours before his arrival, set fire to the town of Harrisburg, and continued his march down the bay, to the depot of military stores at New Washington.

General Houston, after having gained intelligence of this movement of his enemy, through the capture of his courier before spoken of, on the evening of the 18th, and learning also his intention to return to Lynch's ferry, near the mouth of Buffalo Bayou, in order to cross the San Jacinto on his way to Anahuac, pressed forward with his army for the point indicated, which he reached on the 20th, and before his army had time to prepare refreshments, the Mexican army appeared in view. Santa Anna had drawn up his army in battle array, and made some show of attacking Houston in his position, which was promptly met by the latter. A cannonading was opened for a short time on both sides, and some skirmishes took place between the opposing cavalry, and also between detached parties of infantry. The Mexicans however soon retired and took a position three quarters of a mile distant from the Texian camp. Houston had not declined the offered battle, but willingly drew off his men when the enemy retired, desirous of invigorating them with sleep and refresh-

ments, which they had been long without, before he led them to the final conflict. The day closed by a very brilliant feat of arms, on the part of the Texian cavalry, in which Gen. Lamar, the present Vice President of Texas, who had then but recently arrived in the country, led a charge against the Mexican cavalry, with an intrepidity and success that would have done honor to Murat, the quondam king of Naples, in the midst of his splendid career of arms. Night now closed in upon the hostile armies, and the Texians, wearied nearly to exhaustion, by previous forced marches night and day, slept soundly upon their arms.

On the part of the Mexicans, we would not be answerable for their quiet repose, since they had not been previously subjected to equal vigilance and fatigue. With half their number it was the last sleep from which they would awake to the light of the sun, and reposing now for the first time in presence of the brothers of those whom they had so recently murdered in cold blood at Goliad. It would not be surprising if the terrible retribution of the coming day had been shadowed forth in their dreams.

But we will leave them "to such repose as they could find," under the open canopy of heaven, in a Texas prairie in the month of April, (which, with a quiet conscience, we have found to be not less refreshing and more invigorating than in the curtained chambers of the palace hotels of our commercial cities,) and improve the interval in presenting a summary account of the number and character of the forces of the hostile parties, and the positions they now occupied.

General Houston, before crossing the Buffalo Bayou, had selected a secure and covert position, in which he left his sick and baggage, under the protection of a small guard, that in the event of his defeat, they might remain concealed for some time from the enemy, until the sick should have time to recover, and possibly entirely escape his fury. The force with which he then proceeded to occupy his present position, amounted to something less than eight hundred men. Every state in this union may claim the honor of having given birth to more or less of the heroes of San Jacinto. Some few, and but very few were European born. There was a small band of Mexicans, collected mostly about Nacogdoches, who at all times had ranged themselves under the "banner of liberty." A very considerable proportion of the whole force, perhaps more than half, had been for some time citizens of Texas. These were mostly planters, but among them were some of every profession, trade or occupation, to be found in the country. Statesmen and lawyers, the most eminent in the country, were found acting as privates in the ranks, vying with the ploughman and the blacksmith's apprentice, in their efforts to discharge with alacrity and cheerfulness, all the severe and labo-



rious duties of the common soldier. But few officers or privates had previously seen service in the field; they were all however, more or less familiar with the use of arms. But in regard to any practical acquaintance with the military exercises and manœuvres of the schools, most of them had none, not even that which may be learned in the common "train bands" of the country. Such was the number and character of Houston's force, and for the character of the General, it is known to the world, and needs neither delineation nor elucidation at our hands. It may be proper to remark, however, that this was his first effort in leading an army to battle.

On the side of the Mexicans, the military character of Santa Anna, their chief, is also well known. An experience of nearly twenty years in arms, during most of which he had been a general in active command, and during which he had led, we know not how many armies to battle, and as often to victory, rendered him truly a formidable antagonist. He had brought with him in his advance upon Harrisburg, more than a thousand of his choicest troops, most of them veterans familiar with the manœuvres and the strife of battles, accompanied with generals and subordinate officers, also of long experience, who had been accustomed to execute his orders, and whose valor and skill had been often tried under his own eye. Such was the Mexican force at the meeting of the hostile armies on the 20th, and at 9 o'clock in the morning of the 21st, it was reinforced by the arrival of General Cos, with five hundred additional troops of a like character, making the whole Mexican force at the battle of the 21st, little short of sixteen hundred men. The positions occupied by the two armies on the evening of the 20th, which was also the battle ground of San Jacinto, may be found on the maps of Texas, near the San Jacinto river, immediately below its confluence with the Buffalo Bayou. The Texian army encamped in a narrow open prairie, along the south bank of Buffalo Bayou. In front was a skirting of timber of some forty or fifty yards in width, terminated again by open prairie, which extended to the Mexican line, three fourths of a mile distant. The Mexican army had encamped in a line, with its right resting upon the San Jacinto, and extending into a narrow skirting of wood along that stream. The space between the strip of wood along the Buffalo Bayou, in front of the Texian encampment and the Mexican line, was not entirely open prairie. At midway between, or perhaps nearest to the Mexican line, a point of timber extended from the San Jacinto, into the prairie some two hundred yards, and nearly in the same range further out from the river, was a small copse of wood, or in Texian phrase, an island of timber.

The San Jacinto and Buffalo Bayou, though apparently small streams upon the map, are deep channels of navigable waters, and eight miles distant in the direction of the Brazos, was another deep creek, over which was a bridge, which had been burnt by Houston's order, just before the battle of the 21st, so that the two armies were enclosed in a small space from which it was scarcely possible for either to escape without the permission of the other.

Having proceeded thus far with the preliminaries of the battle of San Jacinto, we will no further anticipate the official account of the Texian General, which describes the disposition of the forces, and the order, progress and result of the battle, with a brevity and perspicuity which we could not hope to attain. We therefore close the present chapter by subjoining that highly interesting document.

*"To his Excellency D. G. Burnett, President of the Republic of Texas.*

{ "Head Quarters of the Army,  
San Jacinto, April 26th, 1836.

SIR,—I regret extremely that my situation since the battle of the 21st has been such as to prevent my rendering you my official report of the same, previous to this time.

"I have the honor to inform you, that on the evening of the 18th inst., after a forced march of 55 miles, which was effected in two days and a half, the army arrived opposite Harrisburg; that evening a courier of the enemy was taken, from whom I learned that Gen. Santa Anna, with one division of his choice troops, had marched in the direction of Lynch's ferry on the San Jacinto, burning Harrisburg as he passed down. The army was ordered to be in readiness to march early on the next morning. The main body effected a crossing over Buffalo Bayou, below Harrisburg, on the morning of the nineteenth, having left the baggage, the sick, and a sufficient camp guard in the rear. We continued the march throughout the night, making but one halt in the prairie for a short time, and without refreshment. At daylight we resumed the line of march, and in a short distance our scouts encountered those of the enemy, and we received information that Gen. Santa Anna was at New Washington, and would that day take up the line of march for Anahuac, crossing at Lynch's ferry. The Texian army halted within half a mile of the ferry in some timber, and were engaged in slaughtering beeves, when the army of Santa Anna was discovered to be approaching in battle array, having been encamped at Clopper's point, eight miles below. Disposition was immediately made of our forces, and preparation for his reception. He took a posi-

tion with his infantry, and artillery in the centre, occupying an island of timber, his cavalry covering the left flank. The artillery, consisting of one double fortified medium brass twelve pounder, then opened on our encampment. The infantry in column advanced with the design of charging our lines, but were repulsed by a discharge of grape and canister from our artillery, consisting of two six pounders. The enemy had occupied a piece of timber within rifle shot of the left wing of our army, from which an occasional interchange of small arms took place between the troops, until the enemy withdrew to a position on the bank of the San Jacinto, about three quarters of a mile from our encampment, and commenced a fortification. A short time before sunset, our mounted men, about eighty-five in number under the special command of Col. Sherman, marched out for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy. Whilst advancing they received a volley from the left of the enemy's infantry, and after a sharp encounter with their cavalry, in which ours acted extremely well, and performed some feats of daring chivalry, they retired in good order, having had two men severely wounded, and several horses killed. In the mean time the infantry under the command of Lieut. Col. Millard, and Col. Burleson's regiment, with the artillery, had marched out for the purpose of covering the retreat of the cavalry if necessary. All then fell back in good order to our encampment about sunset, and remained without any ostensible action until the twenty-first, at half past three o'clock, taking the first refreshment which they had enjoyed for two days. The enemy in the mean time extended the right flank of their infantry so as to occupy the extreme point of a skirt of timber on the bank of the San Jacinto, and secured their left by a fortification about five feet high, constructed of packs and baggage, leaving an opening in the centre of the breast-work in which the artillery was placed, their cavalry upon their left wing.

"About nine o'clock on the morning of the twenty-first, the enemy were reinforced by five hundred choice troops, under the command of Gen. Cos, increasing their effective force to upwards of fifteen hundred men, whilst our aggregate force for the field numbered seven hundred and eighty-three. At half past three o'clock in the evening I ordered the officers of the Texian army to parade their respective commands, having in the mean time ordered the bridge on the only road communicating with the Brazos, distant eight miles from our encampment, to be destroyed, thus cutting off all possibility of escape. Our troops paraded with alacrity and spirit, and were anxious for the contest. Their conscious disparity of numbers seemed only to increase their enthusiasm and confidence, and heightened their anxiety for the conflict. Our situation afforded me an opportunity of making

the arrangements preparatory to the attack, without exposing our designs to the enemy. The first regiment, commanded by Col. Burleson, was assigned to the centre. The second regiment, under the command of Col. Sherman, formed the left wing of the army. The artillery, under the special command of Col. Geo. W. Hockley, inspector general, was placed on the right of the first regiment; and four companies of infantry under the command of Lieut. Col. Henry Millard, sustained the artillery upon the right. Our cavalry, sixty-one in number, commanded by Col. Mirabeau B. Lamar, (whose gallant and daring conduct on the previous day had attracted the admiration of his comrades, and called him to that station,) placed on our extreme right, completed our line. Our cavalry was first despatched to the front of the enemy's left, for the purpose of attracting their notice, whilst an extensive island of timber afforded us an opportunity of concentrating our forces and displaying from that point, agreeably to the previous design of the troops. Every evolution was performed with alacrity, the whole advancing rapidly in line, and through an open prairie, without any protection whatever for our men. The artillery advanced and took station within two hundred yards of the enemy's breastwork, and commenced an effective fire with grape and canister.

"Col. Sherman with his regiment, having commenced the action upon our left wing, the whole line, at the centre and on the right, advancing in double quick time, rung the war cry "*Remember the Alamo*," received the enemy's fire, and advanced within point blank shot before a piece was discharged from our lines. Our line advanced without a halt, until they were in possession of the woodland and the enemy's breastwork. The right wing of Burleson's and the left of Millard's, taking possession of the breastwork; our artillery having gallantly charged up within seventy yards of the enemy's cannon, when it was taken by our troops. The conflict lasted about eighteen minutes from the time of close action, until we were in possession of the enemy's encampment, taking one piece of cannon, (loaded,) four stand of colors, all their camp equipage, stores and baggage. Our cavalry had charged and routed that of the enemy upon the right, and given pursuit to the fugitives, which did not cease until they arrived at the bridge which I have mentioned before, Capt. Karnes, always among the foremost in danger, commanding the pursuers. The conflict in the breastwork lasted but a few moments; many of the troops encountered hand to hand, and not having the advantage of bayonets on our side, our riflemen used their pieces as war clubs, breaking many of them off at the breech. The route commenced at half past four, and the pursuit by the main army continued until twilight. A guard was then

left in charge of the enemy's encampment, and our army returned with their killed and wounded. In the battle, our loss was two killed and twenty-three wounded, six of whom mortally. The enemy's loss was 630 killed, among whom was one general officer, four colonels, two lieutenant colonels, five captains, twelve lieutenants. Wounded 208, of which were five colonels, three lieutenant colonels, two second lieutenant colonels, seven captains, one cadet. Prisoners 730—President General Santa Anna, Gen. Cos, four colonels, aids to Gen. Santa Anna, and the colonel of the Guerrero battalion, are included in the number. Gen. Santa Anna was not taken until the 22d, and Gen. Cos on yesterday, very few having escaped. About 600 muskets, 300 sabres and 200 pistols have been collected since the action; several hundred mules and horses were taken, and near twelve thousand dollars in specie. For several days previous to the action, our troops were engaged in forced marches, exposed to excessive rains, and the additional inconvenience of extremely bad roads, illy supplied with rations and clothing—yet amid every difficulty they bore up with cheerfulness and fortitude, and performed their marches with spirit and alacrity—there was no murmuring.

“Previous to and during the action, my staff evinced every disposition to be useful, and were actively engaged in their duties. In the conflict I am assured that they demeaned themselves in such manner as proved them worthy members of the army of San Jacinto. Col. T. J. Rusk, Secretary of War, was on the field. For weeks his services had been highly beneficial to the army; in battle he was on the left wing, where Col. Sherman's command first encountered and drove the enemy; he bore himself gallantly, and continued his efforts and activity, remaining with the pursuers until resistance ceased.

“I have the honor of transmitting herewith a list of all the officers and men who were engaged in the action, which I respectfully request may be published, as an act of justice to the individuals. For the commanding general to attempt discrimination as to the conduct of those who commanded in the action or those who were commanded, would be impossible. Our success in the action is conclusive proof of their daring intrepidity and courage; every officer and man proved himself worthy of the cause in which he battled, while the triumph received a lustre from the humanity which characterized their conduct after victory, and richly entitles them to the admiration and gratitude of their general. Nor should we withhold the tribute of our grateful thanks from that Being who rules the destinies of nations, and

## HISTORICAL VIEW

has in the time of greatest need enabled us to arrest a powerful invader whilst devastating our country.

I have the honor to be,

With high consideration,

Your obedient servant,

SAM. HOUSTON,

Commander-in-Chief.

## ARMY ORDER.

Head Quarters,  
San Jacinto, May 5th, 1836. }

"Comrades—

"Circumstances connected with the battle of the 21st, render our separation for the present unavoidable. I need not express to you the many painful sensations which that necessity inflicts upon me. I am solaced, however, by the hope that we will soon be re-united in the great cause of liberty. Brigadier General Rusk is appointed to command the army for the present. I confide in his valor, his patriotism, and his wisdom—his conduct in the battle of San Jacinto was sufficient to ensure your confidence and regard.

"The enemy, though retreating, are still within the limits of Texas—their situation being known to you, you cannot be taken by surprise. Discipline and subordination will render you invincible. Your valor and heroism have proved you unrivalled. Let not contempt for the enemy throw you off your guard. Vigilance is the first duty of a soldier, and Glory the proudest reward of his toils.

"You have patiently endured privations, hardships and difficulties. Unappalled, you have encountered odds two to one of the enemy against you, and borne yourselves in the onset and conflict of battle in a manner unknown in the annals of modern warfare. While an enemy to our independence remains in Texas, the work is incomplete; but when liberty is firmly established by your patience and your valor, it will be fame enough to say, "I was a member of the army of San Jacinto."

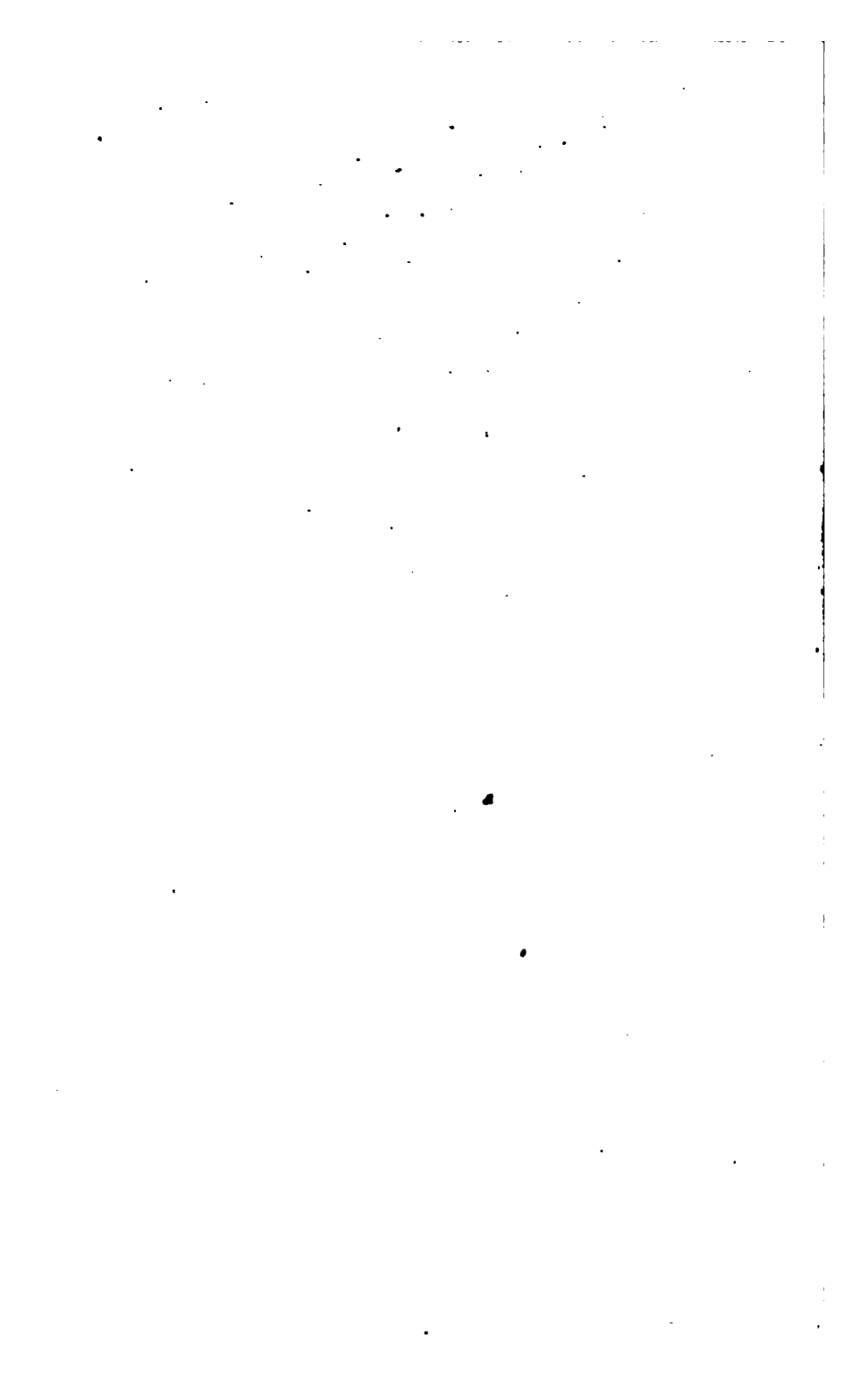
"In taking leave of my brave comrades in arms, I cannot suppress the expression of that pride which I so justly feel in having had the honor to command them in person, nor will I withhold the tribute of my warmest admiration and gratitude for the promptness with which my orders were executed, and union maintained throughout the army. At parting, my heart embraces you with gratitude and affection.

SAM. HOUSTON,  
Commander-in-Chief."



Sam Houston







## CHAPTER XII.

*Review of the battle of San Jacinto—retreat of the invading army—marine affairs—civil affairs resumed—election—first meeting of Congress—new government organized—officers appointed—proceedings of Congress—adjournment—death of Austin and Zavala—character of Zavala—Santa Anna released—Independence acknowledged by the United States—annexation proposed—meeting of Congress—President's message.*

THUS the brief campaign of 1836, which had been opened by the enemy with an array of force apparently so overwhelming, that the immediate overthrow of the new republic had been confidently predicted, and which in its progress seemed already to have verified that prediction, was now brought to a close by a victory so strangely brilliant as to shed a blaze of glory over the western hemisphere, and cast a new lustre upon that distant isle whence had sprung the race who achieved it. The new risen star of Texas, which seemed to have attracted the admiring gaze of the world, but to be extinguished in blood, now burst forth, more brilliant from its brief eclipse, and stands conspicuous in the firmament as the "one bright particular star."

The victory of San Jacinto, when considered in relation to its consequences to the victors, their country and the world, as well as the honor and glory justly acquired by the achievement, stands alone in the annals of human warfare. History, ancient or modern, presents no parallel. When first communicated to the world, it was every where deemed too incredible for belief. It came confirmed by letters from some of the chief actors in the scene, men of unquestioned veracity, detailing the principal circumstances, and it was still rejected as fabulous. And not until confirmed by the official report of the commanding general of the Texian army, accompanied with a declaration from the Mexican chief, "that he had decided to remain a prisoner with his enemy," did the public mind fully acquiesce in the truth of the strange tale.

We had collected many incidents of the battle which did not fall within the province of an official report, but which nevertheless might have been interesting to many of our readers. They relate principally to the daring intrepidity, and perfect self pos-

session exhibited by the commander-in-chief and many of the officers and privates of the Texian army, amidst the greatest danger in the most critical period of the battle. We should have found much pleasure in detailing them, but our limits forbid the indulgence. The defeat and capture of Santa Anna and the force under his immediate command, seemed instantly to paralyze the efforts of all the Mexican troops in Texas. More than four thousand still remained in the heart of the country, with distinguished generals to direct their operations. They had undisputed possession of the whole country west of the Brazos; and in front was only a band of hastily collected citizens numbering less than eight hundred men. But these were the proud victors of the battle of San Jacinto, who had conquered their invincible chief, and held him captive, and the whole Mexican nation would have then fled before them. Filisola, on whom the chief command devolved after the capture of Santa Anna, made a hasty retreat to the west, affecting to obey the orders and regard the terms of an armistice agreed upon by the captive chief, but really because his panic stricken army had determined to take French leave of their general if he did not choose to accompany them. At all events, they had resolved to bid Texas farewell forever.

Texas was again delivered from her enemy, who has not since presumed to invade her soil, though his distant menaces have been so far regarded that a military force, such as the limited resources of the country would justify, has been kept in the field; but no further military operations remain to be noticed in our work. A naval warfare has been carried on with Mexico since the beginning of the contest, and still continues, but on so limited a scale as scarcely to merit the attention of a historian. Some valuable prizes were made by the two or three Texian cruizers then at sea, in the early part of the contest. These were important to the country, as their cargoes afforded timely aid to the military operations then in progress. Some daring exploits of Texian cruizers might perhaps have found a place here, if they had not been thrown so far into the shade by greater exploits in the field.

We had brought down our history of the civil affairs of the country to the 17th of March, 1836, when the constitution was adopted by the convention. At that time the most impartial spectator of the fearful struggle in which she was engaged, would have felt little solicitude about a constitution of civil government for Texas. Not so the convention. They were no less careful in perfecting their work, by embodying in the instrument such improvements upon existing systems as the light of experience had shown to be necessary to secure the rights of the citizens, than if the country had been in the enjoyment of profound peace. The

Texian constitution, in view of the time in which it was adopted, exhibits a striking proof of the courage as well as the wisdom of its framers. And the friend of liberty and equal rights will find in no state better constitutional guarantees for their security than in Texas.

The citizens of Texas, once more permitted to turn their swords into ploughshares, have since labored with the assiduity which is characteristic of their race, to repair the ravages of the war, and to fit their country for any future struggle, or for the happy abode of peace, as their lot may be cast by an all-wise Providence. The only transactions of the summer of 1836, which particularly arrested public attention in Texas, relate to their royal prisoner. The *Illustrious* Don Lopez de Santa Anna, who after an arrangement for his return to Mexico, had been defeated by an expression of public sentiment, seemed much disposed to quarrel with President Burnet, about his bread and butter, and his bedroom. The President in reply assured him that he was furnished with the best the country in its present condition afforded, and expressed his sincere regret that the ravages of a certain war of which his Excellency had some little knowledge, had put it out of his power to furnish better.

On the first Monday in September, an election was held for choosing officers, under the constitution which had been unanimously adopted by the people. An expression of public sentiment was at the same time obtained upon the question of the annexation of Texas to the United States. This was found to be nearly unanimous in the affirmative, there being only 91 voices against, to 3279 in favor of it.

The first congress under the constitution met at Columbia, on the first Monday in October. The two Houses were organized by choosing Richard Ellis President pro tem of the Senate, and Ira Ingraham, Speaker of the House of Representatives, when they received a valedictory message from President Burnet. It is a document of great length, explaining the measures of his brief but eventful administration, enumerating the difficulties he had encountered, and calling the attention of congress to the ordinary topics of legislation. It contains nothing of sufficient interest to call for its insertion in our pages. Congress proceeded on the second day of their session, to count the votes which had been given in the various districts for President and Vice President of the Republic, when it was found that General Samuel Houston had been elected to the first office, and Gen. Mirabeau B. Lamar to the second. On the same day the new president delivered to both Houses of Congress, and such citizens of Texas as the interesting occasion had collected, the following inaugural address.

## PRESIDENT HOUSTON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

"MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN :—

Deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility devolving on me, I cannot in justice to myself repress the emotions of my heart, or restrain the feelings which my sense of obligation to my fellow-citizens has inspired—their suffrage was gratuitously bestowed. Preferred to others, perhaps superior in merit to myself, called to this most important station, by the voice of a free people, it is utterly impossible not to feel impressed with the deepest sensation of delicacy. It is not here alone, but our present attitude before all nations, has rendered my position and that of the country, one of peculiar interest.

"A spot of earth, almost unknown to the geography of the age—almost destitute of resources—comparatively few in numbers, we modestly remonstrated against oppression; and when invaded by a numerous host, we dared to proclaim our independence, and to strike for freedom on the breast of our oppressors. As yet, our course is onward. We are only in the outset of the campaign of Liberty. Futurity has locked up the destiny which awaits our people.

"Who, with apathy, can contemplate a situation so imposing in the physical and moral world? None!—no, not one. The relations among ourselves are peculiarly delicate and important: for no matter what zeal and fidelity I may possess in the discharge of my official duties, if I do not obtain co-operation and honest support from the co-ordinate departments of the government, wreck and ruin must be the inevitable consequences of my administration.

"If, then, in the discharge of my duty, my competency should fail in the attainment of the great objects in view, it would become your sacred duty to correct my errors and sustain me by your superior wisdom. This much, I anticipate—this much, I demand. I am perfectly aware of the difficulties that surround me, and the convulsive throes through which my country must pass. I have never been emulous of the honors of a civic wreath, although when merited, it crowns a happy destiny. In a country situated like ours, environed with difficulties, its administration fraught with perplexities; had it been my destiny, I would infinitely have preferred the privations, the toils and perils of a soldier, to the duties of my present station. Nothing but zeal stimulated by the holy spirit of patriotism, and guided by philosophy and wisdom, can give that impetus to our energies necessary to surmount the difficulties with which our political path is obstructed.

"By the aid of your intelligence I trust that all impediments to our success will be removed—all wounds in the body politic will be healed, and that the constitution of the Republic will derive strength and vigor equal to all emergencies. I shall confidently anticipate the establishment of constitutional liberty. In the attainment of this object, we must regard our relative situation to other countries.

"A subject of no small importance to our welfare is the situation of an extensive frontier, bordered by Indians, and subject to their depredations. Treaties of peace and amity, and the maintenance of good faith with the Indians, present themselves to my mind as the most rational ground on which to obtain their friendship. Abstain on our part from aggression, establish commerce with the different tribes, supply their useful and necessary wants, maintain even handed justice with them, and a natural reason will teach them the utility of our friendship.

"Admonished by the past, we cannot in justice disregard our national enemies. Vigilance will apprise us of their approach, a disciplined and vigilant army will insure their discomfiture.—Without discrimination and system, how unavailing would all the resources of an old and overflowing treasury prove to us. It would be as unprofitable to us in our present situation, as the rich diamond locked in the bosom of the adamant.

"We cannot hope that the bosom of our beautiful prairie will soon be visited with the balmy breezes of peace. We may again look for the day when their verdure will be converted into dyes of crimson. We must keep all our energies alive, our army organized and disciplined, and increased agreeably to our present necessities. With these preparations, we can meet and vanquish despotic thousands. This is the attitude which we at present must regard as our own. We are battling for human liberty; reason and firmness must characterise our acts.

"The course which our enemies have pursued, has been opposed to every principle of civilized warfare—bad faith, inhumanity and devastation marked their path of invasion.

"We were a little band contending for liberty—they were thousands, well appointed, munitioned and provided, seeking to rivet chains upon us, or to extirpate us from the earth. Their cruelties have incurred the universal denunciation of Christendom. They will not pass from their nation during the present generation.

"The contrast of our conduct is manifest: we were hunted down as the felon-wolf; our little band driven from fastness to fastness; exasperated to the last extreme, while the blood of our kindred and our friends was invoking the vengeance of an offended God—was smoking to high heaven; we met the enemy and

vanquished them. They fell in battle or suppliantly kneeled and were spared. We offered up our vengeance at the shrine of humanity, while christianity rejoiced at the act, and viewed with delighted pride the ennobling sacrifice. The civilized world contemplated with proud emotions, conduct which reflected so much glory on the Anglo Saxon race. The moral effect has done more towards our liberation than the defeat of the army of veterans. When our cause has been presented to our friends in the land of our origin, they have embraced it with their warmest sympathies. They have rendered a manly and efficient aid. They have rallied to our standard, they have fought side by side with our warriors.—They have bled, and their dust is mingled with that of our heroes.

“At this moment I discover numbers around me, who battled in the field of San Jacinto, and whose chivalry and valor have identified them with the glory of the country, its name, its soil, and its liberty. There is a gentleman within my view, whose personal and political services to Texas have been invaluable. He was the first in the United States to espouse our cause. His purse was ever open to our necessities. His hand was extended to our aid, and his presence among us, and his return to the embraces of his friends, will inspire new efforts in behalf of our cause. [The attention of the speaker and that of Congress, was directed to Wm. Christy, Esq. of New Orleans, who sat, by invitation, within the bar.]

“A circumstance of the highest import will claim the attention of the government of the United States. The question which has recently transpired, the important subject of annexation to the United States of America was submitted to the consideration of the people. They have expressed their feelings and their wishes on that momentous subject. They have with a unanimity unparalleled declared that they will be united to the great republican family of the North. The appeal was made by a willing people. Will our friends disregard it? They have already bestowed upon us their warmest sympathies. Their manly and generous feelings have been enlisted in our behalf. We are cheered by the hope that they will receive us to a participation of their civil, political and religious rights, and bid us welcome into the great family of freemen. Our misfortunes have been their misfortunes; our sorrows have been theirs, and their joy at our success, has been irrepressible.

“A thousand considerations press upon me, each claiming attention. But the shortness of the notice of this emergency will not enable me to do justice to those subjects, and will necessarily induce their postponement for the present.

[“ Here the President paused for a few seconds, and disengaged his sword.]

“ It now, sir, becomes my duty to make a presentation of this sword, this emblem of my past office. I have worn it with some humble pretensions, in defence of my country ; and should the danger of my country again call for my services, I expect to respond to that call, if needful with my blood and my life.”

Congress then entered upon their constitutional duties. The necessary laws for the full organization of the new government demanded and received their first attention. The various offices were then filled by President Houston, with the consent of the senate. The most important of which are the following :

J. Pinckney Henderson,	Secretary of State.
Wm. J. Fisher,	“ “ War.
Henry Smith,	“ “ Navy.
— Grayson,	Attorney General.
B. Barr,	Post Master General.
Wm. H. Wharton, and Memacum Hunt,	Ministers to the United States.

Congress continued in session until the 22d of December, during which time all the measures which seemed to call for their immediate action had been disposed of. The most important relating to the internal affairs of the country, were those of finance, connected with which was the establishment of a general land office, and various regulations for the security, survey, and sale of the public domain—and of foreign relations ; an effort to procure an acknowledgment of their independence by the United States, and an admission into the union, in conformity to the expressed wishes of the people.

The new city of Houston, which had recently sprung into existence, situated at the head of navigation upon Buffalo Bayou, was fixed upon by congress as the future seat of government until 1840, and the session was closed by an adjournment, to meet at that place in the following May.

The season was marked by the death of two distinguished individuals, whose memory will long be cherished by the people of Texas. The one, Stephen F. Austin, the father of the colony, and endeared by every sentiment of love and gratitude, which are associated with that reverential relation. The other, Lorenzo de Zavala, a Mexican, but ever the consistent friend and supporter of civil and religious liberty, and therefore the fast friend

of Texas, in her present struggle, in a cause to which he had devoted his whole life.

Austin's eventful life is identified with the whole history of Texas, and a biographical notice, however brief, would be but a repetition of the principal events of that history.

Zavala was a native of one of the southern provinces of Mexico, and one of the first to embark in the struggle for liberty and independence, in opposing the pretensions of Spain. His courage and zeal in the cause, and the high qualifications which he brought to its support, merited and procured him early distinction. He passed successively through some of the most important posts of the republic,—member of congress from his native state—member and president of the convention that framed the constitution of 1824—governor of the state of Mexico under the presidency of Victoria—secretary of state under that of Guerro, and minister to France under Santa Anna. He rose and fell with liberty in Mexico, and whenever liberty flourished there, Zavala was called to fill some important post in the administration. He had been active in overthrowing the usurpation of Bustamante. And Santa Anna, who envied the tyrant only for his power, having been the most conspicuous actor in his overthrow, and being thereupon elected to the presidency, dared not disregard the merits of Zavala, which would be regarded as a test of his sincerity. But in assigning him a post, was careful to remove him from the country. And thus while he appeared to respect the sentiments of the liberals, he was the more effectually advancing his designs, by removing out of his way the man whose opposition he most dreaded. Zavala, while at the French court, kept himself well informed of the progress of affairs in Mexico, and when the purposes of Santa Anna began to unfold themselves, he took the liberty, in a letter, to expostulate with him in decided, but respectful terms, against the tendency of his measures to centralism.

But the designs of the president, to overthrow the federal republic, in order to establish a military despotism upon its ruins, becoming too manifest to be longer doubted, he resigned his commission, and embarked for the United States. On his arrival, he proceeded immediately to Texas, well knowing the character of her population, and that they would not tamely surrender their constitutional rights, and submit to be governed by arbitrary power. He had ever been a warm advocate for the colonization system, and especially favored the introduction of the citizens of the United States into the Mexican territories. Duly estimating the value of our institutions, he had aided greatly by his influence in moulding those of his own country into the same form; and he hoped much from the example and influence of emigrants



from the United States, in diffusing among the Mexican population the spirit of our institutions.

On his arrival in Texas, Zavala found himself associated with a people, whose estimate of the blessings of liberty corresponded with his own. He was warmly welcomed, and entered heartily into all their measures for resisting the demands of despotic power. The convention, which declared the independence, and framed the constitution of Texas, in organizing a government ad interim, elected Zavala vice president. This post was conferred upon him without his solicitation, and against his wishes. But on a suggestion that the intelligence of his filling that station might produce a favorable impression in Mexico, and possibly rouse his friends to resist the usurper, he consented to hold the place for the brief term of his election.

He bravely met the tyrant, and the unhallowed instruments of his power, in the ever memorable field of San Jacinto, and remained to his latest breath, ardently attached to that cause, to the advancement of which he had devoted the best part of his life. His literary labors and his example survive, as a legacy to his countrymen; both may be profitably read, and we cannot but hope, at no distant day, will exert a happy influence upon the condition of a people, now enthralled in the bonds of superstition.

During the early part of the winter of 1836-7, the disposition of their *Illustrious* prisoner, a question which for several months had perplexed the minds of the authorities and people of Texas, was finally settled. A large and respectable portion of the citizens, including several officers of the civil government, and most of those of the army, strongly urged the justice and propriety of subjecting him to trial and execution, if found guilty of the imputed charge, (of the truth of which there can be no doubt,) of having ordered the massacre of the prisoners at Goliad. It was a question of policy merely, as no one doubted the right of such a proceeding.

Little or no expectation was entertained that Mexico would regard the stipulations of the treaty that Santa Anna, while a prisoner, had assumed the authority to conclude, in virtue of his office of President of the Mexican Republic. Still, it was believed that his preservation might in some way be useful to Texas, and that his death would not now conduce in any way to the safety or security of the country. It would be an act merely of vindictive justice, scarcely tolerated by enlightened public sentiment in the present age. Public feeling in Texas, which had been so justly indignant at his cowardly assassination of unarmed men, placed in his power only after an express stipulation for their safety from his own officers, had now been softened by time; and an

arrangement for his return to Mexico, by the way of the United States, was permitted to be carried into effect.

A question now felt to be of deeper interest, occupied the public mind in Texas during the winter and spring, until relieved by the gratifying intelligence of the manner in which it was disposed of. We allude to the acknowledgment of their independence by the Congress of the United States; before whom it was understood the question was then under consideration.

The time was felt to be highly important, as in the performance of an act of justice, generosity, or of simple courtesy, there is a time beyond which it cannot be delayed, without robbing it of all its value or grace; nay more, in regard to conciliating the feelings of the recipient; it had better afterwards be left undone. As the mind, keenly sensible to its own honor and dignity, will resent an insult sooner than an injury. The relation in which the people of Texas stand to the United States, gave a two-fold edge to their feelings on this delicate question. The withholding or delaying the performance on the part of the United States, would have been felt as if a father, or an elder brother, had delayed the performance of a simple act of kindness, where credit and reputation was supposed to suffer by the delay.

But the act in this case was seasonably performed, and the kindred tie, strong before, was made stronger by this act of simple courtesy, bestowed with becoming grace. Grateful for this, the people of Texas have proposed, as the most suitable return, to surrender that independence, and submerge their sovereignty in this great confederacy of states. That which she now asks, can scarcely be called so much as an act of simple courtesy. To receive a present handsomely offered, is rather an act of duty. But the most ungracious of all acts, is that of refusing a present deemed precious by the giver, under circumstances which exhibit a contempt for its value. Texas has proposed to surrender her sovereignty, so far as the states of this union have surrendered theirs, to our national government, and that sovereignty extends over a territory lying contiguous and projecting into the present territory of the union—a country, too, over which we have repeatedly exhibited a strong solicitude to obtain jurisdiction. The offer comes free and unsolicited, with no condition annexed, accompanied with indubitable evidence that it has been made by the unanimous wish of the inhabitants. Never was offer made with better grace. And what is the return that is asked? Is it protection? It can be nothing else; and she has exhibited proof before an admiring world, that she is capable of protecting herself, against the most powerful nation on the continent, save the United States; and she cannot fear subjection from us, since she voluntarily offers it.

Can it be possible that there is a single citizen in the United States, to whom the stability and permanency of this union is dear, who can contemplate with complacency the growth of a rival republic in immediate contiguity, peopled by our own race, nay by our own citizens!—No it is not possible. A single glance at the proposition, exhibits it fraught with all the hideous consequences of a dissolution of the present union—a dismemberment of one of its parts. It would indeed be a virtual dissolution, sundering the bond which unites our people, and all those fearful conflicts which never fail to spring up between brothers and friends, become rivals, may be predicted with equal certainty. Even if the new republic, (a very probable event,) did not become a nucleus to draw about it some of the contiguous states, assimilated as they would be in climate and productions, in local interests, and in manners, habits and sentiments.

The question has taken us by surprise. Among the dangers which beset this union, that which would spring from the rise and growth of a new republic upon our borders never was seriously contemplated, because it was scarcely believed to be among possible contingencies. And now when it is presented, it comes in form and magnitude so little alarming, that we scarcely pause to examine it. It is but a speck in the horizon, from which it would be folly to predict the tempest. A mere handful of our own people, who left us, as it were but yesterday, looking yet with unabated fondness at the home, kindred and friends, they left behind, have to-day erected an independent republic upon our borders. All this we feel and know to be true, and it is this which has led them to make the offer of a surrender of that independent sovereignty, the very semblance of which, after a few years possession, has been cherished even by the most diminutive state in the world, as the dearest attribute among the gifts of heaven. And so will it soon come to be regarded by the people of Texas, when in a few years, perhaps in a few months, they shall have acquired a keen relish for the exercise of sovereign power, and when those sentiments of love and gratitude which induced an offer to surrender it, shall have been cooled by the lapse of time, or stifled by resentment for what may be deemed a contemptuous rejection of the offered boon. It is believed that every citizen of the United States, who has fairly and candidly examined the question in all its bearings, will admit that dangers of fearful magnitude may be justly apprehended from the permanent independent existence of Texas. But such an event is scarcely contemplated as possible. The annexation at no distant day is expected to happen almost in course. In the mean time no danger is apprehended from delay, because it is believed that the evil may be arrested at pleasure. The most common maxims of prudence

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may serve as an admonition in the present case. The delay of a manifest act of duty, an account of some lion in the path, has been the most fruitful source of ruin to nations as well as individuals. The congress of Texas met pursuant to adjournment in May, 1837, at the city of Houston, the new seat of government. The following message delivered by President Houston on that occasion, containing a brief and lucid exposition of the affairs of the country at that time, is presented, to conclude our work.

#### MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS OF TEXAS.

DELIVERED 5TH OF MAY, 1837.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,  
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES :

"With peculiar pleasure I greet your return to the Capitol. At the adjournment of the last session, the country was under apprehension of an invasion from our enemy, which created much solicitude, and had an unkind influence on our foreign relations. It was temporary in its effects, as was manifested in the recognition of our independence by the government of the United States of America. We now occupy the proud attitude of a sovereign and independent republic ; which will impose upon us the obligation of evincing to the world, that we are worthy to be free.— This will only be accomplished by wise legislation, the maintenance of our integrity, and the faithful and just redemption of our plighted faith wherever it has been pledged. Nothing can be better calculated to advance our interests and character than the establishment of a liberal and disinterested policy, enlightened by patriotism, and guided by wisdom.

"The subject of the undefined limits on our northern frontier, between the United States and the republic, will require the action of Congress. The boundaries have been so well described by the treaty of 1819, between Spain and the United States, that little difficulty is apprehended in defining and establishing our just line, and obviating all trifling difficulties which may have at any time existed, through a want of proper consideration. Provision for the appointment of a commissioner to meet one on the part of the United States is desirable. Connected with the subject of boundary, is that of the Colorado Indians, inhabiting a portion of our north-eastern frontier. By a treaty recently held with that tribe they have ceded certain lands to the United States, and have shown a disposition to amalgamate with the wild Indians within our unquestionable boundary, while late advices have

assured me that the United States agent of the tribe has issued to the warriors, rifles and ammunition.

"The condition and disposition of these Indians as well as their thefts and murders upon our borders, have been subjects on which our Ministers at Washington City have been advised, with instructions to make immediate and urgent remonstrances to that government, which I am well assured, from the character of the gentlemen, have met their prompt and careful attention. The principal aggressions on our frontiers have either been instigated or perpetrated by the Caddos. It would be painful to suppose, under the circumstances, that the United States agent in furnishing the means of further injury to the frontier inhabitants of our country, had acted under the orders of his government. It is due to this government to suppose that he has acted unadvisedly, and that the stipulations of the treaty concluded between the United States and Mexico in April, 1830, will be rigidly adhered to so far as they appertain to the United States and the republic of Texas. It was among the first objects of the constitutional government, on assuming its duties, to adopt such measures as would give peace and security to our extended frontier. For this purpose commissioners were appointed at an early period to hold treaties with several of the most numerous and active of those tribes. As yet, nothing has been effected, owing in part to the season of the year at which the business was commenced, as well as other causes. A hope is entertained that something beneficial will shortly result, as our commissioners are in constant expectation of holding a treaty with the associate bands of the prairies. The government has recently received information from sources entirely satisfactory as to its verity, that a delegation consisting of twenty northern Indians residing on the borders of the United States, had visited the town of Matamoras, and had stipulated with the Mexican authorities, to furnish that government three thousand warriors well armed, so soon as it would invade Texas. Commentary upon such alliances in the present age would be an insult to chivalry, and a reflection upon the hearts and understandings of those who have sought to establish the maxim, that war is calamitous enough without the evils of treachery and massacre, which devote alike the female and the warrior to cruelty and death. Assurances are rendered to this government, that citizens of this republic have lately been made prisoners by the Caddos, and that scalps recently taken on our frontier have been seen in their nation. It is within the province of this government to enquire into the causes which have produced these calamities, and no vigilance on our side shall be wanting to prevent their recurrence. I feel fully aware that the policy of this government, is to pursue a just and liberal course towards our

Indian neighbors ; and to prevent all encroachment upon their rights.

"The army of Texas has never been in a more favorable condition than at present. The permanent force in the field is sufficient to meet all the emergencies of invasion, which at the shortest notice the defence of the country can be brought into immediate action in that event.

"The insufficiency of our navy must be a subject of serious consideration. When the constitutional government assumed its functions, the armed vessels, Brutus and Invincible, were in the port of New York, and remained there until a few weeks past, when they returned, but without either crews or provisions for a cruise.

"The Independence having not more than two week's provisions, was taken to New Orleans some months since, where she has been detained, and has not yet been reported to this government for service.

"At an early day a confidential officer was despatched to the United States, for the purpose of purchasing such vessels as would enable us to keep command of the gulf from our enemy.

"He had reported to the proper department, and his arrival is daily expected with one or more fine vessels, in preparation to defend our commerce, and make reprisals on the enemy.

"Our commerce has suffered to some extent, and a small portion of supplies for the army, has been captured and taken into Mexican ports. I take leave to call the serious attention of Congress to the establishment of a naval depot at some point on our coast, which will add greatly to our efficiency, at the same time diminish our expenses.

: "Not unconnected with the naval force of the country, is the subject of the African slave trade. It cannot be disbelieved that thousands of Africans have lately been imported to the island of Cuba with a design to transfer a large portion of them into this republic. This unholy and cruel traffic has called down the reprobation of the humane and just of all civilized nations. Our abhorrence to it is clearly expressed in our constitution and laws. Nor has it rested alone upon the declaration of our policy, but has long since been a subject of representation to the government of the United States, our ministers apprising it of every fact which would enable it to devise such means as would prevent either the landing or introduction of Africans into our country.

"The naval force of Texas not being in a situation to be diverted from our immediate defence, will be a sufficient reason why the government of the United States and England should employ such a portion of their force in the Gulf as will at once arrest the accursed trade, and redeem this republic from the sum-

picion of connivance which would be as detrimental to its character as the practice is repugnant to the feelings of its citizens. Should the traffic continue, the odium cannot rest upon us, but will remain a blot upon the escutcheon of nations who have power, and withhold their hand from the work of humanity. It will be proper to remark that our attitude in relation to the subject of annexation to the United States of America, has undergone no important change since the adjournment of the last session of Congress. Our ministers at Washington City gave to the subject of our national concerns their zealous attention, and much credit is due to them for the character which they sustained in advocating our interests at a foreign court. The period at which the congress of the United States was compelled to adjourn, prevented any action of that government, relative to annexation ; it will, it is hoped, be referred to the action of the next session, and receive its early determination.

"In the mean time it will be proper for Texas to pursue a course of policy which will be beneficial to her in charactersubstantive, and to secure her existence and her rights, without reference to contingencies. For it is not possible to determine what are to be her future relations to the civilized nations of the globe. Blessed with a soil the most fertile, and climate the most delightful and salubrious, Texas must attract the attention of the whole commercial and manufacturing nations of the world.

"Her cotton, sugar, indigo, wines, peltries, live stock, and the precious minerals, will all become objects of mercantile enterprize and activity.

"Nor can we lose sight of the important production of the live oak. It is but reasonable to say that four-fifths of all the live oak of the world is now growing in Texas, while there is not less than ten millions worth of that valuable article decaying on our cultivated fields.

"Our relations to Mexico since the last session of Congress have undergone no important change, nor have overtures been made by either nation.

"Texas, confident that she can sustain the rights for which she has contended, is not willing to invoke the mediation of other powers ; while Mexico, blind to her interest and her future existence, seems determined on protracting the war, without regard to her internal commotions. Revolution is stalking abroad throughout her land, while she is unable to defend her frontier against the incursions of the bands of predatory Indians on the frontier of the Rio Grande from Santa Fe to Matamoras. Early in last winter a correspondence was opened by the Secretary of State with the Mexican Consul in New Orleans, containing propositions to exchange prisoners, so far as the number of Texians would ex-

tend, and then to release the excess of Mexican prisoners on parole.

"Notwithstanding the humanity and liberality of this offer, it has met no official response from that government. It seemed to me, that it would be in accordance with the civilization of the age, to release all the prisoners, and permit them to leave our shore as soon as they can do so. In the mean time I have learned that our citizens, as well as the prisoners, at Matamoras, amounting to thirteen in number, have been liberated. It is impossible for me to account for the apathy with which Mexico treated the subject, and her willingness to permit a portion of the bravest troops of the nation to remain prisoners in exile, when a just policy would, at once, have restored them to their country and their homes.

"Congress will no doubt find it necessary to revise the laws of the Republic, and to direct that a digest be made of the laws of Coahuila and Texas, so far as they be made useful to the establishment of rights acquired under those laws.

"It will be seen that the adoption of the common law of England, with the modifications adapted to our situation, is required by the provisions of the constitution.

"Nothing can conduce more to order and stability of a government than the simplicity of laws, the proper designation of rights, and consistent administration.

"I will not close this communication to your honorable body without presenting to your consideration the claims of citizens of the United States, who acquired, as they conceived, bona fide titles to lands in Texas.

"It is due to many of those individuals, to suggest that their generous and manly efforts in behalf of our cause, will entitle them to the most favorable decisions of Congress.

"Their means have aided us in the darkest hours of our probation, and recently aided in dispelling our embarrassments. Such men deserve the gratitude as well as the justice of our country.

"While reflecting upon the dispensations of an Almighty Being, who has conducted our country through scenes of unparalleled privation, massacre and suffering, it is but gratitude and sensibility, to render Him our most devout thanks, and invoke his benignity and future providence, and that He will preserve us as a chosen people.

SAM. HOUSTON.

Houston, May 5, 1837.



**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**SOUTH AMERICA**  
**AND**  
**MEXICO;**  
**COMPRISING THEIR**  
**DISCOVERY, GEOGRAPHY, POLITICS, COMMERCE**  
**AND**  
**REVOLUTIONS.**

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**BY HON. JOHN M. NILES,**  
**MEMBER OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.**

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**TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,**  
**A GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL VIEW**  
**OF**  
**TEXAS,**  
**WITH A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE**  
**TEXIAN REVOLUTION AND WAR.**

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**BY HON. L. T. PEASE.**

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**IN TWO VOLUMES.**

**VOL. II.**

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**HARTFORD:**  
**H. HUNTINGTON, JUN.**

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**1837.**

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1887,  
By H. HUNTINGTON, JUN.,  
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Connecticut.

# COLOMBIA.

## CHAPTER I.

*General description—proposed route of the great canal—climate, soil, and productions—drugs and medicinal productions—civil divisions—population and principal towns—mines—roads, canals, &c.—government—commerce—manufactures, &c.—army, navy, &c.—character of the people—education—religion.*

THE republic of Colombia comprises an extent of country, embracing  $22^{\circ}$  or 1320 miles of longitude, stretching from the mouth of Orinoco, to the western extremity of the Isthmus of Panama; and of  $18^{\circ}$  or 1080 miles of latitude, extending  $11\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to the north, and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to the south of the equator, calculating from Cape la Vela to the southern extremity of the republic. This vast territory is bounded north and east by the Atlantic ocean, and by the territories of Guiana; west by the republic of Guatemala, or central America, and the Pacific ocean; and south by the republic of Peru, and the river Amazon. The territory comprised within the above mentioned limits constitutes one of the most interesting portions of the globe. Bordering on two oceans, its waters are unrivalled; it embraces a large portion of the immense valley of the Amazon, with the whole of the great vallies of the Orinoco and Magdalena, and is traversed by some of the loftiest mountains in the world. It possesses every diversity of soil and climate, unrivalled commercial advantages, and mineral treasures, which present the most powerful stimulus, and promise the greatest reward to the industry and enterprise of civilized man.

The Cordillera of the Andes, which traverses the whole continent of South America, in the southern part of the republic, divides into two parallel ranges, forming the lofty valley of Quito, the plain of which is elevated 9000 feet above the level of the ocean. To the right of this valley rise the summits of the Copacureu, 16,380 feet high; Tunguragua, 16,720 feet high; Cotopaxi, 17,950; and Guyambu, 18,180. To the left is Chimborazo, towering above the clouds, whose height is 20,100 feet;

Tlenisa, 16,302; and Pichinca, 15,380, all covered with perpetual snows, and subject to volcanic eruptions. Near Tulcan, the Cordillera, after having been irregularly united by lofty groups of mountains, again divides itself into two chains, which form the elevated valley of Pastos, beyond which it diverges into three ridges, the most western following the coast of the Pacific ocean, terminates in the Isthmus of Panama; the central divides the valley of the Cauca from that of the Magdalena, and declines near Mompox, on the river Magdalena. In the eastern range, the most considerable and lofty of the three, the numberless streams which unite to swell the majestic Orinoco have their rise; this range forms the table land, on which stands the city of Santa Fe de Bogota, at an elevation of 8,100 feet. The range again divides into two ridges, one of which extends to the north, separating the waters of the Magdalena from those that fall into lake Maracaibo, and terminates near the ocean in the province of Santa Martha; the other, with its numerous branches and ramifications, takes a northeasterly direction along the maritime border of the republic, and is finally lost at the gulf of Paria, constituting the northern boundary of the great valley of the Orinoco. The southern boundary of this valley is terminated by the Paramo mountains, which extend from near the Andes easterly, and are lost in Guiana. To the south of this ridge lies the most extensive valley on the globe, watered by the majestic Amazon and its innumerable branches.

The waters of Colombia are no where surpassed, affording superior advantages for commerce, both internal and foreign. In addition to its extensive maritime border on the Atlantic, which reaches from the Isthmus of Panama to Guiana, and abounds with numerous harbours, some of which are among the best in the world; it has an extensive seacoast on the Pacific, which also affords a number of good harbours. The most valuable on the Atlantic coast are Porto Bello, Chagres, Carthagena, Savannah, at the mouth of the Magdalena; Santa Martha, Rio de Hacha, the gulf or lake of Maracaibo, Coro, Tacargua, Porto Cavello, La Guira, Barcelona, Cumana, and the gulfs of Paria and Cariaco. On the Pacific, are the gulf of Guayaquil, and the bays of Buenaventura, or Choco, and Panama. The interior waters are extensive and afford valuable navigable advantages. The river Amazon, which waters the most fertile regions of the globe, washes the southern border of the republic. This majestic stream, flowing over golden sands, through groves of cinnamon, spices, and primitive forests, of the most magnificent character, taking its rise among the mountains of Peru, and discharging its immense volume of waters into the Atlantic. Under the line it is said to be navigable to the foot of the Cordillera of the eastern

**Andes.** A free navigation of this noble river would afford incalculable advantages to the commercial world, and is a subject worthy of the attention of the enlightened government of Colombia. The next river, in magnitude and importance, is the Oronoco, which rises in the heart of the republic, and after a course of nearly 1500 miles, in a northeasterly direction, discharges the waters of its numerous branches into the Atlantic, in latitude 9° N. The Meta and Apure, are the two principal branches of the Oronoco. These magnificent rivers are subject to periodical overflows, which convert the whole country, during four months of the year, into an immense lake or inland sea ; and when the floods retire, the whole plain is covered with luxuriant pasture, on which innumerable herds of cattle are raised : nor are these plains less rich in agricultural advantages. The banks of the rivers are covered with forests of the most precious kinds of wood for dyeing, furniture, and building ; and exhibit, when cleared, a soil capable of yielding abundantly every species of tropical produce.

The climate, though hot, is neither so unhealthy, nor debilitating, as that of the seacoast, the air being refreshed and purified by the strong breezes blowing constantly over this verdant plain, which extends not less than 300 miles in every direction, between the Andes and the Oronoco. The great valley of the Oronoco is wholly within the territory of the republic, and will, doubtless, at some future period, sustain a great population, when its resources become fully developed. The Oronoco is navigable for sea vessels, to the city of Angostura, and for smaller vessels, farther into the country. The use of steam boats will probably give great extension to the navigation of this river and its branches, as it is stated that the Meta is capable of being navigated to within 150 miles of the city of Bogota. The next most considerable river is the Magdalena, which descends to the north more than 700 miles through the vallies of the Andes, and is navigable to the port of Honda, 550 miles from its entrance into the Atlantic. This river communicates directly with some of the richest sections of the republic, and is represented to be very favourable to steam navigation ; the Cauca runs through a valley of the same name, and unites with the Magdalena.

The next most considerable river to the west is the Atrato, which falls into the gulf of Darien. This stream, together with the St. Juan of the Pacific, is said to afford the best route for a canal to unite the two oceans. " A communication can be effected by making a canal from the head waters of the Atrato, a fine navigable river falling into the gulf of Darien, in lat. 8, and the river St. Juan de Chirambira which falls into a bay of the same name, in the Pacific ocean, in lat. 4. The point of junc-

tion would be at about 400 miles from the Atlantic, and about 260 from the Pacific. About 15 miles of the river Atrato, or rather the Quito, which flows into the Atrato, would require but few locks, as the current of the river is only, in the dry season, about one mile per hour. But twenty miles of the St. Juan would require locking, leaving an intervening space of level land of *four miles and a half* to be cut through. The rivers Atrato, Quito, and St. Juan de Chirambira, are free from obstructions until we reach the points where the locking becomes necessary; and there is depth enough on the Atlantic side for vessels drawing seven, and on the Pacific twenty feet of water. The rivers flow through a country abounding with forests of mahogany, dye-woods, and other valuable timber. The mouth of the Atrato is obstructed by a bar, upon which there is only seven feet of water; but it is believed that means may be devised by which the obstruction may be either wholly or partially removed.

Nature seems to have designed this for the passage. The Andes are here for a moment lost, and in obedience to the will of Providence and the wants of man, seem to have defiled, that commerce may march from the old world to the new. It is a fact no less curious than true, that a canal did formerly exist in this spot. About the year 1745, a priest of Citira, with the assistance of the Indians, opened this same communication, known by the name of the Raspadura canal, through which loaded canoes passed; but the jealous policy of the Spanish government caused it to be closed; and prohibited, under severe penalties, any attempt to re-open it. The remains of this canal are visible to the present hour, and the fact is mentioned by Humboldt, Bonnycastle, and Robinson. We derive this information from a gentleman now in this city, [*New-York,*] who has resided twelve years in Colombia, and who has travelled over every part of the route from sea to sea. The utmost confidence may therefore be reposed in his statements; he has, moreover, constructed a map in which the entire tract of the country is accurately laid down.

In 1821, the same gentleman applied to the government of Colombia for permission to open this communication at his own expense, with exclusive privileges for 100 years. The congress passed a vote in favour of the application, but it was objected to by Bolivar, on the ground that it might afford facilities to the enemy. The applicant was, however, desired to renew his proposals at the peace, for a term somewhat less than 100 years, which he is now about to do; and nothing, we believe, will defeat his object, but the fact of the government undertaking the business itself, which is not improbable."

During the year 1825, this route was examined by an agent

employed for the purpose, by a company of merchants in the city of New-York ; whose report of its practicability, it is understood, was favourable.

The river Chagres falls into the Atlantic, at a town of the same name, 44 miles west of Porto Bello, and is navigable as far as Cruces, within 15 miles of Panama. The Palmar and Zulia are the chief tributaries of Lake Maracaibo ; the other considerable and navigable rivers are the Tocuyo, the Aroa, the Yaracay, Tuy, and Unare, all of which run to the north, and discharge their waters into the Atlantic ocean ; and most of which are accommodated with harbours, and some of them are navigable a considerable distance. In addition to the St. Juan, the Pacific border has the Guayaquil, which empties into the gulf of that name, the Verd, the Mira, and many smaller rivers.

*Climate, soil, and productions.*—The climate of Colombia, although the whole country lies geographically within the torrid zone, like Mexico, possesses all the characteristics which diversify the three zones into which the earth is divided. With respect to climate, the tract of country adjacent to its maritime border, both on the Atlantic and Pacific, is invariably hot, and generally unhealthy to strangers from northern climates. The soil is luxuriant wherever it is sufficiently watered by rivers or periodical rains, and produces abundantly all the natural and agricultural productions common to tropical regions ; sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, indigo, tobacco, and the various kinds of dye-woods abundantly reward the hand of industry, and constitute the staple productions of this region.\* The extensive vallies lying on the borders of the great rivers, have a climate somewhat more temperate, affording the greatest variety of productions, and supporting immense herds of cattle on their verdant savannas. Hence, hides have become one of the great staples of the country, and are exported in great quantities. In the elevated vallies, at the height of 4000 feet above the level of the sea, the climate becomes temperate, and vegetation continues uninterrupted through the year.

The country produces many valuable drugs and medicines ; also a great variety of plants used in dying, besides beeswax, honey, and cochineal, which last abounds particularly about Quito. The precious metals also enrich many districts, particularly Choco and Antioquia, where considerable quantities of gold, silver, and platina, have been obtained. Platina is said to exist in great abundance in Choco, and emeralds abound in many parts of the

\* Some districts on the coast, from their peculiar position relative to the mountains, are exposed to almost incredible droughts. It is said the territory of Coro once received no rain for four years, and that other districts have suffered in a less degree.

country. Salt is also among the natural productions of this country ; and immense herds of cattle, horses, sheep, and deer, are found running wild in the woods and savannas. There is also an abundant supply of wild fowl, and the coast and rivers are well stored with turtle and fish, common to tropical regions.

*Civil divisions, population, and principal towns.*—The territory now comprised within the republic of Colombia, previous to the revolution, formed the viceroyalty of New Granada, and captain-generalcy of Venezuela. The western section of the republic, (New Granada,) comprehended the following provinces, which contained, previous to the revolution, a population of 2,380,000 souls, as will be seen from the following table :—

Rio Hacha, - - -	20,000	Cundinamarca, - - -	130,000
Santa Martha, - - -	70,000	Mariquita, - - -	100,000
Carthagena, - - -	210,000	Popayan, - - -	320,000
Panama, - - -	50,000	Casanare, - - -	20,000
Antioquia, - - -	110,000	Quito, - - -	500,000
Socoro, - - -	130,000	Cuenca, - - -	200,000
Pamplona, - - -	80,000	Guayaquil, - - -	50,000
Tunja, - - -	200,000	Loxa and Jean, - - -	80,000
Choco, - - -	40,000	Quixos and Maynas, - - -	40,000
Veragua, - - -	40,000	Nevay, - - -	70,000

The population of the eastern section of the republic, or the captain-generalcy of Venezuela, before the revolution, was as follows :—

Venezuela, - - -	460,000	Barinas, - - -	90,000
Cumana, - - -	100,000	Guiana, - - -	40,000
Maracaibo, - - -	120,000	Isl. of Margarita, - - -	15,000
Total, 825,000.			

The provinces of New Granada having suffered much less by the revolution than those of Venezuela, have probably maintained their original population, with perhaps some increase within the last six years. But Venezuela having been the seat of war for nearly twelve years, during which it experienced all its horrors and devastations in constant succession, and has suffered an unexampled diminution of its inhabitants ; nearly one half are supposed to have been destroyed, and whole districts depopulated. Years of peace and tranquillity will be required to supply the waste of life which has been occasioned by a revolution unexampled for violence and bloodshed. Within the last two or three years, the tide of emigration has set towards this country, both from Europe and the United States ; and should the war not be revived with Spain, it will probably rapidly increase, and thousands of the enterprising and industrious population of Europe



and North America will be transplanted to the fertile regions of Colombia. In the year 1822, the republic was divided into seven departments, and a census taken, which gave a population of 2,644,600. In June, 1824, it was divided, by a law of congress, into twelve departments, embracing thirty-seven provinces; these provinces were subdivided into two hundred and thirty cantons, and the cantons divided into parishes, which are the smallest civil corporations. The names of the twelve departments, composing the republic, are—

- |               |                  |
|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Oronoco,   | 7. Cundinamarca, |
| 2. Venezuela, | 8. Boyaca,       |
| 3. Zulia,     | 9. Apure,        |
| 4. Magdalena, | 10. Escudador,   |
| 5. Istmo,     | 11. Asuay,       |
| 6. Cauca,     | 12. Guayaquil.   |

The correctness of the above estimate of the population made in 1822, has been doubted; it being supposed to fall short of the real number. It was the opinion of Manuel Torres, charge des affairs of Colombia to the United States, in 1821, that the republic at that time contained a population of 3,600,000. This number, however, probably exceeded the amount, though the increase must have been considerable since 1822.

The population of Colombia, like the other countries in America colonized by Spain, consists of European Spaniards, Creoles, or descendants of Spaniards, Negroes, Indians, and the different casts. With respect to the European Spaniards, their numbers, always small, have been greatly diminished by the revolution, and few are now remaining in the country. Most of this class being hostile to the independence of America, took part in the revolution, and either fell victims to its ravages, or returned to Spain. A portion of the Indians are civilized, and are citizens of the republic; whilst others, like the Indians in the United States, are independent tribes, and are not included in the estimate of the population of the country. The negroes and mixed races are mostly free, and have contributed greatly to fill the ranks of the republican army; and some of this class have risen to distinction in the army, and are considered among the firmest supporters of the independence of the republic.

The principal cities of the republic are Bogota, formerly called Santa Fe de Bogota, Quito, and Caraccas. Bogota, the seat of the national government since the adoption of the constitution, is situated in lat. 4° 35' N. at an elevation of 8,100 feet above the level of the sea, on a beautiful and spacious plain on the banks of a river of the same name, a tributary of the Magdalena, 35 miles from its mouth. It lies at a considerable distance to the

east of the western Andes. The streets of the city are broad, straight, and regular, and the houses are handsome. The city contains a cathedral, which is magnificent, and richly endowed, three parish churches, eight monasteries, four nunneries, and one hospital. The public institutions are a university, a mint, a mining school, and a library, which contains an extensive and valuable collection of books. The city has a central position, with a temperate and salubrious climate, and is surrounded by one of the most healthful and fertile regions in Colombia. It was the seat of the Spanish viceroyal government before the revolution. Its present population is estimated at 35,000. Bogota was founded by Quesada, in 1538; its distance from the Atlantic ocean, by the way of Magdalena, is 600 miles, and from the Pacific, at the bay of Choco, 217 miles. It is 150 miles from the navigable waters of the Meta, a branch of the Orinoco, and 60 miles from the port of Honda, the head of navigation on the Magdalena. The citizens of Bogota have been distinguished for their patriotism during the long struggle of the revolution, and have made great sacrifices for the cause of liberty. It is proposed to remove the seat of government from this city to the town of Ocana, until the new city, which is to bear the name of Bolivar, after the founder of the nation, shall be built in a central situation, according to the ordinance of the republic.

The city of Quito, which was rebuilt in 1534, on the ruins of an ancient Indian town, is situated at an elevation of 9000 feet above the level of the sea, in lat.  $0^{\circ} 13' 33''$  N. on the eastern acclivity of Pichinca, a lofty eminence of the western Cordillera of the Andes, about 130 miles from the Pacific. The site of the town is very uneven and irregular; the principal square is spacious, and has an elegant fountain in the centre. The four streets on each side of the square are straight, broad, and handsome; the others are crooked, and so rough and broken as to be impassable for wheel carriages. The houses are all one story only, and generally have balconies toward the street. The public buildings consist of a cathedral, town-house, and numerous churches and convents. The surrounding country is rich, beautiful, and fertile, in the most valuable productions of the temperate and torrid zones. The climate is healthful and delightful. The city is distinguished for its manufacturing industry, and is represented to be the most populous city in the whole territory of the republic; its population being usually estimated at 70,000. In full view of this city rise some of the most lofty summits of the Andes, covered with perpetual snows, and frequently emitting, with awful grandeur, torrents of flames and clouds of smoke, from their bursting volcanoes. The natural port of Quito is Guayaquil.

The city of Caraccas, the capital of the ancient captain-generalcy of Venezuela, and the present seat of government for the department of Venezuela, was founded in 1567; and is situated in lat.  $10^{\circ} 31'$  N. in the beautiful, elevated valley of the same name, which extends twelve miles from east to west, at the height of 2598 feet above the level of the sea. The city lies in a delightful and fertile spot in the valley, at the foot of the cloud capped Cielo, one of the summits of the Atlantic branch of the Andes. Its site is a square with a side of 2000 paces, and its surface every where uneven and irregular, just as nature formed it. The houses are well built, some of brick, but the greater part are of masonry, in frame work, after the manner of the Romans. The climate is delightful. This city which may be considered as the cradle of the revolution in South America, contained, previous to the year 1811, 45,000 inhabitants. It was the seat of a university, and its inhabitants were distinguished for their intelligence and patriotism.

In addition to the calamities of the war of the Revolution, in which this city has had its full share, it was partly destroyed by an earthquake on the 26th of March, 1812; many of its houses and churches were demolished, and more than 10,000 inhabitants are said to have perished beneath the ruins. Since the expulsion of the Spanish army, and the restoration of tranquillity, Caraccas is represented to be again in a prosperous condition. Its population is increasing, its commerce and industry reviving, and many Englishmen and North Americans have lately emigrated to it. Among others, is the celebrated Joseph Lancaster, with a view of diffusing the benefits of his system of education. The seaport of Caraccas is La Guira, one of the most thriving and commercial towns on the Atlantic border. The distance from Caraccas to La Guira is seven miles over a lofty ridge.

The other considerable cities are Popayan, which was founded in 1536, and stands in lat.  $2^{\circ} 50'$  N. on the east side of a mountain of considerable height, called M. from the resemblance it bears to that letter. The streets are broad, straight, and level; the houses are built of unburnt bricks, and some of them are two stories high. Its public buildings consist of a cathedral, three monasteries, and two nunneries. The population is estimated by some at 20,000, and by others at 25,000. The Molino, issuing from the mountain of M. runs through the city. The Cauca runs about three miles to the north; the distance from Popayan to the Pacific is 90 miles.

Guayaquil, the seaport of Quito, is situated in south lat.  $2^{\circ} 12'$  on the river of the same name, which empties into the gulf or bay of Guayaquil. The city stands about 18 miles up the river, and contains a population of 20,000 souls. The streets are

broad and straight : the houses are built of wood, and are large and beautiful. It is the principal naval station of the republic on the Pacific, and enjoys an extensive and increasing commerce. Guayaquil having recently changed its political condition, by the spontaneous will of the people, almost without a struggle, its commercial prosperity has scarcely been interrupted by the events of the war. It may, therefore, be ranked among the richest cities of the republic. The females of this city are distinguished for the fairness of their complexions, and the social character of the inhabitants is much commended by strangers. The town is defended by three forts ; the river is navigable to the town for vessels of any size, and affords the best harbour on the coast. A naval school has lately been established at this place.

Panama, the other important commercial town on the Pacific, is the oldest city on the South Sea ; it was founded in 1518, and is situated in N. lat.  $8^{\circ} 57' 48''$  on a bay of the same name. The town is built on a rocky peninsula, and is fortified. This place has lost much of its commercial prosperity ; but, nevertheless, enjoys a very commanding local position. Its population is about 10,000 ; a considerable portion of which are slaves : most of the inhabitants have some knowledge of the English language, which is acquired by their intercourse with the island of Jamaica. A good road to Porto Bello, on the opposite shore of the gulf of Mexico, would be an object of great utility, and the ground is said to be very favourable for such an undertaking. Porto Bello, in N. lat.  $9^{\circ} 33'$  has a beautiful local and commercial situation. This town has shared the same fate as Panama, and has greatly declined from its former prosperity, whilst the seat of the commerce of the galleons ; but still it maintains some trade, which is supposed to be increased since the revolution. The confederate congress was held at this place.

Chagres, a town situated on a fine bay, at the mouth of the river of the same name, 44 miles west of Porto Bello, enjoys some commerce. The most important commercial city on the Atlantic sea board is Cartagena, which is the principal naval station of the republic, on the Atlantic. This city is situated in N. lat.  $10^{\circ} 25' 48''$ , at the distance of 102 miles west of the river Magdalena, and is divided into two parts ; the city proper, so called, and Gimani. The city is surrounded by a thick, high wall, and Gimani is built in a semicircular form ; it is fortified in front by a strong wall, and united to the city by a bridge over the ditch. The city is defended by a strong fort and batteries, on the surrounding hills. Near the town is the lake Teaca, which is 8 miles in circumference, and communicates with the city and the sea. The bay of Cartagena is 9 miles in extent ; its principal entrance is defended by strong fortifications. The population of

the city is estimated at 16,000, and its commerce is considerable and increasing. This town has partaken largely of the bitter fruits of the revolution, having experienced two long and tedious sieges during the last ten years. On the 5th of December, 1815, 2000 of its patriotic inhabitants emigrated in a body, embarking in eleven armed vessels, being unable any longer to resist the successful efforts of the royalists under Morillo. A naval school has recently been established at Carthagena.

Savanilla, a new commercial town, is on the Magdalena, 21 miles from its mouth. Santa Martha, a considerable commercial town of 5000 inhabitants, connected with the Magdalena by interior navigation, lies 45 miles east of the Magdalena: 150 miles farther east is Rio Hacha, which is also a place of considerable trade.

Maracaibo, on the lake or gulf of the same name, is likewise a considerable commercial town, the population of which was more than 20,000 previous to the revolution; but it is now much reduced by the calamities of the war. This city, by its easy communication with the interior, possesses superior commercial advantages.

Porto Cavello, the seaport of Valencia, has an excellent harbour with strong fortifications. This town has also suffered much by the operations of the war, and has been considered a very important military position. It is the last in the whole territory of the republic from which the royalists were expelled. It lies in lat.  $10^{\circ} 20'$  N. and its population was estimated at 7500 before the war.

Cumana and Barcelona are the principal cities on the eastern coast of the republic. The former lies one mile south of the gulf of Cariaco, on a sandy and dry soil, in lat.  $10^{\circ} 37'$  N. and was built in 1520; it contained before the revolution, 24,000 inhabitants, chiefly creoles, who were industrious and enterprising. The climate is warm, but healthful. The population of Cumana was much diminished by the revolutionary struggle. Barcelona, 60 miles from Cumana, was founded in 1634, and is built on a plain on the left bank of the Neveri, three miles from its mouth, in N. lat.  $10^{\circ} 10'$ . Its population, which previous to the revolution was 14,000, is now much reduced. Thirty miles E. N. E. of Cumana is situated the city of Cariaco, on a river of the same name, which discharges its waters into the gulf of Cariaco.

La Guira, the port of Caraccas, is at present next to Carthagena, the most important seaport on the Atlantic border. Its population was 6000 before the revolution; the road to Caraccas is over a mountain 6095 feet high, and is very difficult and laborious to travel during the wet season. The city of Angostura, the chief seat of commerce on the river Oronoco, with a popula-

tion of 10,000 inhabitants, is situated about 270 miles from its mouth. Angostura was wrested from the royalists in 1817, and was for several years the seat of the Venezuelan republic, while most of the country was in possession of the Spaniards. From this place the gallant Bolivar led forth the little army of his own creation, composed of foreigners and natives hastily collected together, and penetrating into the heart of New Granada with astonishing celerity, emancipated that fine country from the Spanish yoke, laying the foundation of a free, independent, and powerful nation.

Coro, in lat.  $10^{\circ} 8' N.$  at the bottom of the gulf of the same name, stands on a dry, sandy plain, with a population estimated at 10,000 before the revolution, and is distant from Maracaibo 165 miles to the east. The province of Coro belonging to the department of Zulia, is in many parts arid and steril.

Among the numerous interior towns that abound in every section of the republic, is Valencia, situated on a beautiful lake of the same name. This place was at one period the seat of government for the Venezuelan republic, and is situated 24 miles south of Porto Cavello, and 90 miles west of Caraccas. Cucuta, the town where the constitution was formed, is situated in a valley of the same name, about 300 miles to the northeast of Bogota; near Cucuta lies the superb valley of San Crystobal. Mompox, a military position, is situated on an island in the Magdalena, 195 miles from the mouth of the river, and 375 miles from Bogota. The cities of Barinas, Guanore, Araure, San Carlos, and San Fernando de Apure, are situated in the department of Venezuela, and were rapidly advancing previous to the war, which visited this province with the full measure of its destructive fury. The province of Barinas, which, with that of Caraccas, forms the department of Venezuela, consists entirely of plains intersected by numerous rivers, most of which are navigable, and descend into the Apure, and thus communicate with the Oronoco. The banks of these rivers are covered with noble forests, and when cleared, the soil produces abundantly cocoa, indigo, cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, maize, rice, and other kinds of fruits and vegetables. The savannas support innumerable herds of cattle. The Cordillera of Pamplona, Merida, and Truxillo, border on this province on the west and north, and supply it with wheat and every other production of temperate climates, even to the luxury of snow.

The city of Merida was founded in 1593, and is situated in a valley 9 miles long, in lat.  $8^{\circ} 10' N.$ ; its population was 11,500 previous to the revolution; it is 240 miles from Maracaibo, and 420 S. E. from Caraccas. The province of Merida, now belonging to the department of Zulia, possesses the advantages of a delightful climate, and a fertile, though mountainous territory

Wheat, tobacco, and the fruits and grains of temperate climates, are raised abundantly in the high lands ; while the low, warm, vallies produce sugar-cane, cocoa, and all tropical fruits ; coffee could be cultivated to great advantage on the mountains. The city of Truxillo is situated in lat.  $8^{\circ} 40'$  N. 60 miles from Merida, with a population of 7600. The district of Truxillo differs little from that of Merida, except that its mountains are steeper, and its vallies more confined. Barquisimeto is situated in lat.  $9^{\circ} 44'$  N. on an elevated plain, which is open to every breeze : it has a population of 11,000 : it was founded in 1552, and is 450 miles N. N. E. from Bogota. Tocuyo lies 45 miles S. W. of Barquisimeto, in lat.  $9^{\circ} 35'$  N. in a valley of the same name, with a population estimated at 10,000, before the revolution. There are several towns near the southern border of the republic : among which is the city of Cuenca, with a population of 20,000 inhabitants.

The island of Margaritta, which belongs to the department of Oronoco, is situated 24 miles north of the peninsula of Araya, in Cumana. The island consists of two peninsulas connected by a narrow isthmus, and lies between lat.  $10^{\circ} 50'$  and  $11^{\circ} 10'$  N. The surface of the island is uneven, consisting of hills and dales. The soil is sandy, producing cotton, sugar, and other tropical productions. The capital of the island is Assumption, situated near its centre. There are several other villages in the vallies. The principal port is Bampater, which is fortified. The population of this island is estimated at 20,000 inhabitants, who are distinguished for their bravery and patriotism ; particularly for their gallant deeds in the month of November, 1816, when every citizen became a soldier, and with desperate bravery, defeated, in ten pitched battles, the formidable hosts of general Morillo ; and also, for the memorable defence made in July, the following year, when 3500 Spanish troops, under the same commander, were forced to retire in disgrace, with the loss of 1000 men.

*Mines.*—The gold, which has heretofore been obtained in Colombia, has been found mingled with the soil, near the surface, from which it is separated by repeated washings. This service was formerly performed by negro slaves, who cannot bear the cold air of the mines in Mexico, but are more able than the Indians to perform labour in the field. The metal has been found in some districts in large grains, particularly near Pamplona, where single labourers have collected in one day, the value of 750 dollars. A mass of fine gold was found of the value of more than 3000 dollars, which was sent to Spain by the governor. Gold is very generally dispersed in the town of Rio Hacha ; it is found in the sand washed down from the declivities ; but the provinces of Antioquia and Choco, now included in the departments of Cun-

dinamarca and Cauca, where gold, silver, and platina abound, are the most distinguished for their mineral wealth. Gold is not only found mixed with the soil, which has been washed down from the declivities of mountains, but also in the beds of rivers: emeralds are likewise found in the beds of rivers, particularly in a small stream, about sixty miles from Bogota, where almost every stone contains an emerald. There are unworked mines of silver in Mariquita, and probably undiscovered mines in various parts of Colombia, as the mines here have been an object of less attention than in Mexico or Peru; and for the want of capital and machinery, have not been worked to the same extent. But little attention has been paid to mining in Colombia, compared with the attention given to it in Mexico and Peru; and it has generally been supposed that the precious metals were less abundant in the former, than in the latter countries; but according to the opinion of the late Manuel Torres, Charge des Affaires from Colombia to the United States, the precious metals in Colombia are not inferior to those of Mexico or Peru, with the advantage of their discovery being more easy and less expensive.\* Since the commencement of the nineteenth century, the product of the mines in the departments now composing the Colombian republic, have been 2,990,000 dollars. The revolution cannot fail of having a most favourable influence on the mining operations, by the introduction of foreigners and foreign capital, the reduction of the duties, and the patronage of a liberal and enlightened government. When adequate machinery and scientific skill are applied to the mining operations in Colombia, the immense treasures which now lie bedded in the bowels of the earth will be developed, and prove an inexhaustible source of wealth and of national prosperity. Mints are established at Popayan and Bogota, where the gold and silver is coined. Formerly a considerable part of the gold was not coined in the country, but was smuggled into the West Indies.

On the coast between Rio Hacha and Maracaibo, is a pearl fishery, carried on by the *Indios Bravos*, or wild tribes who inhabit the country; but the profits of the fishery, probably, are chiefly realized by their more civilized neighbours, who trade with them. The pearls are much superior to those of the east. By a decree of congress in August, 1823, all the pearl fisheries of Colombia were granted to a company on certain conditions.

*Roads and internal communications.*—Colombia, like every part of what was formerly Spanish America, is deplorably deficient in these advantages. This country is not like Mexico, destitute, in a great measure, of internal water communications; its natural advantages are almost unrivalled; but from the want of

\* See his letter to the Secretary of State, Nov. 30th, 1821.



mechanic arts, and of science, the country has not yet enjoyed the benefit of them. The Oronoco, the Magdalena, the lake Maracaibo, and the river Zulia which empties into it, particularly afford resources for extensive lines of internal navigation, which only need to be improved. The Oronoco, by means of its large branches, the Apure and the Meta, opens a communication with the whole level country, to within about 150 miles of Bogota, extending more than 600 into the interior. From the mouth of the Magdalena to Honda, the head of boat navigation, about 550 miles, the current is very rapid. The internal navigation is rude and unimproved, consisting of canoes poled up and down the rivers by the bogas or boatmen, of which there is a great number on all the navigable streams. It is said that there are ten thousand of this class of men on the Magdalena; their principal residence is at Mompox. From the rapidity of the current of the Magdalena, thirty miles a day is reckoned a good day's journey in ascending; and from the various delays which usually occur, the voyage from the mouth of the river to Honda is seldom performed in less than thirty days, and captain Cochrane, who lately ascended this river, was forty-six. The lake Maracaibo is the most beautiful expanse of water in the world, extending 150 miles into the interior, and with the river Zulia, its principal tributary water, affords extensive advantages for internal navigation.

In this age of improvement, when "unconquerable streams has wrought such a revolution in river and coast navigation, and under the auspices of a free and enlightened government, it cannot be doubted that this simple and rude navigation of some of the noblest rivers in the world, will soon be superseded by steam boats: or, if there should be found any difficulty in the use of these, by some other improved plan of internal navigation. The congress have directed their attention to this object, and at their session, in 1822, granted patents, on certain conditions, to James Hamilton and John Elbers, for the privilege of running steam boats on the Oronoco and the Magdalena. Steam navigation has subsequently been introduced into Colombia; in the fall of 1825, a steam boat made the first passage up the Magdalena to Honda. From the many difficulties attending the first attempt, the passage was unexpectedly protracted to eighty days. This experiment not only led to a knowledge of the river, but suggested several improvements, so that it was expected the second trip, which was commenced the last of November, would be made in thirty days. Several steam boats, one named Bolivar, designed for internal navigation in Colombia, have been built in the United States. Perhaps no country is better accommodated with great natural canals, than Colombia; the Oronoco and its branches, lake Maracaibo, the Zulia, Palma, and its other tributaries, to-

gether with the Magdalena, the Cauca, and the Atrato, afford an extent of interior navigation unrivalled. The advantages of these interior waters will be increased a hundred-fold by the introduction of steam navigation; and probably the time is not far distant, when there will be as many steam vessels on these great inland canals, as there are now on the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri.

In respect to roads, they are scarcely known in Colombia. Throughout the whole republic there is not a road passable for any considerable distance with wheel carriages, nor scarcely for mules, without exposure of life or limbs. Travelling and transportation of every kind by land is done by mules: the conveyance is, consequently, tedious and expensive; so that the bulky produce of the interior will not bear transportation to the coast; and the expense of carriage, on the more heavy and bulky articles of importation, raises them to a high price in the interior. Whilst the Spaniards possessed Porto Cavello, the cocoa, coffee, and cotton, raised in the vicinity of Valencia, would scarcely bear the expense of transportation to Caraccas. The want of good internal communications is most seriously felt in Colombia, and greatly depresses the agricultural interests in the interior. These disadvantages will probably soon be partially overcome, by improving the navigation of rivers, and opening turnpike or artificial roads.

*Government.*—The natural, but mistaken apprehension of a union among states similarly situated, and having a common interest, of which history affords so many examples, has been strikingly illustrated in Colombia. When the country threw off the Spanish yoke, not only Venezuela and New Granada, which had been separate governments, but many of the provinces of each, formed juntas for themselves, declared their independence, and raised military forces to maintain it, not only against the authority of Spain, but that of the general governments established by the revolutionists claiming jurisdiction over them. In New Granada, the congress, composed of deputies from a number of the provinces, was obliged to make war upon the provinces of Cundani marca and Carthagena, to force them into a union, or to compel obedience to its decrees. Although these contentions disparaged and greatly injured the provinces, yet it is not improbable that the existence of so many independent governments, was, on the whole, serviceable in the prosecution of the war. Hostilities were carried on by the general governments of Venezuela and New Granada, and also by the governments of many of the provinces at the same time, in conjunction or separately, and sometimes in the latter mode, when they were at war with each other. When the patriots were overcome in one province, they kept up resistance in another: and when the armies of the congress were de-

feated, and the government itself overthrown ; still the provincial juntas would keep alive the spirit of resistance. When the cause was prostrated in Venezuela, it was maintained in New Granada, and the former again liberated by troops, furnished by the latter. The existence of so many independent separate governments, all of whom were engaged in carrying on the war, distracted the attention of the Spanish chiefs, and greatly embarrassed their operations ; but on the other hand, it prevented the concentration of power, and the establishment of an energetic and efficient government, as well as occasioned almost constant dissensions.

It required, however, a long course of fatal experience to overcome the apprehensions and prejudices which existed against a consolidated government, embracing all the provinces composing the present territory of Colombia ; and it is probable that it could not have been effected, at least in a peaceable manner, except for the great influence of Bolivar. The government established in Venezuela, in 1811, was a confederacy similar to that of the United States, and at that time, and long after, was almost universally popular, both in Venezuela and New Granada. General Miranda, by favouring a more concentrated and energetic government, gave great offence, and occasioned himself to be viewed with suspicion. The province, (now department) of Cundinamarca, in 1814, could not be induced to unite, under the most urgent circumstances, with the other provinces, with which it had formerly been connected, and the employment of troops, and the capture of Bogota, its capital, only, could compel it to join the confederation. When these circumstances are considered, it is apparent that the revolution, in the public mind, must have been great, which should have led to the union of Venezuela and New Granada, an event not apparently even thought of at the time of which we have been speaking ; and to the establishment of a government, which is not a confederacy of provinces, but an entire consolidation of them into one state, with a unity of authority. The first of these events took place in December, 1819, when, after the overthrow of the royal power, by the great victory of Boyaca, a congress was convened at Angostura. Bolivar delivered to the congress an elaborate speech, in which he showed that he had studied profoundly the principles of government, their forms, and their spirit. The object of this speech was to produce a conviction of the importance of a union of Venezuela and New Granada, and the establishment of an efficient government. On the 17th of the month, a fundamental law was passed, which united, in one state, Venezuela and New Granada. to be called the *Republic of Colombia*. This was followed by the appointment of a committee to prepare a constitution ; and one having been report-

ed, it was considered and adopted by the general congress assembled at Cucuta on the 30th of August, 1821, and has ever since been in operation, although the government was not organized under it for some time.\* Its strength and merits have borne the test of several year's trial, during which, the government founded on it, has been administered with regularity, firmness, and success.

The principles of this constitution are those of a representative democracy or republic, but not on the federative plan. One supreme national legislature is recognized, but no subordinate ones. There is a complete unity of authority, or government; consequently, in this important particular, the system differs essentially from that of the United States. The departments are only the civil divisions of the state, and do not possess any subordinate powers of government, not so much as the town corporations in New England. They are under the immediate direction of an Intendant, appointed by the president of the republic; and the provinces, or subdivisions of the departments, are under a governor, also appointed by the president.

In another important principle their constitution differs from ours; the right of suffrage, which is not exercised *directly*, but *indirectly*, as was done in France. The people, or such as are qualified to vote, (and for this purpose a small amount of property is necessary, or the exercise of some trade or profession) vote for electors, of which there are ten for every representative, and these electors choose the president and vice-president; and also the senators and representatives to congress. One representative is chosen for every 30,000 of the population; and when the fraction, in any province, is more than one half that number, it is entitled to another. Each department is entitled to four senators, two of which are chosen every four years. The representatives are chosen for four years, and the senators for eight; the president and vice-president for four, the former being eligible only two terms in succession.

The elections of the people are held once in four years in the parishes, at which each qualified voter gives his suffrage for the number of electors to which the province is entitled. The electors meet in the capital of their respective provinces once in four years, and choose all the important officers of the government; representatives, senators, president, and vice-president. The votes of the electors are returned to congress, where they are canvassed, and the validity of the election decided. The president and vice-president are chosen by a majority of the votes of the electors in all the provinces; but whether the senators are

\* When Morales invaded Maracaibo, the constitution was suspended in that and some of the adjoining provinces; and during the war in Quito, the constitution was suspended in the southern provinces.

chosen like the executive, by the whole body of electors, or by the electors of their respective departments, we cannot determine from any intelligence we have obtained. It would seem, however, that they are chosen by the electors of their respective departments.

The condition of Colombia is entirely different from the United States, or what it was when our constitution was adopted. Just emerged from the most degrading and oppressive colonial despotism, the people at large are not sufficiently enlightened, or in any way prepared for a government founded on the principles of that of the United States, where so much power is reposed in the hands of the people. It will take time to overcome habits, the effects of forms of government, and modes of thinking, which are the bitter fruits of a jealous and gloomy despotism. The constitution, however, possesses many just and noble principles, constituting the great landmarks of liberty, which evince the liberal spirit that actuated its framers. It recognises the freedom of the press; the trial by jury; it abolishes hereditary rank and monopolies; prohibits all arrests not authorized by law, and all extraordinary tribunals and commissions, and declares the inviolability of the houses and papers of individuals; the independence of the nation; the sovereignty of the people; the responsibility of magistrates, and the equality of rights.

The judiciary and administration of justice are imperfect from the influence of Spanish laws, ordinances, and juridical regulations. Their civil and criminal codes are only a collection of royal ordinances, laws of Castile, laws of the Indies, compilations of Spanish decrees, and colonial regulations, abounding in contradictions, and only calculated to vex the suitor with the "law's delay," and the laws expense, and to enrich the lawyer. The government, fully sensible of the defects of this system, is attempting to remedy the evil as fast as it can judiciously be done; it has established the trial by jury in cases of libels, and declared in favour of introducing it generally. But the long established habits, prejudices, and usages of the people, oppose serious obstacles.

Two laws, which have been adopted by the congress, deserve particular notice, and the highest commendation; the one relating to slavery, and the other to education; both of which will be more properly considered under different heads. Indeed, the laws generally which have been adopted, appear to be by the present government, founded on just principles and an enlightened policy, calculated to consolidate and strengthen the government, to promote the happiness of the people, and the power and prosperity of the republic.

*Commerce, manufactures, and revenue.*—The principal articles

of Colombian commerce, are cocoa, coffee, chocolate, cotton, indigo, sugar, hides, cattle, tobacco, dye-woods, medicinal drugs, and the precious metals, gold, silver, and platinum. The foreign commerce is carried on principally with Great Britain and the United States: from the former, Colombia receives manufactures of various descriptions, and military stores, with ships for her navy; and from the latter, flour, manufactured goods, military and naval stores, military and commercial vessels of various sizes. A considerable trade is carried on with the Antilles, or West India islands, which have always been principally supplied with mules and horses from this country. The war of the revolution, however, has made such destruction of cattle of every kind as greatly to diminish this trade. Of the less important articles of commerce, are mahogany, and other woods of the most exquisite beauty and durability for cabinet work, and other uses, used in dying; plants, bees wax, honey, and cochineal. The commercial resources of the country are scarcely yet touched. No portion of the world possesses a more commanding geographical position, more valuable maritime advantages for commerce, than Colombia; situated in the centre of the American continent, washed by two oceans, possessing an extensive maritime coast on both, and penetrated by noble rivers affording extensive lines of navigation. Its Atlantic coast is in the immediate neighbourhood of the West Indies, and it is centrally and favourably situated for commerce with Europe, the United States, Mexico, the West Indies, and the Atlantic countries of South America; whilst its Pacific coast opens to the republic the commerce of the south sea and the whale fisheries. But great as are the geographical facilities and advantages of Colombia for commerce, they do not surpass its natural internal resources. Situated under the line, and embracing the climate, the soil, and the productions of the three zones; rich in mineral treasures, in boundless forests of valuable woods, comprising immense savannas, whose spontaneous and perpetual verdure, sustains almost without the care, and entirely without the expense of man, vast herds of cattle. No country possesses more extensive and diversified natural resources of wealth and of commerce. Industry, art, and capital only are wanted, under the protection and encouragement of a free and enlightened government, to develop these exhaustless treasures. In a country possessing such vast resources, when peopled, the produce of agriculture, of the mines, and of the forests, must constitute its wealth, and the sources of its commerce. The application of industry to these objects will augment the commercial ability of the country, in a ratio corresponding with the increase of labour; and this will be greatly stimulated by a free and stable government, by the multiplication of population, the improvement of the arts, and the introduction of

capital. Wise laws and a judicious tariff must have great influence on the commercial prosperity of Colombia. In a new country, so thinly inhabited, and possessing such unbounded natural wealth, requiring development, who can doubt that freedom of commerce, with all nations, is the most correct policy, and will best advance the prosperity of the country?

The pernicious consequences of the restricted and monopolizing system of Spain, it might have been supposed, would have induced the present government, immediately, to secure to the country one of the most important advantages of their independence, freedom of commerce, and to open their ports to all the world. But long established regulations, although founded in despotism and ignorance, are not easily given up; and hence it is that despotism is felt long after the power which sustained it, is overthrown. In the year 1823, during the recess of congress, the vice-president of Colombia, administering the government, promulgated a decree, prohibiting foreigners trading in the country, on their own account, and requiring that they should consign themselves to the natives. This injudicious and illiberal measure, which savoured much of the jealous and monopolizing system of Spain, could not be enforced, and the congress had the wisdom not to pass it into a law. Tobacco has been prohibited from being imported into the country; likewise all kinds of foreign spirits, to encourage the manufacture of domestic brandy, called *aguaidiente*. Every species of Spanish produce and manufacture introduced into the country is forfeited by the laws of the republic. This, however, is not so much a commercial, as a political measure, it being intended to distress Spain; but it must also occasion some inconvenience to Colombia, and particularly prove injurious to the trade of Venezuela in cocoa, of which article Spain is the principal consumer. Of the policy of these, or any other particular prohibitions or restrictions, we have not the means of deciding; but it is evident, that, for a considerable period, the commerce of Colombia must consist of an exchange of the produce of her exuberant soil, of her mines, and of her forests, for the manufactures of Europe and the United States. Colombia must afford an extensive market for the manufactures of England, which country will enjoy the principal part of the Colombian commerce; although the enterprise of our citizens will, doubtless, aim to participate in its benefit. The amount of European goods, imported into New Granada, previous to 1810, was 2,500,000 dollars annually; and the exports 1,500,000, exclusive of the precious metals; and the cast and ingots of gold exported, are 2,650,000 dollars.

The manufactures of the republic are chiefly confined to the southern departments. Previous to the year 1810, their annual

value was computed to be 5,000,000 of dollars. A great extension of this branch of industry cannot be expected in a country abounding in such immense agricultural resources, capable of affording an extensive and profitable commerce with most of the world. The mechanic arts must be generally established, and advanced to a state of considerable perfection in any country, before manufactures, except a few of the coarser kind, can be introduced. This has not been done in Colombia; and where there is a great want of artisans, of almost every description, such as carpenters, joiners, ship builders, masons, blacksmiths, tanners, shoemakers, saddlers, and cabinet makers, it will hardly be expected that manufactures will be introduced to any extent. Furniture is imported in all the sea ports, from Jamaica, Curacoa, and the United States; but this article is too bulky to be conveyed into the interior, with the imperfect communication which exists.

The sources of revenue of the republic are direct and indirect taxes; but the custom-house duties constitute, by far, the most certain and important source, which is constantly increasing, whilst many of the ancient sources of revenue have been abolished. The duties received at La Guira sometimes amount to 60,000 dollars per month. There are some of the old monopolies continued, as well as duties on salt. The produce of the mint, including the expenses of coinage, amounts to about 2,000,000 of dollars annually. The national debt is principally due to foreigners, and is not so great as might be expected, considering the character and duration of the war, in which the republic has been engaged. In 1822, the republic borrowed of Messrs. Herring, Graham & Powles, 2,000,000 sterling, and in 1824, a further loan was obtained in London of 4,750,000; so that her whole foreign debt is 30,000,000 dollars; besides which, she owes a domestic debt, probably of no great amount. This sum must be regarded as small, when we consider the long and destructive war which the country has sustained; and although considerable, it can form no obstacle to the national prosperity, as the ability of the republic to meet it will be constantly and rapidly increasing. The revenue of New Granada, previous to 1810, amounted to 3,200,000 dollars. Among the sources of this revenue, was the royal right of a fifth of the gold obtained from the mines, the tribute or capitation tax paid by the Indians; the bulls of crusade; the alcabala, or duties paid on the sale of every article of consumption, and partially the monopoly of tobacco, which are now abolished. The revenue of Venezuela, at the same time, was 2,126,000 dollars.

The revolutionary war, the abolition of many of the old branches of revenue; the entire change which has taken place in the political and financial condition of the country, together with the increase of expenditure, occasioned by the war, have rendered



the state of the finance unpromising, and stamped the system as imperfect, and obviously undigested. In 1823, an attempt was made to levy a direct contribution, in the form of income tax, which completely failed, in consequence (according to the report of the minister of finance) of the difficulty of obtaining a fair assessment. The amount of gold and silver coined for the government is estimated at 2,000,000 of dollars: but the expenses attending which, are computed at 1,300,000 dollars. The revenue from the salt works is about 100,000 dollars, equal to its former amount; but the tobacco monopoly is unproductive. The imposts, or duties on goods imported, is the main branch of revenue; but at present, far from being sufficient to meet the expenses of the government. The revenue, however, from this source, must increase with great rapidity, with the increase of population, the developement of the mineral and agricultural wealth of the country, and the extension and prosperity of the commerce of the republic; so that, at no distant period, it may suffice for the entire demands of the government.

*Army, navy, and military resources.*—The army of the republic is highly respectable, both for size and character. In addition to the garrisons, which are maintained in the fortified towns, an efficient corps is reserved in each department, for the purpose of defence. In 1823, provision was made for raising immediately, 50,000 men, in case of an attack from Spain, and a powerful Colombian army has already liberated Peru, and covered itself with glory. The fields of Boyaca, Carabobo, in Colombia, and Ayacucho, in Peru, bear ample testimony to the valour and discipline of the heroic army of Colombia. Few, if any examples are on record, of a country of the same population and resources, having carried on so long and destructive a war as Colombia has done, and bringing the same to so successful and glorious a termination. The navy of the republic has not arrived at maturity; but ample provision has been made for its extension and efficiency by large appropriations for the purpose of building and purchasing vessels of war. Naval schools, for scientific and practical instruction, have been established at Carthagena and Guayaquil, the principal naval stations belonging to the republic. A respectable navy has already been created on both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, composed of frigates and smaller vessels, which has been found of great utility in assisting the military operations. A frigate of thirty-eight guns, called the Chapman, lately arrived at Carthagena, from Sweden, purchased for the Colombian government; a ship of the line, the corvette Boyaca, the sloop of war Protector, and several other ships of war were purchased in England for the Colombian service in 1825, most of which have arrived at Carthagena. In December of the same year, the frigate South

America, a beautiful and elegant vessel was launched in New-York, designed for Colombia; and another has been built at Philadelphia for the same service.

The military resources of the republic are ample for the purposes of defence; and the materials for the formation of an efficient army are abundant. The people of colour, of all classes, make excellent soldiers, and some of them have risen to a distinguished rank in the army; and it cannot be doubted that the people of Colombia are as capable of maintaining their independence, as any other nation, of the same magnitude, on the globe.

*Character of the people, education, &c.*—A late traveller remarks, that the most pleasing trait in the character of the Colombian creoles, is good nature. It cannot be expected, that a nation which has just emerged from a state of colonial degradation, can immediately develop any very strong or peculiar characteristics; but it is due to the inhabitants of Colombia to observe, that during their long and arduous struggle, they have displayed a constancy and devotion to the cause of liberty and independence, that has rarely been equalled in ancient or modern times; and it is also worthy of remark, that the government of Colombia has maintained its public credit with scrupulous fidelity, and that all its relations with foreigners have been characterized by the love of justice and liberality; that it has omitted no means of diffusing knowledge, or extending the blessings of the republican system among its citizens, and of preparing them for the enjoyment of liberty and the exalted destiny which awaits them, as citizens of a free, prosperous, and powerful republic. The enlightened policy of the present government, is gradually obliterating the casts and classes into which the population was divided under the colonial system. These distinctions, so inconsistent with a republican government, will soon be entirely lost. The constitution and the laws recognise no distinction of colour, and all free persons are equally eligible to office. To the eternal honour of the present congress, one of its earliest acts had for its object, the gradual abolition of slavery. It provides that no person can be born a slave in the republic, and prohibits the importation of slaves under a severe penalty. Nor does it stop here; but makes provision for a manumission fund, by a tax which, according to the colonial laws, was retained by the government. These regulations are similar to those which were adopted by the republican government at Buenos Ayres, at an earlier period. The manumission fund is applied to the purchase of slaves, a great number of which are annually redeemed; their characters are strictly inquired into by the highest magistrates, and those are redeemed who are the most deserving.

Previous to the revolution, Caraccas and Santa Fe de Bogota

were the seats of learning, and like luminous bodies, diffused their light through the dark atmosphere of the provinces. Caraccas gave the first impulse to the revolution in Venezuela; and Bogota, in New Grenada. A great portion of the political intelligence, which afterwards was scattered through the provinces, was disseminated from these cities, which were the two eyes of the republic. Not only the light, but the first heat of the revolution, originated in these two capitals; which not only diffused a knowledge of their rights among the people, but set the first examples of defending them. The inhabitants of Caraccas were more enlightened by means of commerce, and the intercourse of foreigners, than those of Bogota; but their acquirements were in a different department of science. Politics, philosophy, eloquence, metaphysics, and the moral sciences, received the most attention at Caraccas; whilst at Bogota, the mathematics, natural history, chemistry, botany, and other physical sciences, received the greatest attention.\* Politics, however, were not neglected at Bogota, where there were many individuals of enlightened and liberal principles, all of whom took part in favour of the revolution, and most of them fell a sacrifice to their patriotism.

There were, perhaps, few cities in America, that possessed a greater number of learned and scientific men, at the breaking out of the revolution, than Bogota. Doctors Mutis, Calders, Zea, and other members of the university, cultivated the mathematics with success; the first was also a distinguished botanist. The great work on that subject which he left unfinished at his death, was prosecuted by his nephew, Dr. Senforso Mutis, Don Jose Lozano, and Don Francisco Jose Caldas, assisted by the pencil of Don Salvados Rezo. They were encouraged in their researches by the popular government; but their labours and their lives were cut short by the blood thirsty Morillo, who, on his capture of the capital in 1816, put to death all the learned men, as well as all the actors in the revolution, who fell into his hands.

Under the colonial despotism, the studies of all the universities and colleges were *established by law*, and all others strictly prohibited; so that these institutions were rather calculated to cramp, than to expand the intellect—to confine, rather than extend the knowledge of the student. All books, which did not tend to strengthen the despotism of the state, or the church, were prohibited, and the Inquisition was charged to prevent their introduction into the country. With all the restrictions and vigilance of the holy office, however, liberal books found their way into America; and the students, in a clandestine manner, devoted that time to Voltaire, Rousseau, and Volney, which they were required to apply to scholastic and theological studies. Don A. Narino,

\* Hall's Colombia.

afterwards one of the leaders of the revolution, translated Rousseau's Social Compact, for which offence, although he had previously obtained the consent of the viceroy, he was immured in the dungeons of Carthagena, and thence was removed to Spain. Under such a despotism, which feared nothing so much as light, it is matter of surprise that science and learning should have made the progress they did in many parts of Spanish America.

Among the first subjects which received the attention of the constitutional congress, was that of education. At its first session, it passed an act concerning schools, colleges, and universities. The report of Mr. Restrepo, the secretary of state, shows that the government engaged zealously in this important work. The Lancastrian system has been introduced, and numerous schools have been established on that plan. The founder of the system is now in Colombia, using his exertions to extend the blessings of his system of education, and to scatter light in dark places. Some few seminaries of a higher order have been put in operation, and the universities and colleges have undergone a thorough reformation. A portion of the old ecclesiastical revenue, particularly the property of certain monasteries and nunneries, has been appropriated to the purposes of education. The restrictions on books have not only been removed, but they are allowed to be imported free of duty, and also maps, charts, engravings, scientific apparatus, &c. Useful books for schools, and good teachers, are much wanted. Considering the shortness of the time, much has been done, although this is only to be considered as the first fruits of the great work of mental regeneration and illumination, which Bolivar, and his patriotic associates in Colombia, have undertaken. Forty schools on the plan of Bell and Lancaster have been established during the past year, besides ten colleges, and three universities, and a public library at the capital, containing 14,000 volumes. Bolivar, the founder of the republic, has lately made a large donation to Caraccas, his native city, to constitute a fund for the support of primary schools.

His constant efforts to emancipate the people from moral darkness, will add a brighter lustre to his name, than his great and extraordinary exploits to liberate his country from the tyranny of Spain.

*Religion.*—In Colombia, as well as in all parts of what was Spanish America, the Roman Catholic religion is established and maintained by law. More liberality, however, prevails in Colombia than in Mexico, and a certain degree of toleration to other religions is allowed. In August, 1821, the congress passed a decree, abolishing the Inquisition, and conferring on the ecclesi-

astical courts, jurisdiction in all matters of religion, according to the canons and customs of the Roman Catholic church. The law provides, that juridical proceedings in such cases (in matters of faith) shall take place only with respect to Roman Catholics, born in Colombia, their children, and those who, having come from other countries, shall have enrolled themselves in the parish registers of the Catholics ; but not with respect to strangers, who may have come to reside temporarily, or permanently, nor with their descendants, who can in no manner be molested on account of their belief, though they ought to respect the Roman Catholic worship and religion.

This is a qualified kind of toleration, even as it respects foreigners, as the law declares that they shall not be molested "on account of their belief," which leaves it uncertain, whether they are to be protected in the open public worship of religion, differing from the Catholic. This is a question of construction, arising from the face of the law, and it is uncertain how it may be decided. The clergy will be disposed to put the most illiberal interpretation on the law ; but the officers composing the government, and all the enlightened men throughout the republic, it is presumed, will be inclined to construe this act in the most favourable and liberal manner. This qualified toleration is but just raising the veil of an established faith, to let in a glimpse of light to the mental vision. It may be all that the prejudices of the people, and the influence of the clergy, will admit ; but it is not what the condition and prosperity of the country, or the civil institutions which have been adopted, demand. It is justly observed by a recent writer, "If Colombia intends to tread in the steps of the United States, and to grow powerful, by the admission of foreigners into her bosom, some change in her religious system, either legally sanctioned, or conventionally allowed, must take place."\* In other respects, the government has adopted the most liberal regulations to promote the emigration of foreigners into the country ; that is, Europeans and the citizens of the United States ; the president being authorized to distribute or dispose of one million and a half of acres of the lands of the state, for the encouragement of emigration.

The bondage of the mind is the most debasing and humiliating kind of slavery ; and until that is free, no nation is completely emancipated. Civil liberty cannot long exist with religious intolerance and despotism ; one must acquire the entire ascendancy, when it will destroy the other. The result in Colombia cannot occasion doubt or apprehension. If the present free republican institutions maintain their ground, unqualified toleration and freedom of inquiry, and of action, in matters of religion, must in-

\* Hall's Colombia.

evitably follow. This requires time, as it cannot be supposed that a nation, long enslaved, can be redeemed in a day ; or that the accumulated rubbish of three centuries of political oppression and hierarchical craft and corruption, can be removed by the first efforts of liberty. The enjoyment of entire religious freedom will form the capstone of the political edifice, whose sure foundation, and lofty structure, it is hoped, will long reflect the sunlight of liberty and truth on the vast declivities of the Andes, and over the outstretched vallies of the Orinoco.

# HISTORY

## OF THE

# REVOLUTION IN COLOMBIA.

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## CHAPTER II.

*Causes of the revolution—events in Spain—establishment of juntas there—overthrow of the central junta—establishment of juntas in America—massacre at Quito—success of the French in Spain—establishment of the regency of Cadiz—effect of these events on the colonies—junta suprema of Caraccas—blockade of Caraccas by the regency—troops sent from Spain—conduct of the Cortes towards America—congress of Venezuela—declaration of Independence—proceedings in Spain—policy of England and France—propositions of accommodation rejected by the Cortes—junta of Caraccas sends deputies to England.*

WE have seen what America was, whilst a part of the dominions of Spain, and subject to the government of the Spanish crown ; we are now to behold her in a different and more interesting character ; in maintaining for a long period, with unexampled perseverance, a desperate struggle for her independence, characterized by scenes of bloodshed and cruelty, unparalleled in modern times ; to behold her exertions finally crowned with success, and half a dozen independent states suddenly emerging from colonial degradation, and taking their rank in the family of nations ; to witness these states founded on the will of the people, and calculated to secure to the present and future generations, independence, liberty, peace, and their attendant blessings.

The revolution in Colombia is more important than that in other parts of Spanish America, as it was here that the war commenced, and the struggle was here more protracted and severe ; here too Spain made her greatest exertions, and the success of the revolution in Colombia, in no small degree, has been the means of its ultimate triumph through the Spanish American do-

minions. We shall, therefore, in noticing the causes of events which led to the revolution, have to consider many whose influence was general on all parts of the Spanish dominions in America, as well as on those now constituting the Colombian republic.

The first causes of the civil commotions in America are to be sought for in the disturbances which occurred in Spain. These disturbances, the offspring of the ambitious views of Napoleon Bonaparte, although without his intention, prepared the way for the revolution in South America, and in this view have been productive of important benefits to the inhabitants of that country, and to the world. His proceedings at Bayonne, in compelling Ferdinand to abdicate the throne of Spain in favour of Joseph Bonaparte, and the evident designs of Napoleon, threw Spain into confusion. The loyalty and spirit of the nation was roused, and the people refused to submit to a monarch imposed on them by treachery, and supported by foreign bayonets. In the provinces not occupied by the French, *juntas* were established, which assumed the government of their districts; and that at Seville styling itself the supreme junta of Spain and the Indies, despatched deputies to the different governments in America, requiring an acknowledgment of its authority; to obtain which, it was represented that the junta was acknowledged and obeyed throughout Spain. At the same time, the regency created at Madrid by Ferdinand, when he left his capital, and the junta at Asturias, each claimed superiority, and endeavoured to direct the affairs of the nation.

Napoleon, on his part, was not less attentive to America; agents were sent in the name of Joseph, king of Spain, to communicate to the colonies the abdication of Ferdinand, and his own accession to the vacant throne, and to procure the recognition of his authority by the Americans. Thus the obedience of the colonies was demanded by no less than four tribunals, each claiming to possess supreme authority at home. There could scarcely have occurred a conjuncture more favourable for the colonists to throw off their dependence on Spain, being convulsed as she was by a civil war, the king a prisoner, the monarchy subverted, and the people unable to agree among themselves where the supreme authority was vested, or which of the pretenders to it were to be obeyed. The power of the parent state over its colonies was *de facto* at an end; in consequence of which, they were, in a measure, required to "provide new guards for their security." But so totally unprepared were the colonists for a political revolution, that instead of these events being regarded as auspicious to their prosperity, they only served to prove the strength of their loyalty and attachment to Spain.



Notwithstanding that the viceroys and captain-generals, excepting the viceroy of New Spain, manifested a readiness to acquiesce in the cessions of Bayonne, to yield to the new order of things, and to sacrifice their king, provided they could retain their places, in which they were confirmed by the new king, the news of the occurrences in Spain filled the people with indignation; they publicly burnt the proclamations sent out by king Joseph, expelled his agents, and such was their rage, that all Frenchmen in the colonies became objects of insult and execration. A French brig arrived at Caraccas with despatches, in July, 1808, and anchored two miles from the town. The fact was no sooner known to the inhabitants, than the utmost excitement ensued, attended with such hostile feelings towards the French, that the captain of the brig was obliged to steal out of town secretly, in the night, to save his life.

"On entering the city," says a British naval officer, "I observed a great effervescence among the people, like something which either precedes or follows a popular commotion; and as I entered the large inn of the city, I was surrounded by inhabitants of almost all classes.

"I here learned that the French captain, who had arrived yesterday, had brought intelligence of every thing which had taken place in Spain in favour of France; that he had announced the accession to the Spanish throne of Joseph Bonaparte, and had brought orders to the government from the French emperor.

"The city was immediately in arms; 10,000 of its inhabitants surrounded the residence of the captain-general, and demanded the proclamation of Ferdinand the seventh, as their king; which he promised the next day. But this would not satisfy them: they proclaimed him that evening by heralds, in form, throughout the city, and placed his portrait, illuminated, in the gallery of the town-house.

"The French were first publicly insulted in the coffee-house, from whence they were obliged to withdraw; and the French captain left Caraccas, privately, about eight o'clock that night, escorted by a detachment of soldiers, and so saved his life; for, about ten o'clock, his person was demanded of the governor by the populace, and when they learned that he was gone, three hundred men followed him to put him to death.

"Though coldly received by the governor, I was surrounded by all the respectable inhabitants of the city, and hailed as their deliverer. The news which I gave them from Cadiz was devoured with avidity, and produced enthusiastic shouts of gratitude to England."\*

A French brig, with an envoy from Napoleon, arrived at Bue.

\* Extract from Captain Beaver's letter to A. Cochrane.

nos Ayres the latter part of July, with despatches to Liniers, the viceroy, who issued a proclamation informing the people of the events which had occurred in Spain, and intended to persuade them to acquiesce in the proceedings at Bayonne, and to submit to the authority of Joseph Bonaparte. This proclamation was badly received by the people; and the governor of Monte Video accusing Liniers of disloyalty, and disregarding his proclamation, established a junta for the province, similar to those in Spain, and thus withdrew it from the jurisdiction of Liniers.

The intelligence of the general revolt in Spain against the government of Joseph Bonaparte, and the establishment of juntas, was received in Mexico about the same time, and occasioned the greatest enthusiasm among the inhabitants; and when the deputies, some time after, arrived from the junta of Seville, they were ready to acknowledge their authority, and would have done it, had not despatches arrived from the junta of Asturias, cautioning them against the ambitious designs of the Andalusian junta. At this period, so little thought had the colonists of attempting to avail themselves of the disorders which existed in Spain, to establish their independence, and so strong was their loyalty, that they seemed ready to acknowledge the authority of any self-created tribunal in Spain, which claimed to be respected and obeyed at home; although it is evident that there was no more propriety in the colonies acknowledging the authority of any of the juntas in the Spanish peninsula, than there was of Spain's recognising the authority of a junta established in the colonies; as America had been subject to the king of Spain, not to the nation.

As the disorders in the peninsula continued, and no sovereign power existed there which the colonies could respect, a number of the most distinguished inhabitants of Caracas presented a petition to Cacas, the captain-general, recommending the establishment of a junta, similar to those in Spain. And although the petitioners had evidently no other object than to provide for the security of the province; and, notwithstanding the principles of the petition were taken from the laws, the petitioners were answered by being arrested and thrown into prison. They were released, however, in a few days.

No one of the several juntas in Spain being able to acquire supreme authority, and feeling the want of unity of power, the provincial juntas agreed to send deputies to a central junta, and thus constitute a national authority and tribunal. In case of a suspension of the royal functions, the laws of Spain required the establishment of a regency; yet, nevertheless, this irregular tribunal was obeyed, not only in Spain, but in America, and so implicitly in the latter, that, down to the year 1810, more than ninety millions of dollars were sent to Spain by the colonies. This

money not only enabled the Spanish patriots, as they were called, to carry on the war with France, but gave vigour to the measures they subsequently adopted towards America, so that the colonies furnished the means of their own subjugation. Many of the most intelligent individuals in America did not feel satisfied with the authority of the central junta of Spain, and generally much anxiety was felt for the fate of the colonies, in case the French should prevail. These sentiments led to the establishment of a junta in the province of Quito, in August, 1809; and the Marquis Selva Alegre was chosen its president. A similar junta had previously been created in La Paz, the capital of one of the districts under the dominion of the audience of Charcas, and was suppressed by the military force of the viceroy of Buenos Ayres. The viceroy of New Granada, Don Amar, determined to destroy the junta formed at Quito; but desirous of exhibiting an appearance of acting in conformity to the will of the people, he convened the principal inhabitants of Santa Fe de Bogota, for the purpose of consulting them on the subject; believing that they would not have independence sufficient to oppose his will. In this, however, he was disappointed; the assembly not only approved of the proceedings at Quito, but declared that a similar body ought to be formed in Santa Fe, for the security of the country, in case Spain should finally be conquered by the French. The assembly, with the consent of the viceroy, was adjourned, to meet again on the 11th of September, 1809, the first meeting being on the 7th. Still thinking to intimidate the members, the viceroy required that each one should give his vote in writing. When the assembly again met, they were surprised to see that the guards of the palace were doubled, and that great military preparations had been made, as if an enemy was approaching the city. But even this seasonable display of military force did not have the effect of overawing the assembly; its debates were bold and spirited, and the voting by written ballots showing the opinions of the different members, tended to strengthen their firmness and resolution; so that the friends of the measure were rather increased than diminished. This occasion first brought into notice several individuals, who afterwards became distinguished patriots; Camillo de Torres, Gutierrez, father Padilla, and Moreno, were among the number. Being at length persuaded that he could not have even the appearance of acting in conformity to public opinion, the viceroy took immediate steps to suppress the popular junta at Quito by an armed force; and the viceroy of Peru having despatched troops for the same object, the junta was obliged to yield to a power which it had no means of resisting. And although an assurance was given by the president of the *audiencia* of Quito,

that no one should, in any way, suffer on account of what had taken place ; yet, in violation of this plighted faith, a large number of those who had belonged to, or supported the popular government, were arrested and imprisoned ; and on the 2d of August, the following year, they were all massacred in prison, under pretence of revolt. The troops stationed in the city, after massacring the prisoners, were suffered to plunder the inhabitants , the scene of rapine and carnage was shocking, and involved the property of thousands, and the lives of more than three hundred persons, murdered in cold blood. The anniversary of the fate of these early victims to the liberation and independence of Colombia, was commemorated by order of the junta of Caraccas, in 1810, in a solemn manner, with appropriate funeral honours.

These tyrannical and sanguinary measures producing great excitement throughout the colonies, tended to weaken the attachment that was felt towards the parent country. Few individuals, however, even thought of independence ; on the contrary, all were anxious for a re-establishment of the government of Spain, and a reformation in the colonies. The intelligence of the disturbances in America, and the violent measures pursued by the colonial chiefs, alarmed the central junta of old Spain, and with a view to conciliate the wounded feelings of the Americans, they issued a pompous declaration, in which they asserted, that "the colonies were equal to the mother country." But this was entirely deceptive ; no reformation of the system, no correction of abuses, was attempted ; and, notwithstanding the disturbances which the violence of the governors had occasioned, Spaniards were sent to America to fill all places, and to occupy all public employment, as had been done for ages past ; while the colonies were still drained of money to supply the pressing wants of Spain, engaged in a struggle with the gigantic power of France.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the Americans, when, at the very time they were expecting to hear of the final triumph of the patriots in Spain, and the restoration of Ferdinand VII., they learned that the French were masters of Madrid, and that the central junta had been driven to Andalusia. But their confidence in the courage of the people of Spain remained unshaken ; and instead of being discouraged by these disasters, they only served to awaken the zeal of the Americans in the cause of the mother country, which they still regarded as their own. Hence, not only the regular remittances were made, but large sums were raised by subscriptions from every class of the population. The intelligence of war breaking out between Austria and France, and the victory of Talavera, occasioned as great joy in America as it did in the Spanish peninsula ; but this joy

was soon diminished by intelligence of the most alarming dissensions among the patriots ; General de la Romana published a manifesto, declaring the power of the central junta illegal, and the juntas of Seville and Valencia protested against it. These dissensions were followed by the defeat of their armies, and the dispersion of the central junta, which, having become obnoxious to popular rage, its members were pursued and insulted by the people, and denounced as traitors. A few of the members assembled in the isle of Leon, but not daring to exercise the powers of government any longer, and trembling for their own safety, they vested their authority in a regency consisting of five members. At this time, the whole of Spain was under the dominion of Bonaparte, except Cadiz and Galicia, which would have been the extent of the jurisdiction of the regency, had it been legally constituted ; but for one illegal body, whose authority the national will had annulled, when unable any longer to maintain its own power, to attempt to transfer it to another tribunal of its own creating, was such a palpable attempt at usurpation, that the new government would not have been respected for a moment, by any one in Spain, had it not been for the awful crisis which threatened the annihilation of the last hopes of the Spanish patriots.

What a favourable conjuncture for the Americans to emancipate themselves from a government which had tyrannised over them for three centuries ! But instead of promptly embracing the opportunity, they appear to have been only thinking of the re-establishment of the legitimate power of their oppressors—the restoration of Ferdinand the *adored*. The prevailing anxiety of the colonists, from the commencement of the disturbances in Spain, had been an apprehension of falling under the power of Bonaparte, in the event of his becoming master of the Spanish peninsula ; and as the cause of the Spanish patriots became more desperate, the fears of the colonists increased. “ What will become of us if Spain shall be conquered ? ” was a question universally asked ; and its discussion directly led to the consideration of the necessity and the right of providing new guards for their own security. The question admitted of only two answers ; for if Spain fell under the power of France, her colonies must have shared her fate, or taken care of themselves. The case supposed, presented but an alternative to America, to fall under the power of France, or become independent. The first ideas which the Americans had of independence, did not relate to independence as it respected Spain, but as to France. How different was the origin of the revolution which resulted in the independence of the British American colonies, from that which separated the Spanish colonies from the mother country. The revolution in the British colonies originated from measures of oppression on the part of

the parent state, and long and systematical resistance to those measures on the part of the colonies. The Anglo-Americans were alarmed from an apprehension of being oppressed by the parent country; but the Spanish Americans, although tyrannised over by Spain for centuries, were terrified at the prospect of the overthrow of the power of their oppressors, and that that event would place them under the dominion of a foreign power which they detested. Although such, generally, were the feelings of the Spanish colonists; yet at this period, and before, there were some few enlightened individuals in the different settlements, who entertained higher views and hopes; who wished to avail themselves of the present juncture to restore their country to its natural rights, of which it had been deprived for three hundred years.

The illegal regency in Spain, being encouraged by the manifesto of the merchants of Cadiz, addressed a proclamation to the colonies in America; and with the intention of conciliating them, at a crisis when it was evident Spain could do nothing without their assistance, the proclamation contains sentiments not less true than remarkable, as emanating from such a source.

"Americans, ye have been long weighed down by a yoke more oppressive to bear, because ye were distant from the centre of power. We now place your future destiny in your own hands. Ye have hitherto been the football, as it were, of the viceroys, always subject to their ambition and caprice, while at the same time ye were a prey to their cupidity. From this time your fate shall not depend on them."

The regency, also, endeavoured to impress on the Americans, that Spain and her colonies were to share the same fate, whatever it might be. "It is not sufficient," they observe, "for you to be Spaniards, unless, whatever be the event of fortune, you also belong to Spain."

The news of the disastrous events in the Spanish peninsula, and the proclamation of the regency, reached Caraccas in the year 1810, and occasioned great alarm. The struggle in Spain was believed to be nearly at an end, and the final triumph of Bonaparte certain. At such a conjuncture, the inhabitants felt it to be their duty and their right to provide for their own security; the legitimate government of the mother country being annihilated, and the colonies exposed to fall into the hands of a foreign power. They felt the more confirmed in this course, as they had no longer any reason to doubt that it was the design of the Spanish chiefs at home, and of all the colonial officers in America, who were determined to yield obedience to every species of government established in the peninsula, however illegal, that the colonies should fall under the dominion of Bonaparte in case he conquered Spain. We have seen that the colonial chiefs were will-

ing to sacrifice their king, and recognise the power of Joseph Bonaparte, as sovereign of Spain; and after the insurrection in the peninsula, they had evinced a readiness to acknowledge the authority of any self-created tribunal in Spain, however probably illegal, and at the same time to resist every attempt of the colonists to establish any provisional tribunal, which might preserve the country from anarchy in case of the subjugation of the parent country. The prime object of the colonial rulers was to keep the colonies in a state of *dependence* on some power in Europe; and they seemed hardly to care where or what it was. And it is not difficult to discover the motives of this conduct; as long as America could be kept in a state of dependence, the colonial rulers supposed a readiness to acknowledge any authority which claimed dominion over Spain, and consequently over America, was the most sure way of preserving their stations. They wished to keep America dependent, not so much from a regard to the interests of Spain, as to preserve their own power; being very sensible that they could have no part in any government constituted by the people. Hence, the violence with which they pursued the American patriots; every act, every movement tending towards the independence of the colonies, although temporary, and with the entire and express recognition of Ferdinand VII., was regarded as a blow aimed at their own power. This is the cause of the fury with which they pursued the first patriots in the colonies; and the zeal they pretended to feel for their country, was stimulated by an apprehension of losing their own power, a passion of all others the most violent and vindictive.

The inhabitants of Caraccas were well acquainted with the opinions and feelings of the captain-general of the province, and aware that he intended, at all events, to keep them in a state of dependence; and considering that, as the legitimate government in Spain was at an end, the powers of government during this suspension of authority in the parent state, had reverted to the people; and that, in the language of their brethren in the north, in their solemn declaration to the world, it consequently had become a right and a duty to "provide new guards for their own security:" by the almost unanimous voice of the people, the Spanish colonial officers were deposed, and the *cabildo*, or municipal body, together with several other persons, designated by the people, were vested with the powers of government, and styled a *junta suprema*. The junta, however, acted in the name of Ferdinand VII.; and although they disallowed the authority of the regency at Cadiz, they offered to afford all the aid in their power towards the prosecution of the war against France.

The influence which the condition of Spain had on her colonies, the measures that the Americans had adopted, and the vio-

lence with which they had been opposed by the Spanish rulers, both in Spain and the colonies, had greatly increased the jealousy and unfriendly feelings between the creoles or native Americans, and the European Spaniards in America. In July, 1810, an affray occurred at Santa Fe de Bogota, which originated from a European Spaniard, insulting a native American, and including in the opprobrious and reproachful language which he applied to him, all his countrymen. The quarrel between these two individuals soon assumed a serious aspect; the citizens collecting to the scene of contention, the Spaniards joining on the side of their countrymen, and the creoles taking part with theirs, a contest ensued, in which the latter, being the most numerous, were triumphant. Under the influence of the excitement, which this popular contest had occasioned, a meeting of the inhabitants was convened, and a junta established. In Chili, the captain-general exasperated the people to such a degree, that he was obliged to resign his office, and a junta was formed in September; and in Mexico an insurrection broke out the same month in consequence of the violent measures of Venegas, the new viceroy.

Accounts of these proceedings in the colonies, were sent to Spain, by the colonial governors, with all the exaggeration which their exasperated feelings were calculated to give to them; and their effect on the regency must have gratified their most violent resentments. The official despatches of the junta of Caraccas, containing the reasons which had induced the people to take the course they had, the nature of the power assumed, and that, although they could not submit to the authority of the regency, they recognised the supremacy of Ferdinand; had no influence on the unstable and violent councils of a distracted state.\* The regency of Spain, illegal and impotent as it was, with that rashness and violence which oppugnation to illegal power, usually occasions, immediately declared Caraccas in a state of blockade. This decree was published on the 31st of August, 1810, and its importance, as well as to exhibit its spirit, requires its insertion.

“ Scarcely had the council of regency received intelligence of the occurrences at Caraccas, whose inhabitants, instigated no doubt by some intriguing and factious persons, were guilty of *declaring themselves independent of the mother country, and of forming a governing junta to exercise this supposed independent authority, when it determined to take the most active and efficacious means to attack the evil in its origin, and prevent its progress.* But in order to proceed with mature deliberation, the regency consulted the council of Spain and the Indies, and has taken such measures as will answer the end proposed, particularly as neither the province of Maracaibo, nor the department of Coro, have ta-

\* Walton's Expose to the king of England.



ken part in the criminal proceedings ; but, *on the contrary, have acknowledged the council of regency, and taken the most efficacious measures to oppose the absurd idea of Caraccas declaring herself independent, without being possessed of the means of obtaining this independence!* The regency hereby declares the province of Caraccas in a state of rigorous blockade," &c. "These resolutions do not extend to the above-mentioned divisions, which, having refused to follow the pernicious example of Caraccas, have manifested their constant fidelity by opposing the plan of rebellion, which only originated in the unlimited ambition of some persons, and in the blind credulity of others, who suffered themselves to be hurried away by the ardent passions of their fellow countrymen. The regency has taken the most secure measures to extirpate these evils, and to punish the authors of them with all the rigour which the rights of sovereignty authorize it to use, unless there be a previous and voluntary submission, in which case the regency grants them a general pardon. The regency commands that these resolutions be circulated through all the Spanish dominions, that they may be carried into effect there as well as in foreign countries, and that they may act conformably to the measures taken for the blockade of the said coasts," &c.

If the causes which led to the revolution in the British colonies in America, were unlike those which occasioned the first movements of that in the Spanish colonies, the conduct of the two parent governments, occasioned by the first proceedings of the colonies, were very similar, and proceeded from the same feelings. The blockade of Caraccas, is a measure that compares very well with the Boston Port Bill, and other acts of Parliament, which instantly followed the news of the destruction of the tea ; and although, perhaps, more violent, it was dictated by the same spirit, and justified on the same principles.

This decree of the regency was a declaration of war, and its authors, without inquiring into the causes which occasioned the measures pursued in the colonies, or making a single effort for conciliation, rashly plunged the two countries into all the horrors of civil war. The answer of the junta of Caraccas, to the Marquis de las Hermandades, minister in Spain, containing an expose of the reasons which occasioned the establishment of the junta, and justifying the measure, instead of tending to allay the feelings of the regency, and the people of Spain, greatly inflamed them ; and the intelligence, that other colonies were following the examples of Caraccas, excited their resentment to the highest pitch. The Cortes had been convened, and both the government and the people seemed ripe for war, and thirsting for vengeance. The severest invectives, reproaches, and sarcasms, against the Americans, were published in the Cadiz newspapers ; and the most vio-

lent measures were adopted, not only calculated, but intended to enkindle the flames of civil war in America, and thus either coerce her into an acknowledgment of the authority of Spain, whatever it might be, or make her destroy herself. Agents or emissaries were sent to Porto Rico, Monte Video, Panama, and Mexico, for the purpose of arousing political and religious prejudices in favour of Spain, and against the new governments in America, and by making promises to some, and threatening others, to produce dissensions among the patriots, and thus destroy the new governments in the bud. But the principal reliance of the rulers of Spain was on the sword; and consequently, troops were sent to Monte Video, Vera Cruz, Coro, Santa Martha, and Panama, with a view to dragoon the Americans into submission; although at this time every soldier was wanted at home for the defence of the country. The rage, however, which prevailed against the invaders of their own country, violent as it was, did not equal that towards the rebellious Americans. The animosity of the Cortes against the colonists, corresponded with the feelings of the regency; and although some Americans, who happened at the time to be in the Isle of Leon, were chosen members of the Cortes, so strong were the feelings of that body, they scarcely dared to speak in favour of their countrymen.

Such was the spirit which animated the councils of Spain, and dictated the measures they adopted towards America; and their agents and officers in the colonies, exasperated by the loss of power, or alarmed from an apprehension of it, were fit instruments to execute measures of vengeance, to scatter the firebrands of civil dissensions, and carry on a vindictive and sanguinary war, the object of which was, either to subjugate the rebellious Americans, or to extirminate them. Those who possess supreme power, however acquired, regard the invasion of it as the greatest of crimes. The patriots of America were denounced as rebels and traitors, and the vengeance of the state, and the anathemas of the church were directed against them. That a contest commenced under such auspices should have become a war of extermination, and in its progress have exhibited horrid scenes of cruelty, desolation, and deliberate bloodshed; that all offers of accommodation should be repelled with insult or outrage; capitulations violated, public faith disregarded, prisoners of war cruelly massacred, and the inhabitants persecuted, imprisoned, and put to death, cannot occasion surprise. As violence and cruelty produce the bitter spirit of recrimination and revenge, the outrages of the Spaniards exasperated the Americans, and led to retaliation, which rendered the contest a *war of death*, as it was often called, characterised by a ferocious and savage spirit, scarcely surpassed by that of the Cortes and Pizarros, who first

desolated this fair portion of the earth, and drenched its mountains and plains with the blood of its innocent inhabitants. The events of the revolutionary struggle, which we have now commenced narrating, will fully justify us in what we have asserted as to the spirit and conduct of the Spanish chiefs and rulers; in charging them with the first disregard of the laws of war among civilized nations, and the first outrages against the rights of humanity. The violent measures of the Spanish rulers, and the furious and cruel conduct of their agents in America towards the patriots, produced an effect directly contrary from what was expected; but nevertheless, what was natural, and would have been foreseen, had they taken counsel from their understandings, instead of their mortified pride and exasperated feelings. The high-toned measures, enforced with rigour and cruelty, which it was expected would have intimidated the patriots, and stifled the spirit of independence, only served, like violent winds, acting on half extinguished coals, to enliven its latent sparks, and blow them into a flame. The authority of a state over its colonies, especially when at a great distance, cannot long be supported on any other basis than that of mutual affection and attachment between the inhabitants of the two countries. Spain, notwithstanding the example of Great Britain, from which she might have profited, seems to have entirely disregarded this maxim; and instead of attempting to allay the spirit of disaffection, which disclosed itself, and restore the mutual attachments and confidence between the two countries, by injustice and cruelty, alienated the affections of the colonists from the parent country; dissolved the ties of fraternity, and kindled, from a few sparks, a revolutionary flame, which spread through all her dominions. In consequence of the tyrannical and persecuting conduct of the Spanish rulers at home and in America, so wide had the disaffection spread, and to such a degree were the people alienated from Spain, and irritated against their oppressors, that in one year they became ripe for a revolution and prepared to assume the responsibility of taking the reins of government into their own hands; of declaring to the world "that they were, and of right ought to be, free, sovereign, and independent," at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

Caraccas took the lead, and a congress of the several provinces in Venezuela was convened, which on the 5th of July, 1811, in imitation of the American congress, just thirty-five years before, published a declaration of independence; containing the reasons which impelled them to the separation, and pledging their lives, fortunes, and the sacred tie of national honour, to maintain it.

The noble example of Venezuela was followed by Carthagena, Socorro, Tunja, Pamplona, Antioquia, and the other provinces forming the confederation of New Granada, and likewise by Mexi-

co, which published similar declarations ; and at a later period Buenos Ayres, also, promulgated a declaration of independence.

The proceedings in America opened the eyes of the Cortes of Spain to the tendency of their conduct, and perceiving that they were driving the Americans to a separation, they became alarmed, and had recourse, after it was too late, to conciliatory measures. The members of the Cortes, who belonged to America, had submitted a plan for the accommodation of the differences existing between Spain and her colonies, but the Cortes had refused even to consider it ; yet in January, 1811, their project, containing eleven propositions, was discussed ; and, notwithstanding the apprehensions of the Cortes, arising from the movements in America, they remained not only deaf to the calls of justice, but insensible to the dictates of expediency. The project was rejected, three propositions only being approved. As these propositions reflect light on the dispute between America and Spain, and at the same time, tend to show the restrictions and oppressions, under which the colonies have suffered for ages, it deserves a place in the history of the revolution which separated the two countries.

“ 1st. In conformity to the decree of the central junta, dated the 15th of October, 1809, which declared the inhabitants of Spanish America equal in rights to those of the peninsula, the national representation of every part of Spanish America, the Spanish West Indies, and the Philippine Islands, including every class of their inhabitants, shall be the same in form, manner, and without distinction, as in the kingdom and islands of European Spain.

“ 2dly. The free natives and inhabitants of Spanish America shall be allowed to plant and cultivate whatever their climate will produce ; with license to encourage industry, and to promote manufactures and arts in their fullest extent.

“ 3dly. Spanish America shall enjoy the liberty of exporting her own natural and manufactured productions to the peninsula, as well as to the allies, and to neutral nations ; and of importing whatever she may want. All her ports are consequently to be opened.” This and the preceding demand were agreed to, but the order to carry them into execution was never published.

“ 4thly. There shall be a free trade between Spanish America and the Spanish settlements in Asia. Every thing militating against this freedom to be abolished.

“ 5thly. Freedom of trade to be granted from all the ports in Spanish America and the Philippine Islands to other parts of Asia. Any law existing contrary to such freedom to be annulled.

“ 6thly. All estancos or monopolies in favour of the public treasury, or of the king, shall be suppressed ; but the public treasury shall be indemnified for the loss of profit arising from such monopoly by new duties on the same articles.

"7thly. The working of the quicksilver mines shall be free in Spanish America, but the administration of the produce shall remain in charge of the officers of the minery department, independent of the viceroys and captain-general, and officers of the *real Hacienda*." This was granted, and orders were published for carrying it into execution in the provinces under the Spaniards.

"8thly. All Spanish Americans shall be eligible equally with Spaniards to all appointments of rank or emolument, whether at court or in any part of the monarchy, either in political, military, or ecclesiastical departments.

"9thly. Consulting the natural protection of each kingdom in Spanish America, half of the public appointments shall be filled by Spanish subjects born in America.

"10thly. That the above stipulations may be punctually adhered to, a consultive junta shall be formed in each capital, to the intent that it may propose persons suited to fill each vacancy."

It is curious to notice the fluctuating policy of both France and England, as to the dispute between Spain and her colonies. After the occurrences at Bayonne, France attempted to acquire dominion over America as an appendage of Spain, and wished to maintain the dependence of the former on the latter. But they soon became satisfied from the extreme repugnance manifested by the Americans to their dominion, that whatever might be the event of the war as to old Spain, the colonies would never acknowledge or submit to the sway of France. The Bonapartes, therefore, changed their views, and became the abettors of the independence of America, for the purpose of cutting off from Spain the pecuniary resources she derived from her colonies, as well as to weaken her by involving her in a civil war. Thus, whilst all the different governments in the Spanish peninsula, maintaining the rights of Ferdinand, were opposing the independence of America, Joseph Bonaparte, claiming the throne of Spain, against whose sovereignty the Americans had shown so much hostility, was attempting to promote it. He despatched agents to America for the purpose of exciting and encouraging the revolution there; giving them full and minute instructions, embracing even the motto to be inscribed on the revolutionary banners, which was, "Long live the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, and perish the bad government." These instructions were given to M. Desmoulard, of Baltimore, who was the principal agent of Joseph Bonaparte, and to other emissaries sent into the colonies.

A copy of these instructions was found in Caraccas in the office of the secretary of the junta, and forwarded to the admiral of the Barbadoes station, as a caution against the intrigues of the Bonapartes.\* The French agents penetrated into different parts

\* See Outline of the Revolution, p. 55.

of the American settlements, and one of them was discovered in the town of Habana, and shot.

The court of St. James, in 1797, openly encouraged a revolution in Venezuela, as appears by the proclamation of the governor of Trinidad, which we have copied in this work. Spain then being an ally of France, and her resources wasted by Napoleon in supporting his wars against England and her allies, the British ministry wished to separate her colonies from Spain, to deprive her of the supplies she received from them, and also to secure to Great Britain a lucrative trade with America. But after the general rising in Spain against Bonaparte, the tables were turned, and the Spaniards, from being the enemies of Great Britain, became her friends and allies. Feeling interested in the success of the war prosecuting in the Spanish peninsula against France, Great Britain became the mediator between Spain and her colonies, and in June, 1810, Lord Liverpool wrote to general Layard, governor of Curacao, "that his Britannic majesty had strong reasons for hoping that the inhabitants of Caraccas would acknowledge the authority of the regency of Spain." The governor sent copies of this letter to the government at Caraccas, and also to the regency at Cadiz, in both of which places it was published; and soon after colonel Robertson, the secretary of the governor of Curacao, arrived at Caraccas, with the evident design of promoting the wish of the British cabinet; but perceiving how universal the disaffection of the inhabitants was towards the regency of Spain, he did not communicate the object of his mission. Not discouraged, however, in her efforts to restore harmony between Spain and her colonies, in April, 1811, Great Britain offered her mediation, which was accepted by the Cortes, on certain conditions; among which, the principal were, that the revolted provinces should swear allegiance to the Cortes and regency; and in case the Americans should not accede to the terms proposed, that the British government should engage to assist Spain to subdue them by force. Unreasonable as these terms were, the British government appointed commissioners; but probably from an expectation that the Cortes might be induced to accede to more liberal terms of accommodation. In 1812, the British government submitted to the Cortes the following propositions, as the basis on which they would undertake the mediation:

"1st. That there should be a cessation of hostilities between Spain and Spanish America.

"2dly. An amnesty shall be granted, and perfect oblivion of all acts, or even opinions that may have been expressed by the Spanish Americans against the Spaniards, or their government.

"3dly. That the Cortes shall confirm and enforce all the rights

of the Spanish Americans, and that they shall be allowed justly and liberally their representatives in the Cortes.

"4thly. That Spanish America should be permitted perfect freedom for commerce, though some degree of preference may be allowed to Spain.

"5thly. That the appointments of viceroys, governors, &c. shall be given indiscriminately to South Americans and Spaniards.

"6thly. That the interior government, and every branch of public administration, shall be intrusted to the cabildo, or municipalities, who shall act in conjunction with the chief of the provinces; and that the members of the cabildo shall be either South Americans or Spaniards, possessing property in the respective provinces.

"7thly. That Spanish America shall swear allegiance to Ferdinand VII. as soon as she is put in possession of her rights, and has sent deputies to the Cortes.

"8thly. That Spanish America shall acknowledge the sovereignty possessed by the Cortes, as representing Ferdinand VII.

"9thly. That Spanish America shall pledge herself to maintain a mutual and friendly intercourse with the peninsula.

"10thly. That Spanish America shall oblige herself to co-operate with the Cortes and the allies of Spain to preserve the peninsula from the power of France.

These proposals occasioned very long and animated debates in the Cortes, in secret session, and were finally rejected, principally on the grounds that the Americans had not solicited the mediation of England, and that the British government had sinister views in offering it. That to secure to themselves the commerce of the colonies, was the principal motive which prompted the interference of the British, there is no room to doubt. During the same period, the British minister at Cadiz was pressing the regency to obtain the privilege of opening a trade with their trans-atlantic dominions; in April, 1811, the subject being brought before the Cortes, occasioned much excitement among the merchants of Cadiz, and the papers were filled with invectives against the unreasonable demands and sinister friendship of England. On the 24th of July, the board of trade at Cadiz, discussed this question, and issued a protest, or manifesto, in which they assert, "that the Americans had not required the establishment of this free trade; that they even detested it as prejudicial to their interest: that Spain would be ruined, made the tool of foreigners, and that her merchants and manufactures being destroyed, she would herself lose all freedom: that, in short, this commerce would be subversive of religion, order, society, and morality." This reasoning seems to have convinced the Cortes; for in August following, the demands of the British were formally rejected.

After the establishment of the junta at Caraccas, in 1810, Don Telesford Orea was sent to Washington to solicit the friendship of the only republic then in the world ; and which, it was hoped, would approve of the stand they had assumed, if not aid them in sustaining it. It could hardly have been expected, that, at this early period, the government of the United States would compromise the peace of the republic, by directly or indirectly affording aid to a cause, (the nature and design of which they could know little,) and the issue of which was so uncertain. But from the very commencement of the contest—the first dawn of the light of liberty in Spanish America, the people of the United States sympathized with their brethren of the south in their political afflictions, and wished them success in the glorious cause in which they had embarked.

About the same time the Caraccas junta deputed Don Luis Lopez Mendez, and Don Simon Bolivar, a name that has since become illustrious, to solicit the support of the British government ; but the latter declined the mission. From the instructions given to Sir Thomas Picton, in 1797, by the minister of the colonial department, wherein the British government openly attempted to induce the inhabitants to revolt, and pledged itself to afford them assistance, the Venezuelans considered that they had a right to expect the countenance and succour of the British government. So deeply was this sentiment impressed on the minds of the inhabitants of Caraccas, both Spaniards and Americans, in 1810, that it had great influence on the revolutionary movement which took place at that time. But the war which broke out in the Spanish peninsula against Bonaparte, as has before been remarked, changed the policy of the English government ; and the only effect the agent of the junta of Caraccas produced, was an order in council, directing the governors of their West India islands to maintain a strict neutrality in the contest between Spain and her colonies, so long as the latter should act in the name of Ferdinand VII. This order not only excluded all hope of assistance from England, but seemed to imply, that if the patriots should declare themselves independent of Ferdinand, the British would take a part against them.



CHAPTER III.

*Measures of the junta of Caraccas—arrival of General Miranda—congress—plans of a constitution—patriotic society—conspiracy—execution of conspirators—operations at Valencia—formation of a constitution—conspiracy against the junta of New Granada—regency attempt to conciliate the colonies—junta of Carthage—congress of New Granada—civil dissensions—massacre at Quito—defeat of the royalists in Popayan—defeat of the patriots.*

IN the preceding chapter we have examined the leading causes of the revolution, and traced its events for a period of two years, both in respect to the relations between the colonies and Spain, and the conduct of the two parties towards each other ; and also in respect to the intentions and policy of England and France, relative to the revolution. We will now look into the interior of the revolution, view the political measures of the new governments, and proceed to enter on the distressing details of the dreadful war, which, for more than twelve years, raged with the greatest fury in Colombia.

The junta at Caraccas, organized in 1810, after deposing the Spanish authorities, of which the captain-general and members of the audience were sent to the United States, adopted several popular regulations ; they abolished the tribute paid by the Indians, and the slave trade, and removed the restrictions on commerce and agriculture, and made other reformatons, which the oppressed condition of the colony required. These decrees being published, by order of the junta, in the other provinces in Venezuela, all of them except Maracaibo, formed juntas in imitation of that of Caraccas ; they did not, however, acknowledge the supremacy of that, but proposed a general congress for all the provinces of Venezuela. Soon after the establishment of the junta in Guiana, the Spaniards, gaining the ascendancy, it declared against the junta of Caraccas, and in favour of the regency of Cadiz. Don Fernando Miyares, governor of Maracaibo, opposing the innovations at Caraccas, arrested the deputies sent there, and confined them in the dungeons of Porto Rico, from which, after severe suffering, they were liberated by the interference of admiral Cochrane.

After the regency of Spain declared all the ports belonging to the new government in a state of blockade, it despatched Don N. Cortavarria as commissioner, clothed with absolute authority to reduce the rebellious Venezuelans to unconditional submission, should they not listen to reason, and return to obedience. He exhorted the inhabitants not to suffer themselves to be led astray by designing men, but to abandon their evil counsels, and, like dutiful children, return to the arms of the best of parents. He promised that if they would dissolve their illegal governments, then Spain would redress their grievances. His proclamations were answered, and his designs exposed, in the papers at Caracas, which induced him to have recourse to secret means. Emisseries were accordingly sent into all parts of Venezuela, to work on the prejudices and fears of the people, and to produce a counter revolution. The prompt resistance of the governor of Maracaibo to the revolutionary measures, was so pleasing to the regency of Cadiz, that he was appointed captain-general of Venezuela. To guard against any measures of opposition which he might pursue, and to watch his movements, the Caracas junta sent the marquis del Toro with a body of troops to Corora, which occasioned two of the departments of the province of Maracaibo to dissolve their connexion with that province, and place themselves under the protection of the marquis, and the junta of the province of Barinas. Troops were sent under Don Diego del Toro, and Don Pedro Brizeno for the protection of those departments. Agreeable to his instructions, the marquis del Toro opened a correspondence with Miyares, the captain-general, and attempted to convince him of the necessity and advantages of uniting the province of Maracaibo with the rest of Venezuela, but without success.

Believing that the inhabitants of the province of Maracaibo were generally disposed to join their brethren of the other provinces of Venezuela, since several attempts at insurrection had been made in the town of Maracaibo, and great alarm experienced from an apprehension of the arrival of troops from Spain, the marquis del Toro communicated to the government at Caracas an opinion, that if Coro, one of the departments of the province of Caracas, which held out against the new government, were attacked, and the royal party subdued, Maracaibo would join in the general cause. This measure being approved of by the junta, the marquis del Toro entered the department of Coro, in November, 1810, and, at first, all resistance yielding before him, he took possession of the capital, of the same name with the department. From the town of Coro, to Corora, from whence the army had marched, is a distance of 120 miles; the country is uncultivated and sandy, and from a neglect of the general to station his forces

so as to preserve a communication with Corora, his provisions for the army failed. Being disappointed also in the co-operation of the ships of war which sailed from Porto Cavello for that purpose, the marquis del Toro was compelled to retreat, and relinquish the object of the expedition. But as the retreat was not effected without difficulty and hard fighting, something was gained by the expedition, as it tended to increase the confidence of the government and the people in the army.

At the close of the year 1810, general Miranda arrived at Caraccas from England, contrary to the wishes of the government, which had instructed its deputy sent to London to oppose his return to his native country at present. The reason of this was, the junta of Caraccas believed that the return of Miranda to Venezuela, which would be presumed to be in pursuance of the desire of the government, would have an unfavourable influence on the cause, in consequence of the known revolutionary designs of Miranda, and his repeated attempts to free Venezuela from the dominion of Spain. As the ostensible views of the new government did not go so far as those of general Miranda, they could not consistently invite him into the country, or entrust him with any employment.

The general congress for all the provinces of Venezuela convened for its first session on the 2d of March, 1811, and was constituted according to the regulations adopted by the supreme junta of Caraccas; which provided for taking a census of the population, for forming the electoral colleges; and which fixed the ratio of representation, and the mode of election. One representative was allowed for every twenty thousand persons; about fifty deputies were elected, and took their seats in the congress. The junta, to expedite the business of the congress, had, previous to their meeting, appointed a committee, consisting of Don F. X. Ustariz, Don Fermin Paul, general Miranda, Don J. Roscio and others, to frame a constitution, to be submitted to the congress. The committee, after several conferences, with the exception of Miranda, united in the opinion that a confederation was the best form of government for Venezuela. General Miranda's opinion was widely different; he laid before the committee a plan of a constitution, the same he had intended presenting to the people, had he succeeded in his attempt to revolutionize Terra Firma in 1806. It was designed for a more extensive territory than Venezuela, and did not essentially differ from the Spanish colonial system. Miranda, who had been received at first with jealousy, greatly increased the fears which prevailed of his entertaining ambitious views, by his constitutional project. And although the most distinguished advocates of independence had full confidence in his integrity, and highly venerated his talents and patriotism,

his friends could not obtain an election for him to the congress, except in the insignificant department of Araguaita, in Barcelona. As is usual with a state which has just emerged from oppression, the congress disclosed much jealousy, and experienced much difficulty in disposing of the executive power. At length, however, in the month of April, they entrusted it to three persons, named by the congress, but so limited and restricted, as evinced their fears of its subverting the other branches of the government.

The congress was not united, even on the main question; a party existed in favour of a re-union with Spain; but a decided majority were advocates for independence, and the minority were afraid to declare their sentiments, in consequence of the enthusiasm of the people of Caraccas in the revolutionary cause. General Miranda, sensible that intelligence was all that was necessary to increase the partisans of the revolution, in conjunction with Don Francisco Espejo, a distinguished lawyer, established a club, called the *Patriotic Society*, for the discussion of political questions, and all topics relating to the general welfare of the state.

The 19th of April, the anniversary of the revolution was celebrated by the inhabitants of Caraccas, with an enthusiasm which nothing but the spirit of liberty could inspire. After service in the churches, all the inhabitants appeared in the streets, richly and appropriately dressed, wearing cockades on their hats, composed of blue, red, and yellow ribands. The city was filled with rejoicing, the streets were lined with crowds of all classes, with countenances beaming with joy; even many parties of Indians collected in the environs of the town, and by dancing, and various sports, according to their customs, evinced that three hundred years of slavery and oppression had not extinguished from their race the sacred spark of liberty, or rendered them insensible to its blessings. The patriotic society moved in procession through the principal streets, adorned with badges of liberty, and bearing appropriate ensigns. At night, the scene became more deeply interesting and sublime; the general joy seemed to increase; the city was illuminated throughout, and in the public and many of the private buildings, the transparencies displayed with good taste, appropriate and patriotic mottos and inscriptions. Bands of music paraded the streets, which, with numerous parties of singers, filled the air with melody and song, which tended to diffuse the joyous and patriotic feelings that universally prevailed.

But the congress wanted courage and energy to profit from the enthusiasm of the people; by a temporizing and indecisive conduct, the confidence of the inhabitants in the government began to be weakened, and their enthusiasm declined. Several attempts to overthrow the government were detected, and the conspirators

were only banished or imprisoned. In June, 1811, a most alarming plot was discovered, just as it was on the point of breaking out. This convinced the government and the people, that it was necessary to adopt more decisive measures. Their condition, however, was critical and embarrassing; they had established a government, disavowed the existing authorities of Spain, and by these steps occasioned the parent country to make war upon them, although they had not declared themselves independent. They had brought on their country the evils of war, and were exposed to be punished as rebels; yet, unless they declared the country independent of Spain, they had no object in view, in any degree corresponding with such sacrifices. This subject was taken up and discussed in the patriotic society, and the prevailing opinion seemed to be, that nothing but a declaration of entire independence could save the country from ruin. Encouraged by these favourable sentiments among the people, a declaration of independence was proposed in the congress, and after being debated at great length, and with much earnestness, was finally adopted on the 5th of July, 1811.\*

The good effects of the measure were immediately perceived; it gave energy to the government, and the principal conspirators were arrested. Their plan was to have secured the main barrack, by means of the treachery of a Spanish serjeant, in the employ of the new government, which would have supplied them with ammunition and arms, and then to have attacked the town, in which several hundred of the conspirators were concealed, who would have joined in the assault the moment the first cannon was fired from the barracks. Had it succeeded, the three members of the executive, and the leading members of congress, were to have been instantly executed, and the remaining members sent to Spain. Notwithstanding the arrest of the leaders, the conspirators began to assemble at about three o'clock in the morning on the 11th of July, in that part of the city called Las-tegues; but the people who were apprised of the danger, were prepared to meet them, and after some resistance they were captured and thrown into prison. The day preceding this event, an insurrection broke out at Valencia, situated in the interior, more than 100 miles from Caraccas.—The Spaniards residing in the town surprised and took possession of the barracks, garrisoned by a few soldiers, and were joined by many of the other inhabitants who were disaffected with the congress in consequence of its having opposed their plan of separating themselves from Caraccas, and forming a new province. Arms had been privately introduced into the town by the Spa-

\* The length of this document prevents its being embodied in this work. It is drawn up in imitation of the declaration by the North American congress, and may be found in the outline of the Revolution, page 45.

nards, which being put into the hands of the insurgents, they prepared to defend the town against the government.

The appearance of a new and unexpected enemy, the offspring of disaffection, greatly embarrassed and perplexed the government ; they knew not how far the disaffection extended, nor scarcely whom to trust. Besides, the conspirators arrested, refused to disclose their accomplices, from an expectation that their numbers were such, that with the assistance of the Spanish troops they should prevail, by which means they would be released. It was thought expedient to crush the insurrection in the germ, and immediately to attack the conspirators at Valencia ; but the troops were required at Caraccas for the protection of the town and the government. In this dilemma, the government appealed to the inhabitants, and a sufficient number appeared in arms for the defence of the place. General Tozo was then sent against Valencia. In the meantime, ten of the conspirators were tried, condemned, and executed, and their heads placed on poles, according to a barbarous custom of the inhabitants, at the entrance of the city. Distrusting the military talents of the marquis del Toro, the congress ordered general Miranda to take command of the army sent against Valencia. The insurgents had fortified two hills near the town, which commanded the road leading into it ; one of which had been attacked and carried by general Toro, before the arrival of Miranda, but with a very heavy loss to the patriots. Miranda, who by his appointment regained some part of his lost popularity, forced the other pass, stormed and entered the town, and drove a party of the royalists into the barrack called *de los pardas*. There they were attacked ; but with such determination did they defend the position, that the patriots were several times repulsed with great loss. This encouraged the royalists in the town, who, from the windows and roofs of the houses, and from the towers of the churches and monasteries, poured showers of musketry on the troops with such destructive effect, that Miranda was obliged to retire from the town. He retreated to Mariara, twelve miles from Valencia, one of the hills that had been fortified by the royalists, where he remained until the next month, when, being re-enforced, he assaulted and took possession of the town, and dispersed the royalists. Miranda was now at the head of four thousand troops, with which he proposed to invade the department of Coro ; and although the executive was in favour of the proposal, it was defeated by the jealousy of the congress, and the opposition of his enemies, whose animosity was revived by his recent success.

The formation of a constitution had attracted the public attention since the publication of the declaration of Independence. A correspondence on the subject was carried on between Don F.

X. Ustariz and Don J. Roscio, two of the committee to whom the subject had been referred, with several individuals in Santa Fe de Bogota, and others in the interior of Venezuela, which, being published, seemed to interest every one. A series of essays also were published in the Caraccas Gazette, written by one Burk, an Irishman, which, as well as the correspondence, was designed to convince the people that a federative republic, like that of the United States, was the best form of government for Venezuela. Burk was patronised by Ustariz, Roscio, and others, who were warm advocates of the federative system; and being well acquainted with the principles of the British and American constitutions, he exhibited the advantages of the plan proposed, confirmed and illustrated by the happy experience of the United States, in so striking a manner as to produce an enthusiastic admiration of a federal republic, which was almost universal. This sentiment prevailed also extensively in New Granada. The subject was entered upon in congress, and after debating the question several months, a constitution was prepared, approved of by that body, and offered to the people for their sanction on the 23d of December. Its outlines were similar to those of the constitution of the United States, in respect to the form or frame of the government, but in two particulars, at least, it differed very materially; it established the Roman Catholic religion as that of the state, and did not preserve a unity of power in the executive branch, that being confined to three persons, to be chosen by the electoral colleges. The legislative power was reposed in a congress consisting of a house of representatives, and a senate, the former chosen by the electoral colleges, and the latter by the provincial legislatures; its authority was defined and limited, and the powers of the legislatures of the several states or provinces were limited. A judiciary was to be organized, with a jurisdiction as to matters relating to the federal compact and national concerns. It recognised the sovereignty of the people, declared the mulattoes and other casts eligible to any employment in the state; abolished the use of the torture, the trade in slaves, the tribute of the Indians, and provided for their civilization. Maracaibo and Guiana were to be admitted into the confederacy as soon as they should be free from the dominion of Spain. A federal territory was acquired where the government was to be established, in imitation of the United States; the town of Valencia was ceded to the confederacy, and the congress opened its first session there under the new constitution, in March, 1812.

The territory comprising the present republic of Colombia, consisted, whilst under Spain, it will be remembered, of two distinct governments; Venezuela and New Granada, each com-

prising a number of provinces. When the authority of the regency of Spain was disobeyed, in 1810, these territories acted separately, although with some degree of concert, and established separate juntas and provisional governments. Some of the provinces, also, availing themselves of the general disorder, attempted to withdraw themselves from their political connexions, and established governments for themselves. This led to much confusion, and in some instances, to war, among the different independent governments ; at the same time, that they were all at war with Spain. It also served to disconnect the events of the revolution, so that it becomes necessary to trace them, for some time at least, distinctly in each of the new governments. We commenced with Caraccas, or Venezuela, and having traced the events of the revolution down to the establishment of the constitution, we will return to the opening of the bloody drama in New Granada.

The government of New Granada comprised twenty-two provinces, situated between Venezuela, Peru, and Guatemala. These provinces contained two and a half millions of inhabitants, and the capital, Santa Fe de Bogota, nearly thirty-five thousand.

It has been stated, that on receiving intelligence from Spain of the dispersion of the central junta, and the creation of the regency, a junta was established at Santa Fe de Bogota, in July 1810, by a public meeting assembled under the sanction of the viceroy. This junta at first chose Don A. Amar, the viceroy, president, and acknowledged the authority of the regency at Cadiz. In a few days the junta, alarmed by the report of a conspiracy formed by the viceroy, and the members of the audience for their safety caused the viceroy and most of the members of the audience to be arrested and sent to Carthagena, from whence they were conveyed to Spain. The junta disavowed the authority of the regency, and published a manifesto, inviting the several provinces of New Granada to send deputies to a congress at Santa Fe de Bogota, to establish a provincial government, during the captivity of the king. Nine of the provinces, namely, Tunja, Pamplona, Casanare, Carthagena, Socorro, Antioquia, Choco, Neyva, and Mariquita, declared in favour of the revolution. Santa Martha was also in favour of the revolution, yet acknowledged the authority of the regency ; but some months afterwards, the junta of the province was overthrown by the intrigues of the Spaniards, and a new one created, entirely devoted to Spain. In Popayan, the governor called a public meeting of the most considerable persons in the province, which decided that it was expedient to establish a junta ; but the governor, chagrined at their conduct, dissolved the assembly, and raised troops to attack the junta at Santa Fe. The latter, however, aware of the hostile de-



signs of the governor, and to check his career, had despatched Baraya with a body of troops to watch and oppose him. An action was fought about twelve miles from the town of Popayan, in the beginning of the year 1811, in which Tacon, the governor, was defeated. The regency of Spain, alarmed at the progress and diffusion of the disaffection, attempted to conciliate the inhabitants of New Granada by sending among them two of their countrymen, Don A. Villavicencio, and Don C. Montufar, as commissioners to support the authority of the regency ; but they did not arrive until the revolution had progressed too far, and the public mind had become too deeply imbued with liberal sentiments to admit of their accomplishing the object of their mission.

Montufar arrived at Quito a few days after the massacre of the inhabitants on the 2d of August, 1810, by the troops sent from Lima ; which so exasperated the people, that, with no other weapons than knives and clubs, they attacked the soldiers with such fury as induced the Spanish authorities to order the troops to withdraw from the city, and to pass a decree of oblivion in favour of the inhabitants. Taking advantage of the fears of the Spanish authorities, Montufar prevailed on them to establish a junta for the province. This junta is the only one of which the regency of Spain approved.

In September, 1810, the junta of Carthagena issued a manifesto, setting forth the advantages which would result to New Granada, by a union of all the provinces in a federal government ; and at the same time conceding that the provinces were absolved from their political connexion, and had a right to adopt what form of government they pleased ; for as the cessions at Bayonne destroyed the compact between Spain and America, so the revolution at Santa Fe severed the bond of union which had bound together the provinces of New Granada. This reasoning, calculated to mislead, was carried still farther by the inhabitants of some of the departments, who supposed, that if the revolution had dissolved the political bands which united the provinces, it had also broken the ties which had connected together the different departments of the same province. Mompox, a department of Carthagena, adopting the fallacious and dangerous reasoning of the junta of the province, proceeded to form a junta for the department, and also to appoint deputies to the congress to be held at Santa Fe. The government of Carthagena, not willing to have their doctrine applied to their own province by its departments, sent a military force under Don N. Ayos, and compelled Mompox to return to her connexion with Carthagena.

Near the close of the year 1810, the junta of Caraccas sent an ambassador to the new government at Santa Fe, and an alliance

was entered into between them for their mutual protection. In December, some of the deputies to the general congress had assembled at Santa Fe. Several deputies also arrived from departments, which, like Mompox, were disposed to be formed into separate provinces. This gave rise to a question which threatened to increase the existing difficulties, whether the deputies from the departments should be admitted to their seats in the congress. At length, by the influence of Don A. Narino, secretary to the congress, it was agreed to suspend the decision, to give time to bring about an accommodation of the dispute. The pretensions of the departments were finally silenced, and the congress, relieved from this difficulty, convened again. A confederacy, or compact, was formed by the representatives of Pamplona, Tunja, Neyva, Carthagena, and Antioquia, on the 27th of November, 1811, at Santa Fe de Bogota. The provinces retained the management of their local and internal concerns, and those of a general nature were confided to the federal congress. A supreme judicature was established to decide on questions growing out of the federal union, and the executive power, as well as the legislative, was intrusted to the congress.

The province of Cundinamarca disapproved of the articles of confederation, and refused to deliver up the mint, which it was required to do, by the stipulations made by the congress. An assembly of deputies of the province of Cundinamarca was convened by the junta of Santa Fe, its capital, to frame a constitution; and one being prepared, it was ratified on the 17th of April, 1812, by a convention called especially for that purpose. Thus the junta of Santa Fe, which gave the first impulse to the revolution in New Granada, by establishing a separate and opposing government for the province, were also the first to sow the seeds of dissension, which produced such bitter fruits. The constitution was a limited monarchy, acknowledging Ferdinand VII. ; but providing, that during the captivity of the king, a president, two counsellors, senators, judges of a supreme court of judicature, and the members of a military board, should be elected by the electoral colleges once every three years. The president possessed the executive power, but was to act in concert with the two counsellors, and the legislative power was confided to the senators and members of the high court of justice.

After the defeat of Tacon, the royal governor of Popayan, he fled to Pastos, where, for the purpose of raising an army to oppose the troops of Santa Fe, he liberated the slaves, and formed them into soldiers for the purpose of enslaving his countrymen. This was the first instance of slaves being instigated to revolt against their masters since the commencement of the revolution. The forces he raised by these base means, were not sufficient,

however, to oppose the troops sent against him by the juntas of Quito and Popayan ; and he was compelled to retreat to the south sea coast, near the port of San Buenaventura. Don N. Rodriguez having succeeded Baraya in the command of the army, pursued him closely, and completely defeated him at Isquande, near the close of the year 1811.

Don J. Lozano, president of the government of Cundinamarca, proposed to the provinces of New Granada to make a new division of their territory, the whole to form four parts, in each of which a subordinate republic was to be established, and these formed into a federal republic. This plan, he thought would give sufficient energy to the government to enable it to overcome the difficulties attending the establishment of their Independence. The plan was opposed by the junta of Cartagena, and also by the congress then in session, at the town of Ibagua, where it had removed from Santa Fe after Cundinamarca refused to enter into the confederacy. Lozano, resigning his situation as president, was succeeded by Don A. Narino, who was not in favour of the proposed federal government, but wished to establish one more energetic. In his project he was supported by the provinces of Mariquita, Neyva, and Socorro ; Tunja was also inclined to favour his plan, when a body of the troops of Cundinamarca, under Baraya, stationed in the town of Tunja, declared against Narino, and in favour of the congress. This induced the congress immediately to remove to Tunja, and occasioned a civil war between the adherents of Narino and those of the congress, in the beginning of the year 1812. An action was fought at Paloblanco, in the province of Socorro, in which Narino's troops were defeated, and the agents of the congress, availing themselves of this success, persuaded Mariquita and Neyva to join the confederacy. The congress, in consequence, removed to the town of Neyva, in October, 1812. The army of the confederacy was again successful at Ventaquemada, which enabled the forces of the congress to besiege Santa Fe de Bogota, in December. Narino resigned the presidency before this event, but the legislative power refused to accept it ; he proposed to the besiegers that he would quit New Granada, on condition that they would spare the lives and property of the inhabitants of the capital. This reasonable proposal was not acceded to ; the besiegers, confident of success, insisted on the surrender of the capital at discretion, which being refused, they stormed the city, but were repulsed with great loss, and a large part of their army was dispersed. A single division, under the command of Girardot, reached Tunja. A monument of stone, called *San Victorino*, was erected in that part of the city where the action was fought, with inscriptions explanatory of the signal victory which saved

the capital. These civil dissensions, arming the patriots against each other, who were engaged in the same contest, and that, a contest for liberty, were equally injurious and disgraceful to their cause.

The junta of Quito being threatened with hostilities from the royalists of the province of Cuenca, raised an army for its defence. The royal army of Cuenca was commanded by the bishop, and many of its officers were ecclesiastics, who carried black standards. To show that they felt the influence of the religion they professed, which teaches to "resist not evil," they assumed the name of *the army of death*. When the junta of the province of Quito was established in August, 1810, Ruiz de Castilla was named president; but when the regency of Spain approved of the junta, they appointed Molin to be its president. The junta refused to acknowledge him as president, and complained of his conduct to the Cortes of Spain. Placing himself at the head of the troops, which, after the massacre of the 2d of August, had retired from Quito to Guayaquil, he marched to attack Quito, and entered its territories, notwithstanding the Cortes had ordered him to desist from hostilities. He refused, however, to obey this order, on pretence that it had been obtained by false representations. Don C. Montufar commanded the troops of Quito, and was defeated by the royalists of Cuenca, which enabled the troops from Lima, under Montes, who had succeeded Molin in the command, to enter the town of Quito, on the 6th of November, 1812. The bloody Montes destroyed every thing before him; a scene of devastation and massacre was exhibited shocking to contemplate; one fifth of the inhabitants, who had remained to defend the city, were cruelly murdered; and, moreover, not satisfied with this slaughter, a detachment of his army was sent in pursuit of those who had fled from the town before its capture. And as if to show his triumphing in such vandalism, he gave an account of his bloody deeds, himself, in a letter of the 11th of November, addressed to the governor of Guayaquil. After the capture of Quito, Montes relinquished the command of the army to Don N. Samano, a Spanish officer, who was stationed at Santa Fe when the revolution broke out. Samano marched towards Santa Fe, and on his way took the town of Popayan. Previous to this, Don J. Caycedo, president of the junta of Quito, had fallen into the hands of the royalists of Pastos, who had also defeated the troops of the province of Popayan, commanded by Macaulay, a citizen of the United States, who, with many of his officers, were made prisoners. Caycedo, Macaulay, and the other prisoners, were all put to death by the royalists.

Alarmed at the progress of the royal forces, which was every where marked with rapine and massacre, the government of Cuen-

dinamarca and the congress were aroused to a necessity of throwing aside their feuds, and uniting in the common cause, and for their common safety. They agreed to unite their forces, and to intrust the command to Narino, the president, who by both governments was appointed dictator. The united troops amounted to eight thousand men, at the head of which Narino marched against the royalists under Samano. He engaged and defeated them at *El alto del Palace*, from whence they retreated to Tumbo, twenty miles south of the city of Popayan, where, being re-enforced, they advanced to Popayan, and encamped at Calivia. Here the Independents attacked them, and a most obstinate action was fought; the contest was maintained with that desperate fury on both sides which characterizes a civil war. Victory at length declared for the patriots, and the royalists were forced to retreat. Narino established a popular government at Popayan, and marched towards Pastos. Samano was superseded in the command of the Spanish army by Aymerci, who brought a re-enforcement of fresh troops from Quito. The provinces of Popayan and Pastos being situated in that part of the mountainous regions of the Andes, where the country, rising as it approaches the equator, is admirably calculated for defence; it abounds in advantageous positions and difficult defiles, easily fortified, and presents innumerable difficulties to an advancing army encumbered with baggage. Pastos is nearly 240 miles from Popayan. Narino on his way thither, engaged and defeated the royalists at *El alto de Juanambu*, *Los Tacmes*, and *Aranda*; but in these severe engagements he sustained the loss of many valuable officers, of whom Salazar, who was young and valiant, was universally admired, and his death deeply deplored. Hitherto the victories of Narino had cost him dear, and been productive of comparatively little advantage, as from the situation of the country, he had been unable to pursue the enemy; but having nearly reached the town of Pastos, he expected to reap the advantage of his exertions. At the moment, however, when the object of his expedition seemed within his grasp, it was wrested from him by the artifice, rather than by the bravery of the enemy. His army consisted of two divisions, of which he had the immediate command of the one in advance. The royalists succeeded by their spies in spreading a report among the rear division of the army, that Narino, with the advance, had been attacked and completely defeated, which caused great consternation in that part of the army; and the enemy, taking advantage of it, marched with most of their forces against Narino, and defeated and made him prisoner; thus verifying the truth of the premature report they had put in circulation. This defeat was so serious, that it was with great difficulty Don J. M. Cabal, who succeeded to the command, though a prudent and

skilful officer, could effect a retreat to Popayan, being hotly pursued by the royalists, flushed with victory, and thirsting for vengeance. Most of the prisoners were put to death; but it is remarkable that Narino was spared and sent a prisoner to Quito, thence to Lima, and finally to Cadiz in Spain.\*

The defeat near Pastos occurred in June, 1814, and the account of it reached the congress about the same time they received the disagreeable intelligence from Europe of the overthrow of Bonaparte and the restoration of Ferdinand to the throne of Spain, and of the defeat of the patriots in Venezuela.

\* "Don A. Narino is one of those few enterprising characters who had long viewed it with a prophetic eye, and even, in some measure, prepared the minds of the inhabitants of Santa Fe for independence. His opinions and wishes, too freely expressed in the early part of his youth, caused his imprisonment in 1794, and that of many of his friends, distinguished young men, at Santa Fe de Bogota. Duran, Cabal, Cortes, Umana, Narino, Zea, and others, were at that time sent to Spain under an escort. Narino escaped the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape in the very act of landing at Cadiz, and presented himself to the government at Madrid. Notwithstanding this act of submission, the Spanish government was going to order his arrest, when Narino again escaped, and went to France; from whence he came to England at the very epoch when Mr. Pitt's plan for separating Terra Firma from the Spanish government was in contemplation in 1796. Then Narino returned to New Granada, incognito, with the view of carrying it into effect, but he was discovered and confined many years; during which he suffered the hardships of poverty, close imprisonment, &c. At last, he regained his liberty, on condition that he should never quit Santa Fe, and that he should be always accompanied by a soldier. When the war in Spain commenced, the government of Santa Fe, being afraid of his uncommon powers of persuasion, as well as of the credit he possessed, had him arrested, ordering him to be sent to Carthagena; but Narino again escaped at *El Banco*, over the river Magdalena, and went to Santa Maria. A Spaniard, who knew the house where he was concealed, discovered it to the governor, who had him immediately taken, and then enforced the former orders of the government, by sending him to Carthagena, where he was thrown into the dungeons of Fort Bocachica. When the revolution took place he was released; but his health was greatly impaired, and his legs had suffered much from the fetters he had been compelled to wear during his imprisonment. Having been taken prisoner at Pastos, it is wonderful that he was not executed, as almost all the prisoners were at that time; but he was conducted to Quito, thence to Lima, and he is now confined at La Caracca, in Cadiz. One of his sons, Antonio, gave at Bocachica a noble example of filial duty and affection, by suffering himself to be imprisoned with his father, whose misfortunes, he wished, by sharing, to alleviate."—*Outline of the Revolution in South America.*

CHAPTER IV.

*Earthquake in Venezuela—its influence on the revolution—events of the war in Venezuela—success of the royalists—Caracas taken—capitulation of Miranda—violation of it by the royalists—dungeons of Porto Cavello filled with the patriots—Spanish authority re-established in Venezuela—Bolívar—he revives the war—penetrates into Venezuela—his success—the war of death—victories of the patriots—Bolívar enters Caracas, and liberates Venezuela—success of the patriots—the royalists arm the slaves—devastate the country—patriots again successful—battle of Carabobo—Bolívar defeated at La Puerta—royalists re-conquer Venezuela—surrender of Maturín.*

WE now resume the history of the revolution in Venezuela, which we had brought down to March, 1812, when congress commenced its first session under the new constitution. At this period the affairs of Venezuela were prosperous; the government was popular, and great unanimity prevailed among the people; the military force was adequate to the defence of the republic, and, as was thought, to expel the royalists from Guiana and Maracaibo. Commerce began to revive, to promote which, and at the same time to conciliate the good opinion of England, the congress reduced the duties four per cent. in favour of the manufactures and commerce of that country. Three thousand men, commanded by general Marino, were on the banks of the Orinoco, ready to cross and attack the royalists of Guiana in the city of Angostura; another corps of the republican troops was stationed at Barquisimeto, to check the royalists of Coro. But this prosperity in Venezuela, and all the hopes which it inspired, were annihilated in a moment. On the 26th of March, between the hours of four and five o'clock in the afternoon, one of those awful convulsions which the earth sometimes experiences, spread desolation and dismay over Venezuela. During a minute and fifteen seconds, the earth groaned and agonized in convulsions, which were attended with the most awful consequences; the towns of Caracas, La Guira, Mayquetia, Merida, and San-felipe, were laid in ruins, and Barquisimeto, Valencia, Victoria, and many others, were considerably injured. Nearly 20,000 persons fell victims to this tremendous earthquake. But the desolation, great as it was, was not the most serious part of this ca-

lamiy ; it raised up from its own ruins the most dangerous enemy to the liberties of Venezuela—bigotry, and the religious prejudices of a superstitious and priest-ridden people. The catastrophe occurred on Holy Thursday, when, in Roman Catholic countries, the people all commemorate the sufferings of the Redeemer, of which, representations are exhibited, and at the very hour when the people were crowding to the churches to attend to the ceremonies and join the processions. The troops, as is usual, were stationed at the entrance of the churches to follow the processions ; and most of the churches being thrown down, and also the principal barracks at Caraccas, a considerable number of the soldiers, as well as the citizens, were crushed to death and buried under the ruins ; most of the arms and ammunition were likewise destroyed. This calamity happening on the day and the very hour of a holy festival, the priests interpreted into a divine judgment, and a manifestation of the displeasure of the Almighty, at the abominable wickedness of attempting to secure their liberty. They proclaimed from the pulpit that a holy God had condemned the revolution, in language too audible not to be heard, and too distinct to be misunderstood ; and they denounced his vengeance on all who favoured it. They told the credulous people, that as the earth swallowed up the rebellious Korah and his crew, they were punished in the same way, for the same sin—rebellion against their government.

Aided by the consternation this catastrophe had occasioned, they made the credulous inhabitants almost believe that hell was opening its fiery jaws to devour them. And with an ignorant and superstitious people, accustomed to revere and implicitly to obey the clergy, their interested zeal produced an extensive and alarming effect.

At Barquisimeto as well as at Caraccas, the barracks were thrown down, and a considerable part of the troops buried under the ruins ; and Xalon, their commander, severely wounded. On the very day of this calamity, they were preparing to march to attack the royalists at Corora, which place they had taken possession of the day before. To fill the measure of the difficulties of the patriots, there was a serious deficit in the public treasury, and the paper currency which the congress had been obliged to issue, and which maintained its credit until the earthquake, since that event, had rapidly depreciated, and its circulation could only be kept up by severe penalties.

The congress, sensible that a crisis had occurred which threatened the existence of the republic, prepared to meet it. General Miranda was intrusted with the chief military command, and discretionary power conferred on him to raise troops, and in all things relating to the defence of the state, to act as he thought



best. After adopting the measures the condition of the country demanded, the congress adjourned to enable the members to serve in the army, or return to the provinces and attempt to rouse the people, dispirited and filled with superstitious fears, to a sense of the danger which threatened them and their country.

At the head of two thousand men, armed with the muskets saved from the ruins, Miranda marched to meet the enemy, who had advanced from Corora after the earthquake, and took possession of Barquisimeto without opposition. Here the royalists received constant re-enforcements, as the inhabitants, wishing to abandon a cause, frowned upon by heaven, were eager to ensure their own safety by enrolling themselves among its opposers. Monteverde, who commanded the royalists, moved on to Araure, where a detachment of the republicans was stationed under colonel F. Palaciosojó; but his troops refusing to fight, he was made a prisoner, and the place taken without exertion or sacrifice. Araure lies on the confines of those vast plains which form a considerable part of the provinces of Caraccas and Barinas, from which the cattle are obtained that supply the settlements in the mountainous parts of Venezuela, on which account it became an important object to possess it. For this purpose Monteverde sent a detachment of his army to invade Barinas, and with his main force marched to attack San Carlos. The latter place was entrusted to M. Carrabano, who made a vigorous defence; but the defection of his cavalry who went over to the royalists, decided the fate of the town. There was no force now opposed to Monteverde which could check his progress; and the army on the Oronoco was at too great a distance to re-enforce general Miranda.

The difficulties with which the patriots had to contend in defending the republic were greatly increased by the scattering population, the distance between the capitals of the different provinces, and the badness of the roads. The republican troops on the Oronoco sustained some loss on the 25th of March in crossing the river; but still they might have taken Angostura, had not the earthquake, together with the intelligence of the rapid successes of Monteverde disheartened them, which led to disaffection, and finally to desertion.

Monteverde advanced rapidly towards Caraccas, with an army flushed with victory, and impelled by an enthusiasm with which they had been inspired, by being made to believe that they were instruments in the hands of heaven in putting an end to the revolution, which God and the church had so emphatically condemned. To oppose his advance, Miranda ordered the evacuation of Valencia, and concentrated his forces in the pass, or defile, called La Cabrera, near the lakes Tacarigua, through which the high road

led. This was, doubtless, the best position to oppose an army invading Caraccas, on the western side; but the inhabitants of that district, ready to abandon the new government, in the hour of adversity, declared for the royal cause; and to recommend themselves to Monteverde, acquainted him with an obscure and unknown foot-path, which avoided the defile of La Cabrera. Monteverde, with much difficulty led his men by this route, which compelled Miranda to retreat to the town of Victoria, fifty miles from Caraccas. The royalists following closely in the rear of the republican army, attacked it on the last of June with great spirit, but were received with steadiness, and repulsed with loss. At this time, when Miranda's decisive and judicious conduct was giving discipline and confidence to the army, reviving the hopes of the people, and rousing them to exertions worthy of the occasion, a disastrous event occurred, which disconcerted all his plans, and served to extinguish the flickering blaze of the lamp of liberty. The Spanish prisoners at Porto Cavello, by the treachery of an officer on guard, obtained possession of the castle and fort in which they were confined. Simon Bolivar, then a colonel in the service of the republic, who had the command of the place, deemed it impossible to retake the fort by storm, without destroying the town; unwilling to do this, he embarked with his officers for La Guira. The fall of Porto Cavello, into the hands of the royalists, supplied them with ammunition, of which they were in great want, and opened to them a communication by sea with Coro and Porto Rico, whereby they could supply their army, which they had before been compelled to do, over land, for more than 450 miles. The intelligence of the fall of Porto Cavello reached Caraccas, and the army, on the 5th of July, while engaged in celebrating the anniversary of their independence; and greatly discouraged the people and dispirited the troops. The alarming aspect of affairs, and the general consternation which prevailed, occasioned disaffection among the people, and desertion among the troops. The forces of Miranda, too, being greatly inferior to those of Monteverde, and lessening daily by desertion, whilst the royalists were increasing, he dared not hazard an engagement. Besides this, the general was persuaded that Caraccas could not hold out long, as the country which supplied it with cattle was in the possession of the enemy. The Spaniards in the city, too, were prepared to revolt; and it had become necessary to arrest and confine them, as the only means of preventing it. Under these appalling circumstances Miranda and the executive power deemed it advisable to propose a capitulation. The offer was accepted by Monteverde, and the following terms agreed upon between him and the commissioners of Miranda, which were signed and ratified.

"1st. That the constitution offered by the Cortes to the Spanish nation should be established in Caraccas.

"2dly. That no one was to suffer for former opinions.

"3dly. That all private property was to be held sacred.

"4thly. That emigration was to be permitted to those who wished to quit Venezuela."

Thus Caraccas and the republican army fell into the hands of the royalists; and with them fell the republic of Venezuela. Happily, however, it did not fall, "never to rise again;" for from its ashes has sprung up a republic, which has not only been able to defend itself, but to assist in achieving the liberties of other parts of Spanish America.

To give a finishing stroke to the republic, its army sent against Guiana was defeated; and the Spanish government once more resumed its authority over Venezuela. But its power being re-established, the articles of the capitulation were forgotten; it did not comport with the dignity or honour of the Spanish government to keep its plighted faith with rebels; the capitulation was violated in the most shameful manner, and the patriots were as much exposed to the vengeance of the royalists, as they could have been, had there been no guarantee of their safety. Miranda and many others proceeded to La Guira, where they intended to embark for Carthage; but Don M. Cacas, military commandant of La Guira, caused them to be arrested, thinking by such conduct, which must be pronounced base, to gain favour with the conqueror. Miranda and nearly one thousand patriots were thrown into the dungeons of La Guira and Porto Cavello. Many were sent to Porto Rico, and a number to Cadiz, who were condemned by the Cortes, without trial, to an unlimited imprisonment. Some of those sent to Spain were Spaniards by birth, but had been employed in the service of the republic: the greater number, however, were South Americans, who were at length released by the remonstrances of the British government; in 1816, but the Spaniards were condemned to linger out a miserable existence in the dungeons of Ceuta.

Monteverde now had the power of restoring peace to a distracted country, which, after two years of civil war, greatly longed for repose. But instead of being a minister of peace, or attempting to sooth the irritations, and heal the wounds of the revolution, his heart was filled with vengeance. The inhabitants of Venezuela, being the first who shook off the Spanish yoke, and gave the first impulse to the revolution, it seems to have been deemed expedient to make an example of them, and by the severity of their punishment, to fill the insurgents in other parts of Spanish America with consternation, and thus check the revolution. But whether it was from any calculations of this kind, or merely from a spirit of ven-

geance, the whole population of Venezuela were proscribed, and Caraccas converted into one great prison. Every royalist became a public accuser; and to have supported the late government, even after it was established, was a crime in the eyes of a tyrant, which could only be expiated with blood. When all the dungeons were filled, other buildings which would admit of it, were converted into prisons; and it was said, with appearance of truth, that nearly the whole population were under confinement. These severe measures, in direct and open violation of the national faith, were not only justified by the government of Spain, but the minister of war in a report to the Cortes on the colonies, in October, 1813, complained "of the indulgence that had been shown to the insurgents of Caraccas."

But this cruel and oppressive conduct of the royalists was not more unjustifiable than it was impolitic. Had a mild and conciliatory course been pursued, it might have allayed, at least for some time, the revolutionary spirit; but oppression served to enkindle its latent sparks, and blow them once more into a flame. This broke out first in the province of Cumana, which had suffered least in the late disasters, and consequently was less weakened in its means of resistance. Don N. Marino, young, active, and brave, raised the standard of revolt, and collected a force with which he surprised and took the town of Maturin; here he was attacked by the Spaniards, but repulsed them; a second attack was made by Monteverde in person, and the royalists were again defeated.

The revival of the revolution in Venezuela was, however, principally owing to the same individual, who sustained and carried it through a long and sanguinary contest, and finally brought it to a conclusion; securing for his country, independence and liberty, and for himself the well-earned title of *The Liberator*. As the history of the revolution in Venezuela and New Granada, from this period, is in a great measure identified with that of the life and services of Don Simon Bolivar, it may be proper to introduce him more particularly to our readers, and to show what part he had acted previous to this period. Bolivar is a native of Caraccas, and belonged to one of the most respectable and wealthy families of that city. In his youth he went to Spain to complete his education, and there obtained permission to travel into France, England, and Italy. His liberal education, improved by travel, and an acquaintance with many of the enlightened men in Europe, early imbued his mind with liberal sentiments; and having witnessed the condition and character of an independent, if not a free people, he was deeply affected with the degradation and oppression of his native country. At Paris he attended on all public lectures, and attracted notice by his talents and learning; here

he contracted an intimacy with baron Humboldt and Bonpland, the celebrated South American travellers ; in company with whom he visited England, Italy, Switzerland, and a considerable part of Germany, and made himself acquainted with the political condition, the character, and habits of the people in these different countries. He had a fair opportunity of discovering the wonder-working influence of political and religious institutions on the human race ; that the social character of man is formed by them, and that they are the sources of the power, and prosperity of nations, as well as of their degradation, impoverishment, and oppression.

He discovered that *liberty* is the natural element of man, where alone his faculties attain their just growth and full developement, and which alone gives to him his proper rank and dignity in creation. As his soul warmed with the love of liberty, he more deeply lamented the enslaved and degraded condition of his own country. With these sentiments, he returned to Venezuela, just at the breaking out of the revolution. He inherited more than one thousand slaves, which he emancipated, and embarked his whole property, a princely income, in the revolutionary cause. He was solicited by the junta of Caraccas to go on an embassy to England, in conjunction with Don L. Lopez Mendez, but he declined it. Disapproving of the policy pursued by the congress, he remained in retirement at Caraccas until after the earthquake, when the storm, which was gathering over his country, called him forth in her defence. He was appointed a colonel, and intrusted, by Miranda, with the important command of Porto Cavello, which place, as has been stated, he was unfortunately obliged to abandon to the royalists. He disapproved of the capitulation of Miranda, and after Monteverde entered Caraccas, obtained from him as a special favour a passport to embark for Curracoa. From Curracoa he sailed to Carthagena, where he obtained from the junta, or government of the province, the command of a small body of troops, with which he freed the banks of the river Magdalena, from the power of the royalists, in the latter part of 1812. Satisfied that the Venezuelans were disposed, once more, to throw off the Spanish yoke, now more intolerable than before the revolution, he sent colonel Rivas, his second in command, to Tunja, to solicit of the congress of New Granada, then in session at that place, a re-enforcement of troops, to enable him to invade Venezuela. In the mean time, he advanced with his troops on the road to Ocana. The congress approving of the plan, and thinking they could not better promote the security of New Granada than by affording employment for the royalists in Venezuela, they supplied Bolivar with 600 men.

Thus re-enforced, he crossed the Andes with his little army,

and approached the river Tachira, which is the boundary between New Granada and Venezuela. He surprised the royalists at Cucuta, and dispersed them; and from thence despatched col. Nicholas Briceno, with several other officers, to Guadualito, to raise troops. Briceno, having raised a squadron of cavalry, invaded the province of Barinas; and in the mean time, Bolivar himself defeated the royalists at La Grita, and occupied the department of Merida. Briceno, after several successful engagements, was at length defeated, and himself and seven of his officers fell into the hands of the royalists, all of whom, Tiscar, the royal governor of Barinas, soon after executed, together with eight of the most respectable inhabitants of the town of Barinas, on the pretence that they were endeavouring to aid the enterprise of Briceno. Bolivar, who had hitherto treated the Spaniards who had fallen into his power, as prisoners of war, and with humanity, exasperated at such cruel and savage conduct, and believing that the war could not be conducted on such unequal principles, as that the captured on one side should enjoy the rights of prisoners of war, whilst those on the other were put to death like ferocious beasts, resolved on retaliation, and declared that, henceforth, the prisoners which he made, should be treated in the same manner as the royalists treated their prisoners. The contest, from this period, was called, and very appropriately, *the war of death—la guerra a muerte*.

The cruelties and oppressions of the royalists had so exasperated the people, that they rallied round Bolivar, as their deliverer, and his forces increased daily. This induced him to divide them into two corps, one of which he placed under colonel Rivas, and both were destined against the province of Caraccas. In passing through the province of Barinas and the department of Truxillo, the royalists were engaged and defeated at Niquitao, Betijoque, Carache, Barquisimeto, Barinas, and Lostaguanes. The last action in which Monteverde had collected his best troops, was decided by the desertion of his cavalry, who went over to Bolivar. With the remnant of his forces, Monteverde retreated to Porto Cavello. Bolivar now advanced rapidly on Caraccas, and the royal governor, alarmed for its security, called a council, composed of the officers of the garrison, the members of the audiencia, and the clergy, which agreed to propose terms of capitulation. The commissioners from the governor met Bolivar at Victoria, and although confident of entering the city, as it had no adequate force for its defence, he did not hesitate to accept the proposed terms. To prevent alarm, he declared that no person should suffer on account of his former attachment to the Spanish government, and that all who wished to emigrate, would be permitted to leave Venezuela, with their property. Fierro, the governor of

Caraccas, embarked, carrying away all the public and private property he could collect, and leaving at the mercy of the conqueror, nearly 1500 Spaniards, who had no means of escaping. The treaty of capitulation, notwithstanding this violation of it by the governor, was sent to Monteverde, at Porto Cavello, who declined ratifying it, for the wise reason, "that it was derogatory to the dignity of the Spanish nation to treat with insurgents."

Bolivar made a public entry into the capital, on the 4th of August, 1813. The first meeting of his troops and the inhabitants was deeply affecting and impressive; they embraced one another as friends and brethren who had long been parted, and who had toiled, suffered, and bled in the same cause. The dungeons and prisons were thrown open, and those victims of royal cruelty, whom a year's confinement had not relieved by death, were restored to their liberty, their friends, and their country.

Venezuela was now again rescued from the dominion of tyrants; the eastern part having been freed by Marino, and the rest delivered from their power by Bolivar, who justly obtained the title of *el liberador de Venezuela*,—the liberator of Venezuela. The town of Porto Cavello alone was in possession of the royalists. Bolivar immediately sent a flag of truce, proposing to Monteverde an exchange of prisoners; and although the Spanish prisoners in his possession were much the most numerous, he proposed to release them all, if the Spanish commander would liberate the prisoners he had at Porto Cavello. But having received during the negotiation 1200 troops from Spain, Monteverde obstinately refused any exchange. Feeling able to act on the offensive, he attacked the patriots at Aguacaiiente, but suffered a dreadful defeat, nearly his whole force being either killed or made prisoners, and himself seriously wounded. In consequence of Monteverde being thus disabled, Saloman took the command of the remnant of the royalists which escaped to Porto Cavello.

Bolivar renewed the same offer of an exchange of prisoners, to Saloman, by whom it was not only refused, but the bearer of the flag of truce was seized, loaded with fetters, and thrown into prison at Porto Cavello. Istueta, the successor of Saloman, also committed the savage outrage of placing the patriot prisoners along his line, exposed to the batteries of their countrymen, to prevent their firing; and at night they were thrown into prison, where nearly fifty died at one time by suffocation. This led to retaliation, and the besiegers exposed the Spanish prisoners before their line of battle; which occasioned a greater outrage still on the part of the Spanish general. He ordered four of the most distinguished patriots in his possession to be placed in front of the encampment of their countrymen, and in their view publicly to be shot. These were Pellin Osorio, Pointet, and Manuel Pulido,

all distinguished for their patriotic zeal, and highly esteemed and admired by their fellow citizens.\* No farther attempt at an exchange of prisoners or communication took place between the belligerent parties, but the contest became an exterminating war, and was carried on with destructive fury on both sides. Bolivar prosecuted the siege of Porto Cavello, the place being invested by sea and land; the town fell into the hands of the besiegers, except that part commanded by the fortress, which alone remained as a refuge to the royalists. But although the garrison wanted provisions, and were wasting by disease, occasioned by the damp soil the Spanish commandant refused to listen to terms of capitulation. A haughtiness of temper, a proud and unyielding spirit, which no difficulties can subdue, and an obstinate perseverance, are the primary characteristics of the Spanish character. Porto Cavello continued to hold out, and the position of the fortress is so advantageous, and the garrison well supplied with ammunition, were so active and determined in its defence, that it could not be taken by storm without a sacrifice of lives, which Bolivar was unwilling to make.

The royalists of Coro, being re-enforced with troops from Porto Rico, marched into the territory of Caraccas, and on the 10th of November, 1813, defeated a party of the independents at Barquisimeto. Bolivar marched to repel them; he engaged and routed them at Viginima, Barbula, and Araure. In the action of Barbula the patriots lost young Girardot, who had been distinguished for his active intrepidity in numerous battles, both in Venezuela and New Granada. The liberator ordered an annual mourning for this national calamity, and assigned a pension to the family of Girardot for ever.

Bolivar had invaded Venezuela under the auspices of the confederacy of New Granada, and had been directed, on his liberating the country, to restore the republican government, which, from the unsettled state of affairs, he did not consider advisable to do. Since the capitulation of Caraccas, the country had been under a military government; and although this power, odious in its mildest form, was not abused by the deliverer of the country, his inferior officers, not under his immediate control, were in some instances guilty of arbitrary and oppressive conduct, which occasioned complaints against the military government, and Bolivar himself. This gave him uneasiness, as he could not, from the commencement of his career, endure, even that he should be suspected of entertaining ambitious projects, or other designs than the liberation of his country. He summoned a general convention, consisting of the magistrates, the higher ecclesiastics, the members of the municipality, colleges, the board of trade, and all

\* General Bolivar's Letter published in Walton's *Exposé*.



the proprietors of lands, to resign his authority into their hands, and leave them to establish such provisional government as they might deem expedient. This assembly convened on the 2d of January, 1814; and Bolivar appeared before them; after explaining his views and intentions in invading Venezuela, he resigned his authority; and retiring, desired the assembly to provide such authorities as in their opinion, the safety of the country required. Mendoza, the governor of Caraccas, Rodriguez, president of the municipality, and Alzuru, successively addressed the assembly, and urged the expediency, under the existing aspect of affairs, of suffering the supreme power to remain in the hands of the liberator, and proposed to re-vest it in him, as dictator, until a representative government could be established, either for Venezuela alone, or in conjunction with New Granada. This proposal was approved of, and the supreme power was vested in the liberator.

The royal chiefs were filled with rage at the success of Bolivar, and were determined, that, if they could not re-conquer Venezuela, they would destroy it, and render it a useless acquisition to the victorious patriots. Not satisfied with the blood and devastation of a civil war, they wished to light up the torches of a servile one, and to arm the slaves against their masters. For this purpose emissaries were sent into the interior of the country to excite the revolt of the slaves, and organize a servile force. The most obnoxious of these, were Boves, Yanez, Rosette, and Puy, Spaniards; and Palomo, a negro, who had been outlawed as a robber and an assassin. The governor of Spanish Guiana supplied Boves and Rosette with arms and ammunition, who were to operate in the eastern part of the province of Caraccas; and Puy and Palomo had assigned to them, as their theatre of action, the western part of the province of Caraccas, Barinas, Merida, and Truxillo, and were assisted by the royalists of Porto Cavello, Coro, and Maracaibo. There were 70,000 slaves in Venezuela, who, roused, not only by the prospect of obtaining their liberty, but by the promise of the wealth and fortunes of their masters, and of all the disloyal part of the population of the country, afforded materials for raising an army, alarming from its number, and its turbulent character:—an army every way worthy of its leaders, and of the cause in which it was to be employed. With this incendiary force, Puy and Palomo subjugated Barinas, Guiana, and several other towns, covering the country with blood and desolation. Boves and Rosette marched from the banks of the Oronoco to the vallies of Tuy and Aragua, spreading desolation before them, and tracing their paths in blood, which, if collected into one channel, the 'purple current' would have tinged the mighty waters of the Oronoco. It is almost incredible, yet

what was well established, that in an extent of country of 400 miles from the Oronoco, to the environs of Caraccas, forming the limits of this murderous campaign, not a human being was spared, who did not join the robbers. By such an exterminating and murderous warfare, they spread terror over the country, which served to increase their numbers to 8000 men. Of this entire army, there were only fifty Spaniards and creoles, the rest, with the exception of a few free mulattoes, being slaves. Animated by the hopes of plunder, and some of them stimulated by revenge, their turbulent fury overcame every thing which opposed them; they spread terror before them, and left ruin and desolation behind. Boves took possession of Victoria, only forty miles from Caraccas; and Rosette entered Ocumare thirty miles from the capital, while Puy and Yanez, having subdued Barinas, advanced to join Boves, in February, 1814. Encouraged by these successes, the Spanish prisoners at Caraccas, and Lagaira, amounting to nearly 1400, entered into a conspiracy against the government, and were prepared to revolt. Many Spaniards united into a body, and stationed themselves in the road between Caraccas and La Guira, for the purpose of murdering travellers, and to cut off the communication. The situation of Caraccas was critical, and its danger imminent; it required uncommon exertions to prevent its falling into the hands of an enemy, whose mercies were like those the tiger shows to its prey. The number of the forces of Bolivar were greatly inferior to those of the enemy, and were scattered over the country. Should the garrisons of Caraccas and La Guira be called into the field, there would be the greatest danger of the rising of the Spanish prisoners in the city, who were rendered desperate by the determination of the Spanish chiefs, to admit of no exchange with the insurgents. Under these alarming circumstances, which threatened Caraccas with the greatest of all evils, that of falling into the hands of the slaves, harassed with cares, and his mind oppressed with anxiety, and the responsibility of his situation, and at the same time, highly exasperated at the outrages of a ferocious enemy, and the recent massacres at Ocumare, Bolivar, from the distraction of the moment, was hurried into an act, which, however it might be justified by the *lex talionis*—the principle of retaliation is shocking to contemplate, and was as impolitic as it was unjust. He gave orders to execute the prisoners, and 800 Spaniards were put to death on this dreadful occasion. The commandant at Porto Cavello, the moment he heard of these executions, ordered every American prisoner at that place, amounting to several hundred, to be shot.

The danger from the slaves being removed, Bolivar marched against the enemy, and obtained a signal victory over Boves, at Victoria; and colonel Rivas defeated Rosette on the banks of the

Tuy, and about the same time, the forces of the Yanez, were also defeated, and their leader killed at Ospinos. These victories were not won without severe fighting and a heavy loss, the patriots being greatly inferior in number to the enemy. They cost them one third of their troops ; and the advantages derived from them were not great, as from the want of cavalry the republicans had not been able to pursue the enemy but a few miles. Los Llanos, on which Caraccas is dependant for horses, being in possession of the enemy, Bolivar's cavalry was but poorly furnished.

Boves and Rosette having received some re-enforcements, again took the road leading to Caraccas. Perceiving the storm gathering over Caraccas, general Marino marched from Cumana to the assistance of Bolivar, and having joined a body of troops under general Montilla, their united forces attacked and defeated the royalists at Bocachica, and about the same time Bolivar himself obtained a decisive victory at San Mateo. These two victories relieved Valencia, which had been besieged by the royalists under Cevallos and Calzadas.

These losses of the royalists compelled Boves to retire to Los Llanos, and Cevallos, to San Carlos, whither the latter was pursued by general Marino ; but the republican general being defeated on the 16th of April, retreated to Valencia. Monteverde was succeeded as captain-general of Venezuela by Cagigal, who brought re-enforcements from Coro, and uniting them with the troops of Cevallos and Calzadas, marched towards Valencia. After some delay and reconnoitering on both sides, the two armies engaged the 28th of May, 1814, on the plains of Carabobo. The action was the most bloody that had been fought ; royal rage and popular fury were brought into the conflict ; the greatest efforts were made on both sides, and instances of valour exhibited, approaching to desperation ; victory was long doubtful, but at length fortune once more declared in favour of the patriots. The royalists were compelled to leave the field covered with their dead and wounded. Their whole loss, including prisoners, was 500 men, and a large amount of arms and ammunition.

The royalists retired to Coro and Los Llanos, whither Bolivar pursued them, with the intention of driving them from these territories, from whence they drew all their resources. He sent Urdaneta with 500 men against Coro, and Marino with about the same number to San Fernando, on the river Apure, in the province of Barinas. The remaining division of his army, of about the same strength, Bolivar retained under his immediate command, which he deemed sufficient to oppose Boves, who not having been in the battle of Carabobo, was marching against him, with a numerous squadron of cavalry. This division of his army

by Bolivar, was an error which led to the most serious consequences. Fatal mistakes are often committed by military commanders, in not estimating correctly the ability or power of an adversary ; it was this that occasioned the mistake of Bolivar, and also just before, a similar one on the part of the royalists. Had the latter waited for the arrival of Boves, they probably would not have been defeated on the plains of Carabobo, and had not Bolivar, despising the force of Boves, divided his army, he would not have been defeated by him on the plains of La Puerta. In a few days the three divisions of the republican army were separated many miles, when Boves attacked Bolivar at La Puerta, a plain near the town of Cura, and about 150 miles from Caraccas. The conflict was sharp, and maintained with great fury for several hours, but at length the patriots were compelled to give way, and leave the field to Boves. About the same time general Marino was attacked and repulsed by the united forces of Cagigal and Calzadas, and his communication with Caraccas cut off, which obliged him to retire to Cumana for safety. When general Urdaneta heard of these disasters, he was at too great a distance to be able to afford any assistance to Caraccas, and therefore withdrew to Cucuta, on the frontiers of New Granada.

The possession of Venezuela was again lost by the patriots, after their dominion over it had been apparently well established. Their reverses were great and sudden ; their affairs were prosperous the first of June, and in one month they had become nearly desperate. They had no army for the protection of Caraccas ; they were obliged to raise the siege of Porto Cavello, the troops embarking for Cumana ; and to complete their ruin, in Venezuela, much dissatisfaction prevailed with Bolivar's military government, occasioned by the conduct of some of his generals, and the people of Los Llanos declared for the royalists. Bolivar marched with the remnant of his force to Cumana, and almost the whole population of Caraccas repaired thither ; such was their dread of falling into the hands of an exasperated and barbarous enemy. Boves took possession of Caraccas and La Guira in July, 1814 ; Valencia was besieged, and held out until resistance became of no farther use, when it accepted terms of capitulation. But from the many flagrant breaches of faith by the royalists, the patriots would not surrender the place unless the Spanish general, in presence of the two armies, and after the solemn celebration of mass, would bind himself by an oath, taken before the host, religiously to fulfil the terms of the treaty. The oath was taken, and the town delivered up ; but soon after, the royalists believing that " oaths were but words, and words but wind," ordered the republican officers, and most of the soldiers,

to be shot. Among those who fell was the learned and eloquent Espejo, as a civilian one of the ablest defenders and the brightest ornaments of the republican cause.

Boves pursued the patriots into the province of Barcelona, and defeated them in Arguita; success no longer followed their banners; the good fortune of Bolivar seemed to have forsaken him, and with the loss of his power, was lost the respect for his authority. The commandant of his flotilla on the coast refused to obey his orders. The sun of Venezuelan independence had once more set, and darkness and despotism overspread the land where liberty had first dawned. With the patriots, who had survived these dreadful reverses, all was lost except hope, and the honour of their services to redeem their country. But the invincible mind of Bolivar was not to be subdued by misfortunes, however tremendous, nor shaken from its purposes by the most overwhelming reverses. Sensible that nothing more could now be done for the cause of independence in Venezuela, he embarked for Carthagena with some of the boldest of his officers, who preferred to follow his fortunes, even in this night of adversity. Rivas and Bermudas, with the remnant of troops, separated from him, and marched to Maturin, already rendered celebrated as the cradle of the last revolution, it being there general Marino first raised the republican standard. Maturin became the rendezvous of the desperate patriots, who had no quarters to expect from the royalists; and in a few days a considerable number were assembled here from different quarters. This 'forlorn hope' was successively attacked by Morales and Boves, both of whom were repulsed with serious loss. Rivas and Bermudas, who led the little remnant of patriots, maintained themselves for a considerable time; but after obtaining many advantages over the royalists, they were at last compelled to yield to a destiny, which the vast superiority of their enemies rendered inevitable. They were entirely defeated at Urica, on the 5th of December, 1814, and soon after Maturin fell into the hands of the royalists; an acquisition, however, attended with the loss of their favourite Boves. Bermudas escaped with some of the troops, and embarked for the island of Margarita, where he maintained the cause of the revolution, until the arrival of the expedition from Spain, under Morillo, in 1815. The intrepid Rivas was taken prisoner, shot, and his head sent to Caraccas for public exhibition, to convince the inhabitants of that rebellious city, that such was the fate that awaited all traitors.

Bolivar proceeded from Carthagena to Tunja, where the congress of the confederate provinces of New Granada was in session, and offered his services to the confederacy, which were accepted.

## CHAPTER V.

*Effect of the restoration of Ferdinand on the revolution—his impolitic measures respecting America—dissensions among the patriots—Bolívar sent against Santa Fe de Bogota—it capitulates—Cundinamarca joins the confederacy—regulations of the congress—Bolívar proceeds against the royalists in Santa Martha—dispute between him and Castillo—he lays siege to Carthagena—arrival of the expedition from Cadiz—Morillo reduces the island of Margarita—he lays siege to Carthagena—it capitulates—republican standard again raised in Margarita—Bolívar fits out an expedition at Aux Cayes—invades Venezuela—is defeated—returns to Aux Cayes—Morillo conquers New Granada—enters Bogota—massacre of the patriots—war in Venezuela—Bolívar takes Angostura—Morillo's unsuccessful attack on Margarita.*

WE have now arrived to a period which forms an important epoch in the revolution. The overthrow of the mighty fabric of the power of Napoleon, and his abdication, in April, 1814, was an event not less unexpected and astonishing, than important in its influence on the destinies of Europe. The restoration of Ferdinand VII. to the throne of Spain, with all the absolute powers of the monarchy, was a necessary and immediate consequence. The establishment of popular governments in America was occasioned by the usurpations of Bonaparte, and their object, at first, at least the ostensible one, to resist his designs against Spain, and maintain the rights of their legitimate sovereign; so that at an early period the intelligence now received from Europe would have filled the colonies with joy. But so great was the revolution in the feelings and opinions of the people, produced by a contest of more than four years, carried on with the greatest animosity and cruelty, that an event which, but a short time before, might have given rise to universal rejoicing in America, occasioned at first anxiety and alarm, and was soon regarded as the harbinger of the most dreadful calamities.

The news of the defeat of Narino, and the retreat of the remnant of the army of the confederacy to Popayan; of the total overthrow of the republican cause in Venezuela, and the important intelligence from Europe, of the fall of Napoleon, and the restoration of Ferdinand, were received by the congress of

New Granada, about the same time. The defeat of their army, and the complete triumph of the royalists in Venezuela, was each a serious calamity; but the intelligence from Europe was of a more important character. It entirely changed the general aspect of things, and in some measure the character of the revolution. The resistance in America commenced against the authority of the regency of Spain, and in most of the provinces, the supremacy of Ferdinand was expressly acknowledged. Ferdinand was now on the throne, and if resistance was continued, it must be against the power of the legitimate sovereign of Spain. The restoration of the king, therefore, changed the relations between the colonies and the parent country, as well as placed the latter in a condition to direct all its strength against the rebellious Americans, being relieved from the war at home, and having no longer any employment for her armies in the peninsula. At an earlier period of the contest, the restoration of Ferdinand would have greatly damped, if not effectually checked the spirit of the revolution; but after the struggle had continued nearly five years, and the minds of the Americans became exasperated by the cruelties and massacres of the Spanish colonial rulers, it was calculated to have but comparatively little influence. Had Ferdinand, however, pursued a conciliatory line of conduct towards America; had he condemned the rashness of the colonial chiefs, who had driven the people into resistance; reformed the abuses and removed the oppressions of which the colonies had justly complained, probably he might have so far revived the sentiments of loyalty, as to have checked, if not to have extinguished, the flame of the revolution. But instead of this course, the first official intelligence the Americans had of his being reinstated on his throne, was a decree, treating them as rebels, and *commanding them to lay down their arms*. This was sufficient to satisfy the Americans that they had no more justice to expect from Ferdinand, than from the regency; that no attention, whatever, was to be paid to their complaints; no respect shown to their rights. This decree, dated the 4th of June, 1814, was soon followed by another, directing the equipment of a formidable armament at Cadiz, to reduce the disloyal Americans to unconditional submission. At the same time, the most rigorous measures were adopted at home, by a bigoted and absolute king, against the members of the Cortes, and other patriots, who had made such noble exertions, such patriotic sacrifices, for the defence of his throne. When such base ingratitude and injustice were experienced by the patriots of Spain, what treatment had the insurgents of America to expect from an infatuated monarch, a capricious tyrant? As the rupture between the Spanish patriots and America was hurried on by the regency's declaring war against

the Americans, so the contest as between Ferdinand himself and the colonies, was placed on a footing almost incompatible with accommodation, by the same rash measures on the part of Ferdinand.

Desperate and almost hopeless as the cause of the independence was rendered by this intelligence from Europe, and the serious reverses which the patriots had suffered, the congress of New Granada was not disheartened by these appalling circumstances, but viewing the approaching crisis in its true light, prepared to meet it. The first of September the congress published a proclamation, which, after detailing the events of the war, and the sad reverses their arms had sustained, concludes in the following language :

“ Such is the situation of the military affairs of New Granada. Every step the republicans make costs a bloody battle in the provinces of Venezuela, where hords of assassins are formed by the agents of the king to check the progress of the friends of liberty. Our frontiers are constantly molested by the royalists of Maracaibo, and those who now possess Barinas ; both of whom keep always in alarm the defenders of Pamplona and Casanare. The inhabitants of Santa Martha obstinately refuse to co-operate with us. Carthagena wants assistance from the general government, which is at the same time obliged to provide for the defence of Popayan, which is again threatened with invasion ; and this of course increases the difficulties we should have in rescuing the unfortunate Quito from the power of her oppressors. These are the objects which imperiously call for the attention of the confederate provinces. Useless shall be the declaration of our independence if we have not resolution to support it. We possess within ourselves the means of attaining this great object, and no power whatever will be strong enough to conquer us if we avail ourselves of our own strength ; our exertions must unquestionably be great, and our sacrifices for the common cause unbounded. But such efforts are worthy of men raised to the dignity of a free people, and are absolutely necessary since we have nothing to hope, and much to fear from the European nations. Notwithstanding the cessions at Bayonne, and the torrents of blood that the French have shed by the war in the peninsula, Ferdinand has been restored to Spain ; and the country, now freed from the French, will have both the power and the will to send a formidable army again to subdue us.”

“ Ye people of New Granada ! contemplate your fate, and that of your posterity ; you may easily judge of it ; and let your resolution be formed accordingly, and nobly. Again we repeat, your destiny depends on your own exertions.”

Alarming, however, as the crisis was, it was not capable of



producing union among the republicans, or of extinguishing those feuds which had been equally detrimental and disgraceful to their cause. That men engaged in the same cause, and exposed to the same dangers, should waste their strength in their own dissensions at the very time that the common enemy was at the gates of their capitals, and threatening them with one common ruin, evinces the inveteracy of their animosities, and the prevalence of a factious spirit. Such conduct was scarcely less absurd than that of the two owners of a building, who were disputing about the extent of their respective rights to the property, whilst it was in flames, instead of uniting their exertions to save it from the conflagration. Don Bernardo Alvarez, president of Cundinamarca, persisted in refusing to join that province to the confederacy, which it was evident would greatly strengthen the hands of the government, and give energy to the measures that congress were pursuing for the safety of the country. At length, however, being satisfied that the people demanded the union, Alvarez deputed Lozano to treat with the congress, and terms of union were agreed upon; but the president objected to a union, and refused to ratify the treaty. He proposed an alliance, which the congress declined to accept. This was the state of things when Bolivar arrived at Tunja at the close of the year 1814, and engaged in the service of the congress. The confederacy at this time consisted of the provinces of Casanare, Pamplona, Tunja, Neyva, Choco, Popayan, Carthagena, Mariquita, Socorro, and Antioquia. The congress resolved to compel, by military force, the province of Cundinamarca to acknowledge its power and join the confederacy. They accordingly sent Bolivar in December, 1814, to besiege Santa Fe de Bogota, the capital of the refractory province. His army consisted of that division of the army of Venezuela under general Urdaneta, which, after the defeat of the other two divisions, retreated to Cucuta, and was ordered from thence by the congress to Tunja, with some additional troops. Bolivar stormed the city and obtained possession of its principal suburbs, when Alvarez accepted the terms of capitulation that had been offered, which were that the province should join the confederacy, and enjoy the same privileges as the other confederate states. The electoral college of Santa Fe was then assembled, which ratified the capitulation, and invited the congress to adjourn its session to that capital, which it soon after did.

This union greatly strengthened the arm of the federal government, and with the improvements and changes in the system, which had been made a short time before, gave it power and energy. By these changes, made in September and October preceding, each province, except Casanare, Neyva, and Choco, which were less populous, sent two deputies to the congress, and

those provinces one ; the executive power, which had been exercised by the congress, was confided to three persons appointed by that body, and the federal government possessed authority to carry on the war, and over the finances of the confederate provinces. Don M. R. Torices, Garcia Rubira, and M. Pey, all distinguished for their talents and entire devotion to the republican cause, received the executive appointment. The governors of the provinces were chosen by the electors, but acted as delegates, or officers of the general government, in all concerns relating to the confederacy.

New Granada at this time possessed a prospect of security, stability, and prosperity. Although threatened by the royalists of Venezuela, Quito, and Santa Martha, it possessed the means to repel all their attacks. The government was respected, and the congress had adopted several wise and popular laws, calculated to relieve the burdens of the people, and promote the general prosperity. The monopolies of tobacco, spirituous liquors, and the tribute paid by the Indians were abolished ; foreigners were invited into the country, manufactures of arms established, and liberty of speech and of the press were left unrestricted. Many of the most intelligent of the clergy embraced the cause, which was generally popular ; some patriotic citizens tendered their services to the government, others made contributions of money, and the friars of the order of St. Dominic, set a worthy example of patriotism, by presenting to the national treasury most of the specie, which for years they had been hoarding up in the sanctuary of Chiquinquira. The government extended its patronage to the botanical expedition under the direction of the celebrated Mutis, which made important discoveries. To prevent the intrigues of the Spaniards, they were banished from the territories of the confederacy, until the independence of the country should be effectually secured ; but were permitted to remove or dispose of their property.

The army under Cabal, in Popayan, was re-enforced, and began to make head against the royalists ; General Urdaneta was sent with re-enforcements into the province of Pamplona, to repel the royalists of Maracaibo, who harassed the country by their incursions, and, when attacked, retired to their fastnesses in the forests bordering on the river Zulia. But against the royalists of Santa Martha, the principal force of the republic was directed, under Bolivar, who was appointed captain-general of the armies of New Granada and Venezuela. The government and their general in chief made great exertions to ensure success to this expedition, as the occupation of the province of Santa Martha would have been of great advantage to the patriots, in case the expedition then preparing at Cadiz should be directed against

New Granada. With very great exertions 3000 men were raised, at the head of which Bolivar marched as far as the town of Mompox, on the river Magdalena. Here he halted to obtain from the province of Carthagena the additional men and arms which the congress had ordered as its quota of troops for the expedition. Bolivar applied to the governor of Carthagena for the re-enforcement and supplies which the congress had ordered; but Don M. Castillo, military commandant of Carthagena, being a personal enemy of Bolivar, exerted all his influence with the governor to prevent his complying with the demands of the congress, and unfortunately was too successful. The pretences he made use of, were, that Bolivar entertained ambitious views, and had injured the cause by his sanguinary career in Venezuela. The remonstrances of Bolivar were unavailing; the governor obstinately refused to comply with the requisitions of congress, and Bolivar, disappointed and chagrined at this unexpected delay, and exasperated at the unjustifiable conduct of Castillo and the governor, determined to stand by his arms. Accordingly he immediately marched against, and laid siege to the town of Carthagena, in hopes to obtain by force, what he had failed to accomplish by peaceable means; and to compel the governor of Carthagena to obey the authority of the congress, as he had before, that of Santa Fe. Carthagena being a strong place, was enabled to defend itself; for which object, the troops were collected from other parts of the province, leaving it defenceless, for the purpose of carrying on a civil war. The royalists taking advantage of this, conquered Mompox, and most of the province of Carthagena with little or no opposition, whilst the republicans were disgracefully weakening and destroying themselves by their own dissensions. This civil war completely frustrated all the judicious measures of the federal government, and threatened the total ruin of the cause of the patriots. It continued to rage until the expedition from Cadiz, the most formidable ever sent by Spain to America, appeared off the coast of Venezuela. When intelligence of this reached Carthagena, Bolivar, whose heart was never for a moment estranged from the great cause of independence, however he may have been led to engage in the civil contests from exasperated feelings, or misguided notions of expediency, would not suffer a contest to be prolonged, which, under existing circumstances, must be attended with the most fatal consequences. He proposed to the government of Carthagena that he would retire from the province and leave his army, now considerably reduced by the civil war and disease, to co-operate in the defence of the city, against the expected attack from the expedition from Spain.

This expedition consisted of ten thousand of the chosen and

best troops of Spain, conveyed in fifty transport ships, and protected by two frigates ; the fitting it out had nearly exhausted the national resources. It was commanded by general Morillo, whose memory will be held in perpetual detestation for his cruelties in Colombia. The armament appeared before Carupano about the middle of April, 1815, and was justly regarded as the harbinger of scenes of devastation and blood, surpassing what had already been witnessed. Universal alarm spread among the patriots throughout Venezuela and New Granada. From Carupano, Morillo proceeded against the island of Margarita, where general Bermudas, with the remnant of his troops, and many of the patriots of Venezuela had repaired. All the exertions of the patriots were not sufficient to defend the island against the powerful force of Morillo ; he, however, lost one of his frigates, the *San Pedro Alcantara*. The patriots mostly escaped, embarking for Carthagena and the West India islands. From Margarita, Morillo proceeded to Caraccas, then in possession of the royalists, where, and at other cities on the coast of Venezuela, he left two thousand of his troops ; but received in exchange for those left, some troops that were previously stationed at Caraccas. In the month of June, the expedition sailed from Porto Cavello for the purpose of besieging Carthagena, but did not commence the siege until August.

Carthagena is situated on a bay, nine miles in extent, and is divided into two parts : the city, properly so called, and Gimani, a suburb. The city is surrounded by a thick and high wall ; a wall also stands in front of Gimani, which is built in a circular form : a ditch or channel, fortified by stoccadoes on each side, joins the walls of Gimani with the city. On the east of the city is a fort, which overlooks Gimani ; and the batteries on the hill, called Lapopa, about 150 yards distant, command the fort, and protect the town and its environs. North of Lapopa is lake Tesca, which communicates with a ditch or channel, that divides the city from Gimani, but the two divisions of the city are connected by a bridge. Morillo fixed his head quarters twelve miles from the city, at a place called Turbaco, and formed his line so as to cut off all communication by land with the town. Colonel Soubllet commanded Lapopa, which was attacked by the royalists on the 11th of November, but they were repulsed with considerable loss. By the erection of batteries, and the introduction of gun boats into the bay, they succeeded however, in cutting off the communication with the sea, by Boca Granda, one of the outlets to the ocean, which deprived the besieged of all means of receiving provisions into the town. The city was twice bombarded ; but suffered most from the want of provisions, which, after a siege of nearly four months, compelled the patriots to

abandon it to the royalists. A general meeting was held on the 13th of October, which resolved to put the province of Carthagena under the protection of the British government: and Mr. Hislop, an English merchant, was despatched to London for this purpose. But before any answer was received to his despatches, the famine raged to such a degree that it became necessary to abandon the city. The beginning of December, the deaths amounted to 100 persons daily. On the 5th of December the place was evacuated. More than 2000 persons left the city, in eleven ships, most of them armed; the armament was attacked by the royalists, who were repulsed; and having taken on board the garrison of Bocachica, it sailed out of the harbour, and left the city to their enemies, which had now become one vast charnel-house. The next day the Spaniards took possession of it. Most of the patriots proceeded to Aux Cayes.

The following translation from the official letter to his government of Montalvo, the captain-general, exhibits a picture of horror that almost staggers belief. "The horrible appearance of the city is scarcely to be described: the streets, and even the houses, were heaped up with dead bodies, or with those who were expiring; the atmosphere was in a pestilential state, which nearly stopped respiration; groans and lamentations assailed our ears."

A list of prisoners was delivered by Morillo to Montalvo, with an intimation that they ought to be tried by the permanent council of the army; but the captain-general, by the advice of his assessor, or lawyer, had them tried by a common council of war, by which they were condemned to death. And notwithstanding that the judges of the court of audience, who were consulted after their condemnation, declared the proceedings illegal, Don M. Castillo, Garcia Toledo, Ayos M. Granados, M. Amador, M. Portocarrero, M. Anguiano, M. Angulo, and S. Stewart, were executed on the 24th of January, 1816. Montalvo assigns among other reasons, for these executions, that it would have been scandalous to have sent these rebels to Spain, when others less criminal had been executed by Morillo; and declares that these were the first executions he had ordered, and that he was the only one of the Spanish chiefs in America, whose conduct had been so humane. "Unfortunately," he says, "the war now presents so direful an aspect, that it is not easy to foresee its termination. All might have been prevented in the beginning; perhaps then to have punished the heads of the revolution would have been sufficient, and peace might have been restored by a steady conduct, politic measures, and mildness in the chiefs, which always sooner or later produce good effects."

There was about 2000 troops at Carthagena when the place  
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was first besieged, who, with its inhabitants, defended the city; the federal congress of New Granada was unable to afford them any assistance. Bolivar went to Jamaica to fit out an expedition for the relief of Carthagena; but the town surrendered before he carried his plan into execution, and he again turned his attention to Venezuela. About the same time that the Spaniards took possession of Carthagena, Arismendi again raised the republican standard in the island of Margarita; and after defeating the garrison Morillo had left, in several actions, took possession of a part of the island. In the mean time, the spirit of the revolution revived in Venezuela, so that those parts of the country which the royalists had reduced, and where they considered all resistance at an end, were again, either in the possession of the patriots, or the seats of war. The insolence and arrogance of the royalists at Caraccas revived the disaffection of the inhabitants, and occasioned many of the provincial troops, who, after the conquest of the province, had consented to fight under the royal standard, to desert and join themselves to the republican troops, who were dispersed over the country, after the defeat at Urica. These troops served as rallying points for the disloyal from all quarters in Venezuela.

The guerrilla system of warfare was now adopted, in imitation of the Spaniards, in the war with the French. Various guerrilla parties were formed, at the head of which were Monagas, Piar, Roxas, Zaraza, Llanos, and other intrepid leaders, who occupied the interior of the provinces of Guiana, Cumana, Barcelona, Caraccas, and Barinas. More unanimity prevailed among the inhabitants of Venezuela than had existed at any former period; alarmed at the impending danger, they seemed disposed to forget former differences, and to unite in defence of the independence of their country. The *guerrillas* carried on an active partisan warfare, harassing the Spanish troops, and by rapidly advancing and suddenly retreating, worried them with constant marches and counter-marches, and when a favourable opportunity presented, engaged them, and often successfully.

To aid the exertions of the patriots in the island of Margarita and in Venezuela, Bolivar planned and fitted out an expedition from Aux Cayes, in conjunction with Brion, a native of Curacao, who had served on board the flotilla, in the employ of the republican government of Venezuela. Brion, being wealthy, contributed largely towards the expenses of the expedition, and as a remuneration, was appointed to command the maritime force, which consisted of two ships of war and thirteen transports, most of which carried guns. One thousand troops were on board, made up of the emigrants from Venezuela, and a part of the garrison that escaped from Carthagena. The expedition

sailed from Aux Cayes the latter part of March, 1816, and on its passage engaged and captured two Spanish ships of war, after a severe and bloody conflict, in which Brion was wounded. Early in May, the expedition landed at the island of Margarita, and disembarked the troops. The patriots took possession of the whole island, the Spaniards abandoning all but the fortress of Pampatar. The expedition sailed from Margarita to Carupano, fifteen miles west of the town of Cumana, where Bolivar overcame the royalists, and took possession of the town. His successes revived the spirit of resistance in Caraccas, and numerous guerrilla parties came to join him; which he furnished with arms. From Carupano, Bolivar sailed to Choroní and Ocumare, situated between the ports of La Guira and Porto Cavello, where he landed on the 6th of July. Near Ocumare and Choroní are numerous plantations of sugar, cocoa, and indigo, on which many slaves were employed. As the enemy had set the example of liberating slaves, and thinking that this measure would be expedient in the present aspect of affairs, Bolivar, on landing at Ocumare, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Caraccas, in which he declares that "justice and policy demand the emancipation of the slaves, and that henceforth there shall be but one class of people in Venezuela; all shall be citizens."

The successes of the patriots under Bolivar, and on the island of Margarita, astonished the royalists, and filled them with rage. To perceive the patriots rising up, they scarcely knew from whence, and defeating their garrisons and troops, and re-occupying the country they had so recently conquered, served not only to convince them what kind of enemies they had to contend with, and how difficult it would be to conquer a country, where, like the fabled hydra, for every head that was cut off, two sprang up; but these successes seemed to be robbing them of the victories they had already won, and the advantages they had obtained. Nothing could exceed their violence and fury towards all, without distinction of age or sex, who favoured the cause of independence. Among other outrages which were committed in the town of Cumana, a female of respectable family, for the crime of having spoken against the Spanish government, was placed on an ass, led through the streets, attended by a guard of soldiers, and publicly scourged so barbarously as to occasion her death.

Bolivar left part of his troops at Choroní, under Sir Gregor M'Gregor, a Scotchman, who had been a captain in the English army in Portugal, and had served in the cavalry of Venezuela in 1811, but whose subsequent exploits acquired for him more notoriety than honourable fame; and the residue he disembarked at Ocumare. M'Gregor, whose force formed the vanguard of

the army, took Maracay and La Cabrera, and was proceeding against Victoria when he was arrested in his successful career by the arrival of a detachment of Spanish troops under general Morales. He had been sent by Morillo on his receiving intelligence of the expedition against Venezuela. The two divisions of Bolivar's little army, consisting in all of less than 1000 men, were unfortunately separated several miles, of which Morales took advantage, and attacked the rear guard under the liberator himself; and after a desperate and sanguinary contest, Bolivar was compelled to leave the field with the loss of 200 of his men, including most of his best officers. The remnant of his army sought safety by speedily re-embarking. This disastrous event induced M'Gregor to change his intended movements, and to take the road to Barcelona by the plains. Encouraged by the defeat of Bolivar, the royalists thought that M'Gregor would fall an easy prey; they pursued him so furiously, and were so certain of capturing him, that they sent official information to Caraccas that he had been defeated, all his men made prisoners, and himself killed; the very soldier being named who had stripped him of his uniform on the field of battle. It was 100 miles to Barcelona, and Morales pursued the patriots with all his forces, and came up and attacked them at Alacran, but was repulsed. Morales also engaged the patriots at Juncal, where he was completely defeated, and M'Gregor took possession of Barcelona in October, which opened to him a communication with the other republican generals in Cumana and Guiana.

The royalists evacuated the fortress of Pampatar on the 2d of November, leaving the island of Margarita in the quiet possession of the patriots, which enabled general Arismendi to embark from the island with part of his troops and join the patriots in Barcelona. Bolivar, after his defeat at Ocumare, sailed again to Aux Cayes, where, having obtained re-enforcements, he embarked in December, 1816, and stopping at Margarita, he published a proclamation, calling a general congress of the representatives of Venezuela, and proceeded with his expedition to Barcelona. Here he organized a provisional government, and was attacked by the enemy, under Morales and Real, in the months of February and March, 1817, but defeated them with great loss. The royalists were also defeated in Guiana by the patriots under Piar, in April, and compelled to shut themselves up in the town of Angostura.

We return to the movements of general Morillo, who, it will be remembered, entered Carthagena on the 6th of December, 1815. The possession of Carthagena, in a great degree, opened to Morillo the conquest of all New Granada. The army of the confederacy that had fought under Bolivar, which was not destroyed in the civil war, had joined the garrison of Carthagena, and the ar-



mies under Cabal and Urdaneta were small, and occupied with the Spanish forces directly opposed to them. Morillo had a powerful force, which enabled him, by dividing it, to invade the confederate provinces in three different directions. General Calzadas, with a force consisting of some provincial royalists, and a part of the troops left by Morillo at Caraccas, invaded the provinces of Pamplona und Tunja; another division of the Spanish army marched into the provinces of Antioquia and Popayan, and Morillo, with the principal division of his army proceeded up the river Magdalena. Following the river nearly to Sanbartolome, he divided his forces, taking himself the road towards Ocana and Sangil, in the province of Socorro; whilst a part of his troops continued up the river as far as the town of Honda, the head of boat navigation.

Formidable and appalling as was this invasion, the congress exerted themselves to the utmost to meet it, and defend the country. The members either joined the army, or returned to the provinces to rouse the people. The greatest efforts were made to raise an army such as the crisis demanded; and the government was greatly aided by the emigrants from Venezuela, among whom were many experienced officers. But a consternation prevailed among the people, which paralyzed every exertion. The day of triumph had arrived for the Spaniards, and the republicans could not stop their victorious career. The confederacy, however, was not overrun and subjugated without a struggle and severe fighting. The defiles, through which the enemy were obliged to pass, were fortified, and many of the towns were put in such a state of defence as not to be overcome by the royalists without many bloody conflicts. At Zaragoza and Remedios the patriots made a resolute defence, and in the attack on the latter place, they repulsed the enemy, and obtained considerable advantages. In most of the skirmishes and actions, however, which occurred, the advantage was on the part of the royalists. At length, the hard-fought and sanguinary battle of Cachira, in which the best troops and most of the officers of the confederate army fell, decided the fate of New Granada. The congress immediately separated, and the remnant of the army that survived the action, under generals Cerviez and Ricaute, sought safety by taking the road to Los Llanos. There being no longer an army to oppose him, Morillo entered Santa Fe de Bogota, in the month of June, 1816, where he remained until November, carrying on the work of *pacification*. Vengeance now opened her floodgates, and the blood of the patriots flowed as freely and profusely as the waters down the Andes. "More than 600 persons," says an authentic work, "of those who had composed the congress and the provincial governments, as well as the chiefs of the independent army, were shot, hanged,

or exiled; and the prisons remained full of others who were yet waiting their fate. Among those executed were the botanists, Don J. Caldas, and Don J. Lozano, who had been ordered by the congress of New Granada to publish the works of Dr. Mutis; Don J. M. Cabal, a distinguished chemist; Don C. Torres, a man distinguished for his learning; Don J. G. Gutierrez Moreno, and Don M. R. Torices, both well known for having been entirely devoted to the cause of their country; Don Antonio Maria Palacio-faxar, Don J. M. Gutierrez, Don Miguel Pombo, B. F. Ulloa, and many other learned and valuable characters. The wives of persons executed, or exiled by Morillo, were themselves exiled too."

What but the out-stretched arm of exasperated despotism could produce such a picture of cruelty, suffering, and bloodshed; such waste of life, such accumulated misery? Surely, tyranny, this is thy own work! Well might the author of such horrid deeds conclude, that "a military government is the worst of any known form; that it is the most *tyrannical and destructive*;" and, after viewing the works of his own hands, with truth might he speak of America, as a country "in which all was war, desolation, and horror."\* If any thing could aggravate these enormities, it would be the consideration, that they were committed against a people, who, Morillo himself says, were *timid*, and would not have made much resistance, had not the insurgents from Venezuela come to encourage and assist them. "In Santa Fe," says Morillo in a letter to the Spanish minister of war, which fell into the hands of the patriots, "there are but few blacks and mulattoes; in Venezuela a considerable part of the white population has perished in the revolution. The inhabitants of Santa Fe are *timid*; those of Venezuela bold and sanguinary. In Santa Fe much has been published during the revolution, and the learned have ruled all with their pens; but in Caraccas they displayed earlier the naked sword. From this dissimilarity of character arises the different opposition we have met with; but in their dissimulation and perfidy, the people in all the provinces resemble each other. Probably, in this viceroyalty, the inhabitants would not have opposed so firmly the king's troops, had not many from Venezuela come to support them. It was spurred on by them, that Cartagena resisted so strenuously. The division of the army that attacked Zaragoza and Remedios has opposed many troops disciplined by these insurgents. The government of Antioquia has already twice proclaimed *la guerre morte*, and has skilfully fortified the defiles of the province, by engineers from

\* Extract from Morillo's Letter to the minister of war in Spain found on board of the schooner *La Leon*, captured by the privateer, *The Congress*, from Buenos Ayres.

Venezuela. It was by the activity of the same insurgents that Santa Fe was obliged to submit to the congress, and received their sanguinary ideas. All is effected by the rebels from Venezuela. They are like ferocious beasts when they fight in their own country ; and if they get able commanders, it will require many years to subdue them, and even then it will be done at the expense of much blood, and considerable sums of money."

Yet the man who could commit such horrid outrages as these, against a "timid" people, who were influenced by the pens of their learned men, talks about his having "displayed that clemency, so much recommended by the king, which was unbounded."

The success of the patriots in Venezuela, induced Morillo to leave Santa Fe, at the head of 2000 men, in November, 1816, to re-enforce the royalist troops at Caraccas. He was attacked on his way by the patriot general Paez, near San Fernando de Apure, with success and advantage on the part of the Independents. During the months of February and March, of 1817, the patriots kept possession of the town of Barcelona, which was the only important place held by them in Venezuela ; although they had several guerrilla corps scattered over the interior. Their flotilla under Brion commanded the sea coast, which enabled them to declare the whole coast of Venezuela in a state of blockade. Bolivar having advanced with a considerable part of his troops into the interior, the royalists availing themselves of this circumstance, made another attempt against the town of Barcelona, and after besieging it for some time, finally succeeded in taking it by assault, on the 7th of April. In the month of May, the royal troops in Venezuela were re-enforced by 1600 men from Spain.

The loss of Barcelona was compensated by the success of the patriots under general Piar in Guiana, who defeated the enemy at a place called Missions, about 100 miles below Angostura, and this victory enabled Piar to march against the town of Angostura, the capital of Guiana, and to lay siege to it. Bolivar, the commander in chief, who had marched towards the South, soon after reached Angostura, and joining Piar, assumed the command. The town was now closely invested both by sea and land, by the aid of the naval force under Brion ; and the siege carried on with vigour and activity. The flotilla cutting off all intercourse by water, and intercepting all supplies ; the town was compelled to capitulate in the month of August, and the province of Guiana, sharing the fate of its capital, fell into the hands of the patriots. At a time when the cause of the revolution was in so low a condition, and regarded abroad as annihilated, and at home as almost entirely hopeless, the conquest of Guiana was an important acquisition, and gave a favourable impulse to the war. It added

greatly to the resources and means of the patriots for carrying on hostilities; and what perhaps was equally important, the possession of the immense plains of the great valley of the Orinoco, uncovered a long line of frontier, and enabled the patriots not only to cut off the supplies which the royalists were accustomed to receive from that quarter, but to make constant inroads into the territory in the occupation of the enemy, and to destroy his small detachments stationed along the line of the frontier. The possession of Guiana also afforded access to the sea, which not only opened to the patriots a communication with the island of Margarita, their naval rendezvous, but likewise enabled them to receive from the West Indies and elsewhere military supplies.

Whilst the republicans were thus strengthening themselves by the occupation of Guiana, the royalists were engaged in an unsuccessful expedition against the island of Margarita, which, since its emancipation in 1816, by the efforts of general Arismendi and its heroic inhabitants, had been the principal naval station of the patriots.

The congress of Venezuela which had been re-established by Bolivar, on the 8th of May, 1817, in the city of San Felipe de Cariaco, in Cumana, and which on the fall of that place, had taken refuge in Margarita, after remaining there twelve days only, was obliged again to seek safety by retiring on board the patriot flotilla, in consequence of the threatened invasion of the island.\* In the month of June the royalists appeared before Margarita with a squadron consisting of two corvettes and five brigs; and on the 14th of July, 1817, general Morillo arrived with a formidable reinforcement, consisting of 3500 troops, and an additional naval force. He immediately stormed Pampatar, the principal fort and fortress of the island, which he reduced, and of which he possessed himself, after a most determined and desperate resistance. Morillo, supposing that the principal obstacle to the conquest of the island was overcome, and being exasperated against the inhabitants in consequence of their having been the first to raise the republican standard after his conquest of all Venezuela, in 1815, he resolved to make an example of this devoted island, and to exterminate all the inhabitants who made any resistance. There

\* This, although called the supreme congress, was only a junta, or provisional government, established by general Morillo, second in command, by the directions of Bolivar. No election of deputies took place, nor had any election been held since the overthrow of the first congress, in 1812. This provisional congress consisted of the following persons, most of whom had been members of the first congress; Admiral Brion, J. C. Madariga, A. Zea, J. X. Mays, president of the former executive, F. X. de Alcala, D. Valenilla, D. A. Alcala, M. Ysalia, F. de Paula Naval, D. B. Urbanosa, and M. Maneyro.—*See documents communicated to the president of the United States in 1817.*

were but few troops on the island, and general Morillo possessed a numerous and veteran army, apparently sufficient to crush in a moment all resistance. Never was the remark more fully illustrated than on this occasion, that in a contest against liberty, the inhabitants all become soldiers, and that not only the armies, but the whole population must be overcome, before a conquest can be obtained. The entire population of the island of Margarita was but about 20,000; yet such was their truly Spartan heroism, that if they could not say with that ancient city, that they never saw the smoke of an enemy's camp; like its renowned citizens, they were resolved that the enemy should enter their capital only by passing over the dead bodies of its inhabitants. They had determined to defend the island or perish in the attempt, and their desperate bravery, firmness, and perseverance completely baffled all the efforts of a powerful and veteran army, led on by an able and experienced general. After fighting five battles, and approaching in different directions nearly to Assumption, the capital of the island, marking his progress every where with the most inhuman butcheries, and reducing the island nearly to a state of desolation, the blood-thirsty Morillo was compelled, reluctantly, to retire with the loss of 1000 of his troops, and to abandon the object of his expedition. This heroic and successful defence has not received the notice it is entitled to; it is scarcely surpassed by any examples in history, and the bravery, firmness, and self-devotion of the inhabitants, is worthy of the highest admiration.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Defection of Piar—Bolívar re-elected governor of Venezuela—attempts of the patriots to obtain foreign aid—they receive assistance from Great Britain—Bolívar's plan for emancipating New Granada—congress installed at Angostura—expedition for the liberation of New Granada—incredible difficulties it has to encounter—its success—battle of Boyaca—Bolívar enters Santa Fe de Bogotá—establishes a provincial government for New Granada—he returns to Angostura—installation of the congress—his speech—union of Venezuela and New Granada—defeat of McGregor—success of the revolution—its influence abroad—preparations for the approaching campaign—it opens by the capture of Rio de la Hacha.*

IN the month of October, 1817, a most alarming conspiracy was discovered, headed by general Piar, which threatened to blast the hopes of the patriots, and ruin the cause of the revolution. General Piar had fought bravely and rendered important services to the republic, particularly in the liberation of Guiana, and he had been rewarded by the highest rank in the army, and even the second post in the republic, then vacated by the separation of general Marino, was proposed to be conferred on him.\* But intoxicated with success and the favours of fortune, his boundless ambition, not satisfied with these honours, aimed at the chief command. To attain this object, he had formed an atrocious plot, involving not only a civil war, but the sacrifice of his companions in arms.

This unfortunate victim of ambition was tried by a council of war, and sentenced to be executed on the 16th of October, 1817. During this month the patriots defeated the Spaniards in Pamplona, and liberated that province. On the 11th of November, the same year, the supreme congress of Venezuela was organized at Angostura, and general Bolívar was re-elected president of the republic. The close of the year found the affairs of the patriots in a comparatively prosperous condition, and hope once more scattered light in the path of independence and liberty. The arms of the republic for the last six months had been crowned with signal success; in addition to Guiana and the plains, they had liberated the provinces of Casanare, Barinas, Pamplona, and the interior of

\* See Bolívar's proclamation, 17th of October, 1817.

Cumana, Barcelona, and Caraccas. The possession of the vast plains of the Oronoco was of the greatest advantage in supplying the patriots with cattle and horses for the army, and at the same time deprived the enemy of these resources ; it also laid open an extensive frontier, and enabled their guerrilla parties to annoy the enemy by a predatory warfare along the whole line of this frontier, and facilitated the fitting out of formidable expeditions against the enemy's posts.

Availing himself of these advantages, great exertions were now made by Bolivar, aided by the congress, to open the campaign the ensuing year with an imposing force. His first object was to wrest from the enemy one of his principal posts, called San Fernando de Apurè ; for which purpose he despatched an expedition by water consisting of thirty gun-boats, and marched himself to form a junction with general Paez, who was in that quarter. Paez was a distinguished patriot chief, and an able commander of cavalry, who had already liberated an extensive district of the country from the Spanish domination, and raised numerous corps of cavalry for the service of the republic. The united forces of Bolivar and Paez were successful in their first operations ; they penetrated into the interior beyond Calabozza, driving the enemy before them, and in some instances destroying their detachments. But after various sanguinary conflicts, many of them sharp and obstinate, and which were attended with alternate success, no important advantages were gained by the patriots, and Bolivar was obliged to relinquish the object of liberating Venezuela this season, and to retire to Guiana.

Although the republicans made little or no progress this year in rescuing from the Spaniards that part of Venezuela which they held, yet the campaign was by no means lost, as it had changed the order of operations, and obliged the royalists to act wholly on the defensive. There is a negative as well as positive success in war ; and not to be vanquished, is sometimes almost equivalent to victory. Even victory, in some cases, is attended with the ultimate, if not the immediate consequence of defeat. It was no small success for the patriots, most of their forces consisting of raw troops, to be able to maintain the field, and to contend with advantage, and often with success, with the veteran troops of Spain, and to arrest the successful career of the enemy.

Every conflict was improving their knowledge in the practice of war, and diminishing the advantages of the royalists in military experience and discipline ; and when the sacrifices attending this acquisition were nearly equal, the patriots were relatively great gainers as their losses could be easily supplied, while the losses of the royalists were nearly irreparable. The operations of 1816 and 17, which effectually checked the victorious career of the

barbarous Morillo, broke the spell of invincibility which had been attached to his name, so that it no longer spread terror and dismay through the ranks of the patriots.

Hitherto the independents had sustained the unequal contest unaided and alone; the friends of liberty, both in Europe and the United States, had contented themselves with extending to them their good wishes, a succour not very efficacious, in the struggles of war. The revolutionists at first looked with great expectations to Great Britain, in consequence of the disposition she had long manifested, to favour the independence of Venezuela, to promote her commerce with South America. After the establishment of the junta in Caraccas in 1810, L. L. Mendez, and Simon Bolivar were appointed to solicit the countenance and support of the British government, in favour of the revolution. But the policy of the British cabinet was now changed, as it was engaged in supporting the Spanish patriots in the peninsula, against the French; and the only effect of this mission, was a decree ordering the governors of their West India islands to maintain a strict neutrality, in the contest between Spain and her colonies, provided the new governments continued to act in the name of Ferdinand the VII. This decree seemed to imply, that if the patriots declared the country independent, the British government might favour Spain in reducing them to obedience. And in a treaty concluded with Ferdinand, after his restoration, it was stated "the Prince Regent hoped that Ferdinand would restore peace in his American colonies; and that entertaining this hope, he would engage not to assist the insurgents, and would even endeavour to prevent his subjects from affording them any assistance."

In the year 1810 the junta of Caraccas deputed Telesforo Orea, and John Vincente Bolivar, to the government of the United States, and in 1815, the congress of New Granada sent Don Pedro Gaul, now secretary of foreign affairs in Colombia, on a mission to this country; the following year Bolivar despatched to Washington, Don Lino de Clemente, and in 1817, the congress of Venezuela, soon after it was re-established, commissioned Joseph Cortes Madariaga, as minister to the United States. The policy of our government as it regards its foreign relations, adopted by Washington, and followed by all his successors, did not admit of the government affording assistance to the patriots, or even of its departing from a strict line of neutrality, however much the executive might desire, in common with all our citizens, success to their cause.

It is a curious fact, and strongly illustrative of the selfish policy which governs the conduct of nations, that France was the only power that manifested any intention of assisting the patriots



in their arduous struggle. In 1812, after the royalists had reconquered and laid waste Venezuela, and the same dreadful fate impended over New Granada, the congress of that country resolved to apply for succour to some foreign power. It was in vain to apply to England; little hope remained of assistance from the United States, and France, under the *despotism* of Bonaparte, was the only power of which there was any prospect of obtaining assistance to the sacred cause of *liberty* and independence. It was determined, however, that application should be renewed to the United States; and if unsuccessful, then to be made to Bonaparte, who had twice declared that he would assist the new world in obtaining their independence. Accordingly, Don M. Placio Faxar was sent on a double mission to Washington. Having made known the object of his mission to Mr. Madison, and informed him that the people of New Granada were unable without assistance to support the contest necessary to maintain their freedom, he was answered by the president, that, "though the United States were not in alliance, they were at peace with Spain, and could not, therefore, assist the independents; still, as inhabitants of the same continent, they wished well to their exertions." The commissioner then addressed himself to M. Serrurier, the French minister, resident at Washington, who encouraged him to apply to Napoleon, which he did, with every prospect of success. The arrangements were actually making to give effective assistance to the South Americans, when the battle of Leipsic took place, which threatened the invasion of France, and left the Emperor no opportunity to attend to any thing but the maintenance of his own power.\*

During nine years, the patriots of Venezuela and New Granada, unaided and alone, without allies and without assistance, sustained the most desperate and sanguinary struggle in defence of their independence, with a firmness and perseverance almost unexampled, under sufferings and sacrifices truly incredible; a large proportion of the white population in Venezuela having been destroyed, and both countries devastated with fire and sword. But the time had now arrived, that the South American patriots were to receive a more efficient support from abroad than the sympathies of the friends of liberty. Their sufferings and sacrifices; their bravery, firmness, and perseverance; their patriotic devotion to the sacred cause of liberty, under the most appalling circumstances, awakened the attention of the world, and inspired the confidence, and excited the highest admiration of the friends of liberty in the United States and in Europe, particularly in the British Isles. The cries of liberty, the voice of struggling freedom, were heard across the waters, and excited

\* Outline of the Revolution of South America.

the most lively sympathy in kindred breasts.\* Notwithstanding the policy of the government founded on the dictates of prudence and caution, the people of the United States almost universally felt a deep and lively interest in the success of their brethren in South America, engaged in the same desperate struggle for liberty as they themselves had gone through ; not, however, without foreign succour, which the South Americans had not hitherto been so fortunate as to obtain. Near the close of the year 1817, the president of the United States appointed three commissioners, Messrs. Rodney, Bland, and Graham, to visit the independent states in South America, to ascertain their political condition, and their means and prospects of securing their independence ; and early in 1818, the legislature of Kentucky adopted resolutions expressing their sense of the propriety and expediency of the national government, acknowledging the independence of the South American republics. These resolutions probably emanated from the influence of Mr. Clay, now secretary of state, who, from the first, has been a zealous and steadfast friend of the South American patriots. Some individuals from the United States joined the patriots, and some supplies of ammunition and muskets were furnished them from this country.

It was from the British Isles, however, that they received the greatest assistance, both in men and munitions of war. Both in England and Ireland, a number of patriotic individuals espoused the cause of the South American patriots with zeal and disinterested devotion. Such was the success of the exertions of these disinterested patriots in England and Ireland, that, in the summer of 1818, and early in the year of 1819, not only large supplies of arms and munitions of war were sent to the Orinoco, but a considerable auxiliary force, consisting of several

\* The history of the revolution in South America abounds not only in deeds of desperate bravery, but affords instances of the truly Roman spirit of liberty and of self-devotion. In 1817, Morillo having got into his power a son of the patriot general Zaraza, conferred on him the commission of ensign, by which means he was in hopes to induce the patriot chief to embrace the advantages offered in the Indulto, or act of oblivion, and join the royal standard. Accordingly, Morillo sent a priest of the name of Sutil, accompanied by the young Zaraza, to the patriot general, who was informed, by the clerical messenger, that Morillo would make him a brigadier, if he would go over with his troops to the royal standard. To this proposal Zaraza made the following noble reply ; " Not until I behold my wife and unfortunate children, cruelly murdered by the legions of general Morillo, restored to life again, shall I desist from the noble undertaking and glorious strife in which I am now engaged against the tyrants of their country, and the assassins of their innocent posterity." Having said these words, he handed a sword to his son, who, scorning a rank which was given him merely for the sake of necessity or convenience, grasped the weapon ; when his father added, " with this you must defend the rights of your country, and avenge the death of your mother and brethren."

hundred volunteers, arrived at the island of Margarita, from whence they were forwarded to the Oronoco in season for the next campaign. A number of experienced English and Irish officers either accompanied or followed these troops, which was an invaluable acquisition to the patriots; being extremely useful in imparting military knowledge and skill to the officers, and discipline to the troops, in the patriot service. The troops, too, were veteran soldiers, who had seen much service; and the foreign officers and soldiers probably contributed in no small degree to the glorious successes of the ensuing campaign.

The indefatigable Bolivar, whose extraordinary exertions for the emancipation of his country, have, by the unanimous voice of America and Europe, justly entitled him to the illustrious appellation of the Washington of South America, now conceived the bold project of emancipating New Granada, when Morillo supposed that the whole efforts of the patriots would be required in Venezuela. In opening a campaign in New Granada, numerous difficulties were to be overcome; unexplored tracts of wilderness were to be traversed; rapid and dangerous rivers, swelled into lakes by the rains, were to be crossed, and mountains, apparently inaccessible, to be passed; and with an army hastily collected, a considerable part of which were destitute of discipline, and unaccustomed to the hardships of service; badly equipped and clothed, and scantily provided with the means of subsistence. Formidable as were these difficulties, they did not surpass the resolution of the chief of the republic, or shake the firmness of his purpose. The liberation of New Granada, whether regarded with reference to the relief it would afford to the oppressed inhabitants, the importance of the acquisition, or the influence it would have on the revolutionary cause, was an object demanding the utmost efforts of the republic. The cause of Venezuela and New Granada were essentially identified, and reciprocally influenced each other. Animated by the magnitude, and even by the difficulties of the enterprise, Bolivar made every possible effort his situation and resources would admit of, in preparing for this important campaign.

But the preparations for the approaching campaign did not engross the entire attention of Bolivar, who was not only the liberator, but the legislator of his country; not only the commander in chief of her armies, but the head of the government, and the founder of her institutions. The congress of Venezuela was installed at Angostura in February or March, 1819, to deliberate on the form of a constitution for the republic. The session was opened by a long and elaborate speech by the president, exhibit-

ing his views of the most suitable government for Venezuela, under existing circumstances. This speech comprises twenty-five printed folio pages, and evinces a profound acquaintance with the history, principles, and practical operations of various forms of government, and a heart warmed with the holy fire of patriotism, deeply anxious to secure to his country wise institutions, affording the surest pledge of preserving its liberty, and securing its prosperity and happiness. It concludes in the following glowing language:—

“*Legislators!* Condescend to receive, with indulgence, the declaration of my political creed, the highest wishes of my heart, and earnest petition, which, in the name of the people, I have dared to address you.

“Vouchsafe to grant to Venezuela a government purely popular, purely just, and purely moral, which will enchain oppression, anarchy, and crime—a government which will cause innocence, philanthropy, and peace to reign—a government which, under the dominion of inexorable laws, will cause equality and liberty to triumph.

“Gentlemen! Commence your duties. I have finished mine.

“The congress of the republic of Venezuela is installed. In it, from this moment, is centered the national sovereignty. We all owe to it obedience and fidelity. My sword, and those of my fellows in arms, will maintain its august authority.”

Having discharged this responsible duty respecting the establishment of a system of government for the republic, Bolivar directed his whole attention to preparations for the liberation of New Granada. He organized a select corps composed of Irish and English foreign auxiliaries, and some of his best troops. General Paez, whose name had become a terror to the royalists, was to remain behind, entrusted with the important duty of watching the motions of Morillo, and defending Guiana and the territories of Venezuela in the possession of the republicans. Every thing being in readiness, taking advantage of the rainy season when the royalists had abandoned the plains, and were reposing in security, the army commenced its march in the month of April, on an enterprise, the importance of which was only surpassed by its intrinsic difficulties. The constancy and fortitude of this army, in sustaining the fatigues and hardships which it had to endure, and surmounting the numerous obstacles that opposed its progress, will not suffer from a comparison with the army with which the Carthaginian hero conquered the Alps. “The rainy season,” says Bolivar, “had commenced, and the plains presented only vast sheets of inundations; the frozen summits of the Andes lay in our route; the sudden mutations of adverse climates were to

be encountered ; a well disciplined army, three times our own number, were in front of us, and occupying all the military positions of those regions."

On the arrival of the army in the province of Casanare, it formed a junction with the troops of that province, under the command of general Santander ; on which occasion Bolivar issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of New Granada, in which he says, that " the groans which Spanish tyranny extorted from you have reached the ears of your brethren in Venezuela, who, after having thrown off the yoke of our common oppressors, wish to share their liberty with you. A British legion, from more distant climes, has left the glory of its country to acquire the renown of saviours of America ; this liberating army of friends and benefactors is now in the bosom of your country, and God, who always protects suffering humanity, will make the arms of your redeemers triumphant."

The united armies were a whole month in marching through the province of Casanare, and in overcoming the obstacles which every day appeared to multiply as they advanced. They had to cross a number of navigable rivers, which, at this season of the year, overflowed their banks, and inundated the country and the roads over the plains. It rained almost constantly day and night. The roughness of the mountains rendered them almost inaccessible, and in four days' marching over them, all the transports were rendered useless, and all the cattle provided for the army were lost. No enemy was discovered until they reached the river Guya, on the 27th of June, 1819, when the vanguard of the liberating army attacked and dislodged a detachment of 300 royalists, occupying a position so strong by nature, that 100 men are sufficient to stop the passage of 10,000.\* The destruction of the bridge across the river, by the royalists, prevented their being pursued, so that the only direct advantage of the victory was the possession of the harbour, and the provisions left by the enemy. But as this was the opening of the campaign, it had a favourable influence on the army after their incredible fatigues, as the first events are often regarded, in some degree, as presages of the final result.

This affair was immediately followed by a succession of the most splendid victories the revolution affords, and which not only speedily terminated the campaign, but decided the fate of New Granada, and, perhaps, it is hardly too much to say of the revolution in the whole of Spanish America. The first action was fought on the 1st of July, in the valley of Sagamoso, in the province of Tunja, between the liberating army and the main army of the royalists of New Granada, commanded by Bareyro. The

\* Despatch of Bolivar, dated 30th of June, 1819.

contest was long, obstinate, and continued until ten o'clock at night, when the Spaniards were routed and compelled to retreat in great disorder, to save themselves from destruction.

After considerable manœuvring by both the hostile armies, they encountered each other again on the 25th of July, at Pantano de Bargas, near the capital of the province of Tunja. The action lasted for five hours, both parties fighting with the greatest desperation. Victory at length declared for the patriots, and the rout of the royalists was complete; they were obliged to retreat in confusion, leaving their artillery, baggage, and treasures, on the field of battle, with their killed and wounded. The Spanish army retreated by the road of Samaca, in the direction of the capital, and were pursued and overtaken by the liberating army on the 7th of August, at Boyaca. At daylight the advanced corps of the patriots discovered that the enemy intended to pass the bridge at Boyaca, when Bolivar ordered the whole army under arms for action, and to march to the high road to prevent the royalists from crossing the bridge, or force them to give battle. At two in the afternoon, the enemy's first division reached the bridge, where they saw the advance cavalry of the patriots, and supposing it a reconnoitring party, they attacked it to clear the way for the main body of the royal army. The divisions of the liberating army quickened their march, and, to the great surprise of the royalists, the whole of its infantry appeared in a column on a height commanding a view of their position. The main body of the enemy was stationed about three fourths of a mile from the bridge. The infantry of the liberating army came down from the height, and, together with the cavalry, marched along the road to give the enemy battle; who, in the mean time, made a movement by his right, which was opposed by the British legion. The battalions of Barcelona, the intrepid corps of Paez, and the squadron of cavalry of the upper plains, formed the centre of the liberating army; the battalion of the line of New Granada, the battalion of Cozadores, and the guards of the rear, formed the left, and the columns of Tunja and Socorro remained as a reserve. The enemy was formed in a column on a height, with three pieces of artillery in the centre, and two squadrons of cavalry on the flanks, where they waited the attack. The patriot general, Anzoátegui, directed the operations of the centre and right, and general Santander the left. The troops of the centre, comprising the invincible corps of Paez, whilst exposed to the fire of a body of the enemy posted on their left flank, attacked with great intrepidity the main body of the royalists. The enemy received them with firmness, and poured into them a tremendous fire; but the independents, regardless of this, by the most daring and active movements, surrounded all the enemy's corps, when the cavalry, charging with

great impetuosity and courage, the enemy was driven from their position and thrown into disorder, which rendered all the efforts of the Spanish commander unavailing. The horse grenadiers set the first example of flight; the infantry attempted to form on another height, but were assailed so hotly, that they were instantly routed, and being enclosed on all sides, threw down their arms and surrendered. By an almost simultaneous movement, general Santander, who commanded the left, and who had met with but little resistance from the enemy's van, charged, passed the bridge, and completed the victory. The conflict was short, but terrible, and victory was not for a moment doubtful; the slaughter was great, and the Spanish army entirely annihilated. General Bareyro, the commander in chief, Ximenes, the second in command, a great number of field and inferior officers, and 1600 men were made prisoners. The spoils of the vanquished which fell into the hands of the patriots were great, consisting of artillery, arms, ammunition, horses, &c. General Santander, with the van, pursued the fugitives to Venta Quemada, and the rest of the army remained all night on the field of battle. The Spanish army consisted of above 3000 men; that of Bolivar of something less.\*

This great and decisive action, which may be regarded as holding that place in the Colombian revolution that the victory at Saratoga did in our own, gave the patriots the possession of Santa Fe, the capital of New Granada, and the neighbouring provinces. The viceroy, Samana, immediately on obtaining news of the defeat of the royal army, with a few attendants, left the capital, and reached Carthagena by way of Mompo, where he was defeated, and escaped with a handful of men to Tericabo, an elevated position about twelve miles from Carthagena. He left all his military stores at Santa Fe, and a large sum in specie in the treasury and mint, said to amount to two or three millions.

It is impossible for language to describe the joy and enthusiasm with which the inhabitants of Santa Fe de Bogota received the victorious Bolivar, who had generously come to their relief when hope had almost forsaken them; he was hailed as their deliverer, their redeemer; as the first of patriots and the greatest of heroes, who surpassed the renowned Hannibal in overcoming the obstacles of nature, and the still greater Bonaparte, in the rapidity of his movements, and the success of his bold and noble enterprises. In 75 days he performed a march of nearly 1000 miles, fought three pitched battles, and emancipated a nation struggling under the weight of oppression, and whose wounds, inflicted by the sanguinary Morillo, were not yet healed.

Improving the advantages which fortune and his own valour had conferred on him, Bolivar immediately directed his attention to

\* Official despatch of Bolivar.

making the best dispositions of the augmented military resources now at his command. The inhabitants flocked to his standard, and two armies were raised, organized, and put in motion about the 20th of September; one for the south, and the other destined to liberate the provinces of the north, still in the possession of the royalists. A provisional government for New Granada was also established, and all the necessary arrangements made for the security of the country, in which Bolivar was seconded by the inhabitants; and after submitting to Samano proposals for an exchange of prisoners, he left the capital of New Granada to return to Angostura, where the congress of Venezuela was expected to be in session. He travelled with an expedition corresponding with the celerity of his movements when at the head of the army. From Pamplona to Angostura, which usually requires twenty-five or thirty days, he went in seventeen, and arrived at the latter place on the 11th of December, 1819, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, now the liberator of New Granada as well as of Venezuela.

On the 14th of December the congress was installed, on which occasion the president delivered a speech, giving a brief account of the campaign, the difficulties the army had to encounter from the inundations of the plains, the roughness and frozen summits of the mountains, and the superior force of the enemy, which occupied all the strong positions of the country. But notwithstanding these difficulties, in less than three months this victorious army, besides overcoming the floods of the plains, and the forests of the Andes, annihilated an army of three times their number, and liberated twelve provinces of New Granada. The president does justice to the inhabitants of New Granada; "It is not alone to the liberating army that we are indebted for these signal events; the people of New Granada have shown themselves worthy of liberty; their efficient co-operation retrieved our losses and augmented our strength." He recommends the commemoration of these great achievements of his companions in arms; and concludes by informing the congress of the desire of the people of New Granada to unite their destiny with Venezuela, and his own ardent wishes for the union of the two countries. "Yes, legislators, the unanimous determination of perishing free, rather than to live slaves, hath given to the people of New Granada a title to our admiration and respect. Their ardent desire to unite their destiny with Venezuela is not less magnanimous. The inhabitants of New Granada are intimately penetrated with the great advantages to be derived from the union of both countries in one republic. The re-union of Venezuela and New Granada have been the unceasing object of my desires from the commencement of my military career. It is also the original wish of the



citizens of both countries, and a certain guarantee of the liberties of all South America.

"Legislators—The time to give a fixed and eternal basis to our republic has at length arrived; it belongs to your wisdom to decree this great social act, and to establish the principles of the sacred compact upon which the republic was to be erected. Proclaim it to the whole world, and my services and those of my companions in arms will be amply remunerated, and their utmost wishes accomplished."

Bolívar having closed his address, Mr. Zea, the vice-president, arose, and replied:

"Among the many glorious and illustrious days consecrated by you to the republic, none has been more auspicious than that of the present, in which you have laid at the foot of the national representatives the laurel wreaths of victory, and the chains cut in pieces by your swords, which had bound in fetters two millions of people." After describing in glowing language the obstacles the army had to encounter on account of the rainy season in passing the Andes, and from the superior force of the enemy, he says:—"But every difficulty disappeared before the courage and impetuosity of the soldiers of independence. Scarcely can victory keep pace with the victor, and in less than three months the principal and greatest part of New Granada is liberated by those troops whose destruction the viceroy of Santa Fe had declared, in anticipation, as an inevitable consequence of their rashness and temerity." In conclusion, he adds his desires to those of the president for the union of the two countries: "Quito, Santa Fe, and Venezuela united in one republic, who is competent to calculate the measure and magnitude of prosperity which belongs to such a mass of physical and moral power. May heaven bless this propitious union, whose consolidation is the first object of all my cares, and of the most ardent desires of my heart."

On the 17th, the congress passed what is called the fundamental law of the republic, which unites Venezuela and New Granada into one state, under the name of the "REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA." This act of union declares that the debts of the two republics shall be consolidated, and remain the national debt of Colombia; that the new republic shall be divided into departments, over each of which there shall be a chief magistrate, to be appointed by the president; that a city shall be built, bearing the name of Bolívar, which shall be the capital of the republic; that a general congress of Colombia shall be assembled at Rosario de Cucuta, in January, 1821, and that the present congress shall be dissolved in January, 1820; that the general congress shall form a constitution for the new republic, and decree the arms and flag of Colombia. It further provides that a commission of six members should be in-

vested with special powers during the recess of congress ; that the new republic should be solemnly proclaimed to the citizens and the armies, with public festivals and rejoicings on the 25th of December, the nativity of the Saviour, and that the anniversary of this political regeneration shall be perpetually celebrated by a national feast, wherein virtue and talents shall be rewarded as at the Olympic games in ancient Greece. This fundamental law of union was ordered to be recorded in the archives of the cabildos and municipalities, and to be promulgated throughout the republic.

This great political measure being accomplished, the founder of the new republic directed his attention to the prosecution of the war, and to preparations for an expulsion of the enemy from it. The army brought back from New Granada was augmented by detachments of troops, to 10, or 12,000 men.

While the arms of the patriots were crowned with such signal success in the interior, some disasters occurred on the sea board. General M-Gregor fitted out an expedition, with a force of 1000 men, and on the 8th of April, 1819, attacked and captured Porto Bello ; but after possessing the place twenty-one days, he was attacked by the royalists under general Hore, and defeated with the loss of his entire force, except a few attendants who escaped with their commander by swimming to one of their vessels. This fatal disaster did not discourage M-Gregor from his predatory warfare, and about the first of September, he sailed from Aux Cayes, with another expedition, with 250 men, and succeeded in taking Rio de la Hacha, which he held five days, when the Spaniards rallied, attacked the assailants, and after a short conflict, M-Gregor, perceiving the enemy too strong for him, fled, leaving his men to seek their safety as they were able ; and finding that they could make no further defence, such was their horror at falling into the hands of the Spaniards, that they blew up the fort, by which most of them fell the victims of their own folly and delusion.

On the 20th of December, Bolivar communicated to general Santander, vice-president of Cundinamarca, the fundamental law, which he desires him to carry into effect ; and observes, that "the prospects opened by this ever memorable act, are as comprehensive as magnificent ; freedom, power, grandeur, and stability, will be secured by such a union. By the unanimous voice of the deputies of Venezuela and New Granada, the foundation has been laid, upon which the public happiness will be established with solidity and durability, and that character has been designed, by which this infant nation shall be recognised, and its political relations established with all the world."

On receiving this despatch, Santander assembled on the 12th of February, 1820, the constituted authorities of the new depart-

ment of Cundinamarca, and laid the subject of the union before them with the fundamental law. The proposed union was unanimously approved, and a solemn publication of it was ordered to be made in Bogota, the capital, which was done amidst the universal rejoicings of the people. In his answer to the letter of Bolivar, general Santander, after informing him of what had taken place at Bogota, and the unanimity with which ten provinces of New Granada had acceded to the union, concludes by offering his congratulations on this auspicious event to the illustrious president. The cause of South American independence was now gaining ground abroad, as well as at home ; although no power, as yet, acknowledged its independence, or directly or indirectly afforded either of the new governments any assistance, or even countenance. In his message to congress, in December, 1819, president Monroe says, that " the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality ; that our ports have been equally open to both parties, and that our citizens have been equally restrained from interfering with either, to the prejudice of the other." He admits that the contest is of the highest interest to the United States, but considers it of the greatest importance to our national character, and the morality of our citizens, that all violations of our neutrality should be prevented, and with a view to this, he recommends to congress to designate by law, the several ports at which foreign ships of war and privateers may be admitted. The people of the United States, however, felt an increasing interest in the success of the South American patriots. But it was to Great Britain that the patriots were principally indebted for foreign assistance. The English, Irish, and Scotch auxiliaries engaged in the last campaign, amounted to four or five hundred ; one quarter of which only survived, their loss being much greater than that of the troops of Venezuela, in consequence of their not being accustomed to the climate, or to a service attended with such fatigue and hardships. This waste of the British troops, however, did not discourage their countrymen ; and during the year 1819, an Irish legion of 1000 men was raised by general D'Evereux for the service of Colombia. The troops were disembarked on the island of Margarita, where they were afterwards joined by general D'Evereux, whence they proceeded to the main in season for the campaign of 1820.

After the close of the session of the congress, president Bolivar repaired to the head-quarters of the army on the Apure, where he made the necessary arrangements for the approaching campaign. Before this opened, however, he proceeded to the capital of New Granada, where on the 8th of March, 1820, he published a proclamation to the people of Colombia, in which he congratulates them on the auspicious event of the union of the two

countries, which he says will cause them to be respected by foreign powers, who will admire their devotion to their country, and even cause Spain to acknowledge them as deserving the enjoyment of their rights.

"*Colombians*,—I promise to you in the name of the congress, that you shall be regenerated. Your institutions will reach high perfection—your tributes will be abolished—the restraints upon your liberty and enterprise will be destroyed—your virtues will be your patrimony, and capacity, courage, and virtue, will alone be considered and rewarded." He concludes, by observing, that it had been the sole object of his whole life to form this free and independent republic of two families of brethren.

Bolívar, in his proclamation, intimated that there was a prospect of the war being soon terminated, and for the expulsion of the enemy, from the territories of the republic, he now directed all his exertions, and to hasten the movements of the different corps which had been organized to act against the royalists in Venezuela, and in the northern and southern provinces of New Granada, still in the possession of the Spaniards. The campaign commenced in April, 1820, by the capture of Rio de la Hacha by a combined attack of the land and naval forces of the republic, the former commanded by general Montilla, and the latter by admiral Brion. After this event, a detachment of this army was despatched to form a junction with the northern army of New Granada, which was descending the Magdalena.

The southern army of New Granada, commanded by the intrepid general Valdes, also opened the campaign with success. The enemy posted several hundred of his bravest troops under the traitor Lopez, at Paramo, where they waited the approach of the patriots. Lopez attacked the vanguard of the republicans with great boldness, which was compelled to give way when general Valdes ordered a charge to be made with 250 men, of which 200 were British auxiliaries, which decided the action. The enemy sustained a loss, in killed and prisoners, of about 300. Lopez escaped with the remnant of his troops, in consequence of the cavalry of the patriots not being in a condition to pursue. Following up this success, Valdes pursued the enemy with great celerity, obtained several advantages, and finally drove the royalists out of the province of Popayan, of which the patriots took possession; the royalists fled into Quito, where they hoped to retrieve their losses.

CHAPTER VII.

*Morillo proposes an armistice—writes to the congress and Bolivar—the Colombians invest Carthagena by sea and land—an armistice concluded—revolution in Guayaquil—Morillo returns to Spain—succeeded by Morales—armistice expires—the liberator's proclamation—installation of the congress at Rosario de Cucula—speech of the president—campaign commences—Coro captured—battle of Carabobo—congress convenes—ratifies the union—fleet of the royalists destroyed—Carthagena capitulates—United States acknowledges the independence of Colombia—battle of Pinchincha—siege of Porto Cavello—Mr. Zed's mission to Europe—Spanish fleet destroyed at lake Maracaibo—the town surrendered—Porto Cavello surrenders to the patriots—installation of the congress—speech of the president—arrival of a minister from the United States—Bolivar's plan for liberating Peru—treaty with the United States—grand confederacy of all the states—conclusion.*

THE great revolution that had taken place in Spain, which re-established the constitution of the Cortes of 1812, produced no effect on the war in America, until June, 1820, when general Morillo, agreeably to orders received from the constitutional government of Spain, issued a proclamation, proposing a suspension of hostilities predicated on the events which had taken place in Spain. On the 17th of June he addressed a letter to the congress, whom he styled "high and mighty lords," in which he states that he had received positive orders from the constitutional monarch of the Spains to propose a just and generous accommodation, which should re-unite all the family, in order to enjoy the advantages of their political regeneration. He informs the congress that he has appointed Thomas Cires, and Jose Domingo Duarte, as commissioners, to treat with the congress, on principles honourable to both parties; and that he has given orders to his subalterns to suspend hostilities, and to remain at their several positions, and make no movement unless they are first attacked. He beseeches the congress to cast away from their remembrance, from that moment, as he does from his, the *odiousness of the war*, which had unhappily distracted their common country, and only to think of the glory of a re-union of countrymen, kindred, and brethren. The congress was not in session when this

communication was received ; but they were convened for the purpose of considering it on the 13th of July, 1820, when the following decree was passed, and sent to Morillo as an answer to his communication.

“ The sovereign congress of Colombia, anxious to see peace re-established, will hear, with pleasure, the proposals which may be made on the part of the Spanish government, provided they shall have for their end the absolute acknowledgment of the entire sovereignty and independence of the republic of Colombia ; and that they will not admit of any other overture, which shall not conform to this principle, proclaimed by the government, as well as by the people at different epochs.”

On the 22d of June, general Morillo addressed a letter to president Bolivar, informing him that he had appointed Rodriguez Toro and Gonzales Linares, as commissioners to negotiate terms of peace, and that he had given the necessary orders for the suspension of hostilities. Accompanying this despatch, was one from the Spanish general Torres. The reply of Bolivar to Morillo, contains the most noble and dignified sentiments. After acknowledging the receipt of his communication, he says,—“ The republic of Colombia most seriously congratulates itself on seeing the day on which liberty extends her beneficent influence over unhappy Spain, and to see her ancient metropolis treading in the steps of Colombia, and in the path of reason. The people of Colombia more than ten years ago determined to consecrate the last of its members to the only cause worthy of the sacrifice of peace—that is the cause of an oppressed country ; and confiding in the sacredness of their cause, in the most solemn manner on the 20th of November, 1818, resolved to *combat, perpetually, against all exterior domination, and not to be reconciled to peace, but upon the recognition of absolute independence.* I take the liberty to enclose to you, sir, the fundamental law, which prescribes the only basis upon which our respective governments can enter into negotiations.

He informs Morillo that he could not accede, entirely, to the amnesty which he proposes, until he knew the nature of the negotiations entrusted to Toro and Linares, who, he says, would be treated with the respect due to their sacred character.

Early in the season Bolivar took a central position at Cucuta, where he could direct and observe the operations of the several corps under his command as general in chief, and be enabled to afford assistance where it might be most wanted, or most efficacious. The army of the north, under general Urdaneta, which descended the Magdalena, captured Mompox, and proceeded to the coast, where it formed a junction with that division of the army under general Montilla, which had previously been de-

spatched for that purpose. Admiral Brion, with the naval force, took possession of Savanilla, and general Montilla laid siege to Cartagena. General Monagas, commanding a corps of cavalry, defeated the royalists in June, at Guire, in Barcelona; their commander Lozana was slain, and a great part of the enemy made prisoners. General Zaraza, also a commander of cavalry, surprised and defeated a small division of the royalists on the 7th of June, the whole of the enemy being killed or made prisoners. The central divisions of the republican army, in the month of October, 1820, entered the provinces of Merida and Truxillo, and drove the royalists before them, who being pressed hard in all directions, were obliged to abandon those provinces.

The republic this year had a large number of troops in the field, well equipped, and commanded by experienced generals, and although no decisive battle took place, the arms of the republic were almost every where successful, and much was done towards the liberation of the country, notwithstanding the proposition for a suspension of hostilities, calculated to damp the spirit of operations.

The cause of the revolution was gaining ground, not only by the success of the arms of the republic, but by the spontaneous struggles of the inhabitants. In the month of October, before the conclusion of the armistice, the inhabitants in Guayaquil revolted against the Spanish authorities; and with little loss, on either side, succeeded in overthrowing the royal government, and uniting the province to the republic. The success of this revolution in Guayaquil, extended its influence to the adjacent districts of Ambato, Riobamba, Quaranda, and Tucunga, in all of which the inhabitants rose against the royal authorities, and liberated themselves from the dominion of tyrants. In the eastern section of the republic, the patriots also obtained possession of Barcelona, in the month of October; and all the northern part of New Granada, with the exception of the city of Cartagena, and the isthmus of Panama, was liberated at the close of the year 1820, or the beginning of 1821. Maracaibo was also soon added to the republic; the Spanish authority being overthrown by the spontaneous efforts of the inhabitants.

After an unsuccessful attempt at negotiation by the commissioners, in the month of August, an armistice or treaty for the suspension of hostilities, was concluded and ratified on the 26th of November. This treaty provides that hostilities shall cease the moment of its ratification on land, in the American seas in thirty days, and in ninety days in the seas of Europe. It defines the limits of the territories which each party is to occupy; provides for disbanding some of the guerrillas; for promoting a free communication between the territories occupied by the different

parties; and contains an article binding both governments, in the event of peace not being concluded, to form a treaty for the prosecution of the war according to the laws of nations, to prevent in future, the horrors and cruelty with which the contest had been characterized. This armistice was to continue six months, with a provision for renewing it for a longer period; hostilities, however, might be commenced within that time, by giving forty days notice to the adverse party. This suspension of hostilities was proposed by Bolivar, at a time when the troops of the republic were every where victorious, affording the strongest presages of the successful result of the campaign. But the president, as humane and magnanimous as he is brave, as long as there was any prospect of peace, was anxious to stop the effusion of blood, which had so profusely flowed during this long and ferocious contest.

Near the close of this year, the congress published a manifesto to the people of Colombia, recapitulating the events of the revolution, and the atrocities of the Spanish chiefs during the war; and which contains the reasons why Colombia ought not to accept of the proffered terms of peace, but to insist on the acknowledgment of her independence, as the only admissible basis of negotiation. Among these reasons is the ability, approaching almost to certainty, of the republic to maintain its independence.

"On commencing hostilities, Colombia neither had great armies, nor the materials to form them; to-day she has skilful generals, expert officers, veteran soldiers inured to war, and plenty of arms and ammunition.

"Many citizens were then afraid to be soldiers; now they are all in arms, and delight in being so. Colombians are no longer what they were; and the population of Colombia are a new people, regenerated by a ten year's contest, in which have disappeared those physical and moral disqualifications that render her independence doubtful, and are become worthy and fit to govern themselves, instead of obeying another's will, or any sovereignty but their own."

The Irish legion of general D'Evereux rendered very important services in the campaign of 1820, notwithstanding many of them became dissatisfied and left the service, and great mortality prevailed among them in consequence of their being unaccustomed to a tropical climate. One division of this legion landed in Rio de la Hacha, in March, 1820, and formed a part of the army of general Montilla, which in the course of the campaign liberated the provinces of Rio de la Hacha, Carthagena, and Santa Martha. In April, 1821, general D'Evereux\* issued

\* General D'Evereux, although a native of Ireland, was a citizen of the United States, and resided at Baltimore for several years. He devoted



an address to what remained of the Irish legion. He says, "Although unable to stem the torrent of insubordination and disaffection, which unfortunately swept away so great a portion of our force, you have on all occasions in which the enemies of Colombia have presented you the opportunity, evinced your native courage, and added fresh laurels to the crown of Ireland's fame. It gives me sincere pleasure to know, that your merits are duly appreciated by the governor general of these provinces, his excellency Marianna Montilla. The possession of the provinces of Rio de la Hacha, Carthagena, Santa Martha, and Maracaibo, has been the result of the campaign of 1820; a campaign, of which our legion was the origin."

General Morillo, after the ratification of the armistice in November, 1820, retired from the command of the Spanish armies in America, and returned to Spain, with both the honours\* and execrations of the country he had ravaged. General Morales and La Torre succeeded to the command of the Spanish forces, who, refusing to extend the armistice, both parties made preparations in the month of April, 1821, for the renewal of hostilities.

Commissioners were sent out from Colombia to the constitutional government of Spain, to attempt to negotiate a peace. The subject was taken up by the Cortes on the 3d of May, 1821, and a committee appointed to devise measures in conjunction with the ministers for terminating the dissensions in America. A plan was matured for establishing three governments in Spanish America, to be under a constitution the same with some exceptions, as that of Spain; the legislative power to be entrusted to a Cortes, elected by the people, and the executive power to be exercised by a delegate to be named by the king. Ferdinand strongly objected to this project, which caused it to be abandoned. The commissioners of Mexico agreed to it, but those of Colombia were expressly instructed to listen to no terms of accommodation, short of unqualified independence. This being the only basis of peace, the Spanish government declined

himself to the cause of South American independence, in a manner as disinterested as La Fayette did to that of North America. In 1815, he conveyed succours to Carthagena when besieged by Morillo, and his services during that siege obtained for him the thanks and friendship of Bolivar. Finding that nothing could then be done in Venezuela, he went to Buenos Ayres, where he gave to the patriots a large supply of munitions of war. He received a commission of general in the service of Buenos Ayres, and finally returned to the United States as an agent of that government. He afterwards went to his native country to raise troops for the Colombian service. From his distinguished and patriotic services, he is justly entitled to be regarded as the La Fayette of the South American revolution.

\* Morillo was created count of Carthagena for his services in America.

even to enter on any negotiation. Mr. Ravenga, one of the commissioners of Bolivar, in July, 1821, had an interview with Mr. Brent, the charge de affaires of the United States, at Madrid, and complained of the ignorance, illiberality, and prejudices of the government and nation as to America, and informed him that the republic of Colombia relied on the friendship of the United States, and calculated that it would take the lead in the acknowledgment of its independence. Mr. Brent stated that so far as he was able to form an opinion, the ministers of the foreign powers had exerted themselves during the agitation of the American question, to prevent any arrangement between the parties.\*

On the 17th of April, Bolivar issued a proclamation to the army, styling it the liberating army. "Peace," he says, "was to have been the fruits of that armistice which is now broken; but Spain regarded with indifference the afflictions to which we have been exposed through her neglect." To this he added, that the remnant of the Spanish force cannot resist twenty-five provinces which have been liberated from slavery; that the nation expects from the army its entire emancipation, and also that in future it will religiously fulfil the duties of humanity, that the war may no longer wear a ferocious character. On the same day he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Colombia, in which he states that it is more than a year since Spain had enjoyed a representative government; yet she had taken no steps to abate her tyranny in America, or withdraw her armies; that the republic had sent ministers to Madrid to negotiate a peace without success, owing to the insincerity of the Spanish government, and that the renewal of hostilities is the only means of putting an end to the dreadful calamities which afflict the country. On the 25th of April, the president issued another proclamation to the army, in which he says, that in three days, hostilities will commence.

"Soldiers! Every presage is in favour of a victorious issue, because your courage cannot any longer be resisted, you have already done so much that almost nothing remains for you to do; but I must apprise you that the government expects from you to display compassion with your courage, and that every infringement which may be committed of the regulations of war, will subject the guilty to capital punishment; if the enemy should disregard these regulations, we shall not imitate them; the glory of Colombia shall not be stained with blood dishonourably shed."

As is usual in similar cases, each party charged the other with violating the armistice, and of being the cause why peace was not concluded. The Spanish general addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he asserts that the government of Colombia had rejected peace, which was offered on the most liberal and honoura-

\* Communication of Mr. Brent to the secretary of state of July 10, 1821

ble terms, and had violated the armistice. This called forth a reply from Bolivar, addressed to the Spanish army, in which he assures them that their general is mistaken, and charges the continuance of the war to their government; he also assures them that his army will observe most religiously the treaty entered into for the regulation of the war, and that a capital punishment is already decreed against every person who shall infringe it. Bolivar was at this time at Varinas, which was the head-quarters of the liberating army.

On the 6th of May, 1821, the general congress of Colombia was installed at Rosario de Cucuta, agreeably to the fundamental law; and on the 10th, the president addressed a communication to the congress, resigning the executive power.

"The act of the installation of the general congress of Colombia, composed of the representatives of twenty-two free provinces, has consummated the most ardent wishes of my heart. The republic, founded on the complete union of the representatives of the people of Cundinamarca and Venezuela, is now destined to accomplish that liberty and prosperity which every free people have the right to secure; and I have at length had the good fortune to see that day when the only legitimate depositories of the sovereign authority of the people, are already in the happy exercise of their sacred functions. From this moment I consider myself exonerated from the charge of the executive power, with which it has been the pleasure of my country to entrust me."

He declares his adhesion to the authority of the nation, and his entire submission to the congress, and the institutions and laws which they were about to establish; but says, that if the congress should again insist on investing him with the presidency, he must protest against it, and repeats the reasons he had before urged, that the military profession, in his opinion, was incompatible with the office of chief magistrate; and now that the danger was past, he did not wish any longer to endure the insinuations and reproaches of his personal enemies, who accused him of ambitious designs. The congress, by their president, F. Restrepo, now secretary of state for the home department, replied to the communication of Bolivar; and whilst they acknowledge the weight of the reasons urged by him, which they say they have not time then fully to deliberate upon, they urge in eloquent language the imperious necessity of his continuing at the head of the republic, and add, that they are persuaded he will make this additional sacrifice, and thus furnish a new proof of his ardent zeal for the welfare of his country. This appeal of the national representation could not be resisted, and the illustrious Bolivar consented to remain at the head of the government, as well as at the head of the armies.

In the month of May the campaign was opened by the capture of Coro, by the division of the liberating army, under general Urdaneta, on the 11th of the month. On the 15th, another division of the army commanded by general Bermudez, took possession of Caraccas; but this was premature, for not being supported, he was compelled, by Morales, to evacuate the place on the 26th, without much loss, however, on either side.

In the month of June both parties were concentrating their forces, and seemed to be preparing not only to close the campaign, but to decide the fate of the contest by a general action. The head-quarters of the royalists were on the plains of Carabobo, where they concentrated most of their forces, amounting to 6000 men, commanded by Morales and La Torre. The divisions of the liberating army were concentrated on the fields of Tinaquillo; the first division, commanded by general Paez, was composed of 1500 cavalry, and the valiant British battalion of Apure; the second division consisted of the second brigade of the guards, the battalions of Tyradore, Boyaca, and Vargas, and the squadron of Sagrada, commanded by general Sedeno; the third division consisted of the first brigade of the guards, with the battalions of rifles and grenadiers, conquerors of Boyaca, and the regiments of horse, under the command of colonel Plaza. This brave army, headed by Bolivar in person, on the morning of the 23d of June, marched towards the enemy, and early the next day continued its march through the defiles of the mountains, which separated it from the enemy's camp; and by a rapid but orderly movement, it reached the plains of Carabobo by eleven o'clock, and defiled its left in front of the enemy, within reach of their fire. In its march it had to pass a rivulet, exposed to the fire of the whole royal army, on an inaccessible height, which would admit but one person to pass at a time. The action was commenced by the brave general Paez, who with two battalions of his division, and a regiment of cavalry, attacked the enemy's right wing with such resolution and intrepidity, that in half an hour it was totally routed and cut to pieces, which decided the fate of the day, and it may almost be said, of the war. The second division, except some of its light troops, was not engaged, in consequence of local barriers; but its brave general, Sedeno, impatient at the impossibility of bringing his division into action, engaged a party of infantry alone, and was killed in the midst of the enemy, fighting in the most heroic manner. The British battalion, commanded by colonel Farrier, distinguished itself for its bravery, and lost many valuable officers; and the valour and activity of all the troops, led on by the invincible Paez, was never surpassed. The defeat of the enemy was complete; their entire army was annihilated; only 400 men saving themselves by taking shelter in Porto Ca-

vello. The fugitives were pursued with great ardour as far as Valencia, where the Spanish general, La Torre, was overtaken with a column, which he had formed after a defeat, and retreated on that city; this column was put to flight, and took refuge in Porto Cavello, whither colonel Wrangel was ordered with his division to besiege the place. The forces of the republic were about the same in number as those of the Spaniards, but only a part were engaged. Their loss, in killed and wounded, was about 400, including general Sedeno, colonel Plaza, and many other brave officers. As a reward for the distinguished bravery and services of general Paez in this great victory, the president, Bolivar, on the battle ground, appointed him general in chief of the army.\* This was the second decisive victory which had been obtained by Bolivar on the plains of Carabobo.

Having ordered colonel Wrangler to lay siege to Porto Cavello, and another division of troops, under Heras, to pursue the Spanish colonel Tello, who had been despatched from Carabobo to Philipe, Bolivar, at the head of three battalions, and a regiment of cavalry, marched towards Caraccas, which place he entered on the 29th of June, the royalists having abandoned it on the 28th, on the approach of the patriots. On entering his native city, after having rescued it the third time from the dominion of tyrants, Bolivar was received by his fellow citizens, assembled in immense crowds, with the transports of joy, which the occasion, calling forth so many recollections of past sufferings and present hopes, was calculated to inspire. The president addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the city, in which he observes that a decisive victory has closed the war in Venezuela, and that only one fortified place remains to be subdued; and adds, that peace, far more glorious than victory, will soon put the Colombians in possession of all places, and of all the hearts of their enemies.

In the month of July the congress assembled again at Cucuta, and on the 12th, after a full deliberation, solemnly ratified the fundamental law, and re-enacted its provisions. They decreed a national anniversary festival, to be held on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of December, for the celebration, first, of the emancipation and entire independence of the people of Colombia; second, of the union of the republic and the establishment of the constitution; and, third, the great victories by which these blessings have been established. The decree ratifying the fundamental law of union, is signed by all the members of the congress. At this session the congress also passed a decree for the abolition of slavery, which we have considered in another place.

The last of June the squadron of Colombia, under Brion, entered the harbour of Carthagena, which place was invested by

\* See despatch of Bolivar in Niles' Register, Vol. 21, page 15.

land and water, where it engaged the flotilla of the royalists, and in a severe action, succeeded in capturing four of the enemy's launches, and destroying the remainder. The Spaniards suffered a loss of 200 men. The city, however, from its great natural and artificial strength, held out until the 23d of September, when it capitulated. Shortly after, Cumana also surrendered to general Bermudez, which left no part of the present territory of Colombia in the possession of the Spaniards, except the fortress of Porto Cavello, the isthmus of Panama, and Quito.

In the month of May the army of the republic, under general Sucre, destined to act against the royalists in Quito, arrived in Guayaquil, which frustrated the plans of the enemy, who was intending to invade that province, which had revolted against the Spanish authorities, and liberated itself the preceding October, and established a junta for its immediate government. After the arrival of Sucre, the junta on the 15th of May, sent to Bolivar a communication, expressing their desire and expectations of being regarded as a part of the republic, and saying that their only object in throwing off the Spanish authority, was to place that province under the auspices of Colombia. Panama declared itself independent of the authority of Spain, on the 15th of December, and immediately sent deputies to the government of Colombia, to announce the pleasing event, which at the same time gave them freedom, and connected their destinies with those of the Colombian republic.

The year 1821 will ever be auspicious in the annals of Colombia ; its arms were every where successful, and crowned with one of the most splendid and important victories in modern times ; it witnessed the final destruction of the power of Spain, and the liberation of the whole territory of the republic, except Quito. But not more glorious in the success of her arms, brilliant as that was, than in establishing her political institutions, and the consolidation of the republic. Whilst the armies of Colombia were defeating its enemies in the field, and liberating its provinces, the congress were ratifying the union, and establishing political institutions, founded on the great principles of the rights of man, and calculated to secure, and give the utmost value to the blessings of independence and freedom, which had been so gloriously won in the field, the fruits of twelve years of barbarous war, and an hundred battles. The congress continued their deliberations, and on the 30th of August, adopted the present constitution, whose highest praise, perhaps is, that the government has been administered under it for four years with stability and wonderful success, considering the condition of the country, impoverished and rent by all the evils, miseries, and horrors of war. The constitution was not only framed this year, but the government was on

ganized under it ; and the illustrious Bolivar, now the acknowledged father of his country, was elected president, and general Santander vice-president. A law was also passed, for securing the liberty of the press, which declares that it ought to be as free as the faculty of speech itself ; a resolution was likewise adopted at this session, in honour of certain patriots abroad, who had taken a deep interest in the independence of Colombia. Of the number were Lord Holland and Sir Robert Wilson in England, and Mr. Clay and colonel Duane in the United States.

The cause of the revolution having made such astonishing progress the last three years, the independence of Colombia being in fact established, and the destinies of the republic so glorious at home, it at last began to be viewed in a more favourable light by foreign powers. From every consideration of sympathy, national honour, and interest, it was fit that the government of the United States should take the lead. It was so. On the 8th of March, 1822, president Monroe communicated to congress a message, in which, after alluding to the epochs of the revolution, and the progress of the war, he says, " that when we regard the great length of time which this war has been prosecuted, the complete success which has attended it in favour of the provinces ; the present condition of the parties, and the utter inability of Spain to produce any change in it, we are compelled to conclude that its fate is settled, and that the provinces which have declared their independence are in the enjoyment of it, and ought to be recognised." This message, and the accompanying documents, were referred to a committee, who made a long report recommending the recognition of the independence of the Mexican and South American republics : which was adopted with great unanimity by congress. Not long afterwards, ministers were appointed to Colombia, Mexico, and Buenos Ayres.

The campaign of 1822, was destined for the deliberation of Quito. During the past year, general Sucre had maintained himself in that quarter, confirmed the independence of Guayaquil, and checked the designs of the Spaniards. The destruction of the royal army on the plains of Carabobo, and the liberation of all the northern territory of the republic, enabled Bolivar to direct his whole attention to the expulsion of the Spaniards from the southern provinces. The army in the south under Sucre was re-enforced by the troops which could be spared from other situations, to the amount of 7000 men, and the illustrious president placed himself at its head. Both parties having at length concentrated their forces, the campaign and the fate of Quito was decided at the great battle fought at Pinchincha, about the first of June, 1822. The good fortune of Bolivar still attended him, and the arms of the republic were again crowned with a most sig-

nal victory, which annihilated the power of the royalists in the south, rescued Quito from the dominion of foreign tyranny, and connected its destinies with Colombia. This splendid victory was in a great measure gained by general Sucre, a young but most gallant officer, and procured for him afterwards the station of commandant general of that department. After the victory of Pinchincha, Bolivar, at the head of his victorious liberating army, entered the city of Quito amidst the acclamations and rejoicings of the people.

On the Atlantic coast, the Spanish still possessed Porto Cavello, whither the remnants of their forces were collected. The place was closely besieged by the Colombians, under general Paez. Morales, having equipped and manned a flotilla superior to that of the patriots, commenced a system of predatory warfare on the coast. He made a sudden irruption into the province of Coro, where he routed a body of Colombian troops, who sustained a loss of several hundred men. He laid waste the country before him, and seemed to be influenced by the principle of destroying what he could not hold or reclaim. Encouraged by this success, he proceeded against Maracaibo, which was obliged to surrender, and in the true spirit of piracy and plunder, Morales seized all the private property within the reach of his power. Exulting in his success, he published the most barbarous decrees, which would have disgraced an Attila or Tamerlane. But fortunately the destructive career of this barbarian was checked before he had accomplished any thing of importance in a military point of view. Some apprehensions, however, were felt for the safety of La Guira and Caraccas, and great exertions were made by the Colombians to equip a fleet at the former place superior to Morales. Commodore Daniels was appointed to command it. The Spaniards were defeated with great loss and driven out of Coro, and escaped to Curracoa, but still held possession of Maracaibo and Porto Cavello. The principal fort of the latter place on the main land capitulated to general Paez, and this rendered the garrison entirely dependent on receiving supplies by sea, which however it was enabled to do, as long as the royalists maintained a naval superiority.

Early in the year 1822, Mr. Zea was sent by the government of the republic, as ambassador to France; and on the 8th of April he presented a long communication to the French minister of foreign affairs, and to the ministers of the other powers resident at the French court, urging the grounds and reasons for recognising the independence of Colombia, which was returned unanswered. From France, Mr. Zea went to England, where, in March, 1822, he negotiated a large loan in London for Colombia. The Dutch and Portuguese admitted the vessels of Co-



Colombia into their ports in Europe and America, but did not formally acknowledge its independence. A minister was sent by Colombia to Lisbon to treat with that government respecting the boundary of the republic of Colombia on the Brazils. The war in Colombia was now drawing to a close. At the commencement of the year 1823, the Spaniards continued in possession of the fortress of Porto Cavello and of Maracaibo; but the naval force of the republic was so augmented as to be in a condition to dispute with the enemy, the mastery of the sea. General Padilla was appointed to command the Colombian squadron, which, on the 23d of July, 1823, attacked the Spanish flotilla commanded by commodore Laborde, in the lake Maracaibo, and in a desperate and sanguinary action, totally destroyed it. The Colombians captured twelve vessels; three were blown up, and two driven on shore and destroyed, and not a vessel of the enemy escaped. The Spaniards had about 250 men killed and wounded, and 1500 made prisoners. Their commander, Laborde, made his escape in a boat, and reached his frigate outside of the castle. The destruction of the Spanish squadron rendered it impossible for Morales to maintain himself long in Maracaibo, and accordingly he surrendered with all his troops to the patriot general Marique, commanding the troops investing the place on the 3d of August. General Bermudez sailed on board of the ship Bolivar, from La Guira, a short time before, to take command of the besieging army, but the enemy surrendered before he arrived at Maracaibo. Notwithstanding the atrocities and barbarities of the savage Morales, which had fairly outlawed him from the pale of humanity, and the protection and rights of the laws of war, he and all his men were treated humanely, and permitted to embark for Cuba.

The last act, in the bloody drama, now only remained to be performed; the torch of war, which for twelve years, had desolated the fairest portion of the globe—"a country blessed by nature, but cursed by man," now only shed its hideous but flickering glare, from the ramparts of Porto Cavello. But these last gleams were soon to be extinguished. The destruction of the squadron of the enemy enabled the patriots to invest Porto Cavello by sea, as well as land, which cut off all communication, and deprived it of supplies. General La Torre, however, with true Spanish obstinacy, held out to the last extremity; but was obliged to capitulate about the 1st of December. This event, which terminated the long and desolating war, which has given to Colombia existence, independence, and liberty, was announced to the nation by a proclamation from the vice-president, general Santander, exercising the executive functions, dated the 9th of December, 1823.

"Colombians! I announce to you your country entirely free from the enemies who have so obstinately presumed to oppose the immutable decrees of Providence. The Spanish flag which lately floated on the walls of Porto Cavello, has been rent in pieces by the valiant troops of the republic, and the tri-coloured flag planted thereon in its stead.

"No longer does an enemy exist for us to contend with. The Colombian territory is entire, and the code of happiness and equality protects all who inhabit the country of Bolivar.

"Colombians, may you enjoy the reward of your constancy, and of your individual triumphs: they secure the reign of liberty in America, and enable you to offer a sacred asylum to freemen throughout the world. To be a citizen of Colombia, is to belong to a nation possessing liberty, constancy, and valour."

We have passed over some civil occurrences to close the events of the war. The congress was installed at Bogota, in April, 1823, on which interesting occasion the vice-president, Santander, charged with the executive power, laid before the national representation a long and highly interesting message, containing a complete exposition of the internal condition of Colombia, and the state of its foreign relations. On the latter subject, he speaks of their relations with the United States, in the following complimentary terms:—

"The government of the United States has given a sublime example of justice in the solemn acknowledgment of the independence and sovereignty of the states of South America. That nation, the cradle of liberty has seen with satisfaction, this act so justly acquired by policy and sound reason, and the enlightened members of its government, by this noble conduct, have added a new lustre to the glory of a free people, and to themselves. An agent from the United States, at present, resides in this capital, who has communicated to me the friendly sentiments of his government, and a desire to commence and consolidate an intercourse with the republic. The executive has hastened to testify our sentiments through the means of a minister plenipotentiary, thereby preparing for our future negotiation."

He speaks of the unsuccessful attempt to treat with Spain, and says, that the failure of that negotiation induced the government to establish solid relations with the independent governments of the new world, and it had proposed the establishment of an American confederacy, uniting the political interests of the vast territories separated from Spain, and mutually guaranteeing their protection. "The arms of the republic," says the executive, "have been covered with glory wherever they have carried liberty and law, and even in misfortune, their honour has been untarnished." The message unfolds the deplorable condition of the national se-

venue, which, it says, requires a *new creation*; and urges on congress to provide means to pay the defenders of the country; and it invokes the national representation to recognise the public debts, provide for paying the interest of them, and to establish national faith and credit. The improvement of the organization of the regular army, and of the militia; the preservation and increase of the navy, and the fortifications, are recommended to the attention of congress, as well as the interests of commerce, agriculture, and the mines, neglected and almost destroyed by the war.

On the 9th of December, 1823, Mr. Anderson, minister of the United States to Colombia, arrived at Bogota, the seat of government; and on the following day, with solemn and appropriate ceremonies and honours, he was presented to the acting executive of the republic, and addressed to him the following noble sentiments, honourable alike to himself and his country:—

“*Mr. President*: The president of the United States, animated by an ardent wish to continue the relations of perfect harmony and generous friendship between our respective countries, has commanded me to give the most satisfactory expression to the liberal feelings which he, as well as the people of the United States, must ever entertain towards the institutions of freedom in every country. I tender to you his anxious wishes for the restoration of peace to this republic, and prosperity to its citizens. My own admiration of the liberal institutions of Colombia, and of the glorious manner in which they have been created and sustained, affords the surest pledge of the sincerity of my sentiments. If this mission shall have the happy effect of giving solidity and duration to the harmonious feelings of our countrymen, it will be a source of unaffected joy to every friend of free government.

“It is on this continent and in this age, Mr. President, that man has been awakened to the long lost truth, that, under heaven, he is capable of governing himself; that God has not given to him in vain the part and intellect of a human being. Every motive that can operate on a good man, urges him to cherish the institutions founded on the developement of these truths, and to nourish the principles which can alone sustain them. The sublimest spectacle that we can enjoy, is to contemplate our fellow man explaining and teaching, by reason and argument, the truth, that *“voluntary agreement is the only legitimate source of political power.”* When a nation is penetrated with this truth, its liberty is placed beyond the reach of force or fraud.”

Having concluded, Mr. Anderson delivered to the vice-president his credential letters of minister plenipotentiary of the United States; and his excellency, on reading them, congratulated him on his safe arrival in the capital of the republic, saying among other things, that, “as the United States had always been

the great luminary which the inhabitants of this part of America had held in view during their conflicts, so now they, and particularly the people and government of the republic of Colombia, would delight to express to the classic land of American liberty, the high esteem which they had ever entertained for its government and political institutions, and their desire to improve and draw, still more closely, the friendly relations which happily exist between the two nations."

This was an interesting occasion to the two republics, particularly to Colombia, Mr. Anderson being the first minister received from any foreign power. This act of amity and official connexion, between the two great republics in the new world; whose emancipation and independence were acquired by similar struggles and sacrifices; whose institutions are founded on the same principles of liberty and justice; both free—both asylums for the oppressed of the old world; one flourishing and powerful, and the other enjoying in prospect, the high destinies which its sister republic has attained, was an occasion of the deepest interest, and calculated to inspire the most pleasing sensations and the most exalted hopes in the bosom of every friend of liberty.

After the glorious termination of the war in Quito, in 1823, Bolivar, at the earnest solicitation of the people of Peru, proceeded with a part of the liberating and victorious army of Colombia, into the territory of that country, to emancipate that interesting portion of America. The groans of the oppressed and suffering inhabitants of Peru awakened the most tender sympathies of their brethren in Colombia; but none felt more sensibly for their sufferings than the illustrious liberator, not more distinguished for his bravery, than for his humanity and magnanimity. He considered himself not only as the liberator of Colombia, but of all Spanish America. He resolved to afford succour to the Peruvians, and to overthrow there, as he had done in his own country, an odious foreign tyranny; both humanity and policy dictated this course. The people and government of Colombia approved and seconded this noble and patriotic design, and a large body of troops were placed at the disposal of the president to march into a neighbouring state; not as enemies, but as friends and benefactors; not as invaders, but as liberators; not to conquer, but to emancipate the people, and break with their arms the chains which enslaved them. The events of this expedition and its glorious success belong to the history of Peru. To prosecute this war, for the emancipation of a neighbouring state, the Colombian government obtained a loan in London of twenty millions of dollars; such solidity had the national credit already acquired.

In the Spring of 1824, the congress of Colombia passed a

decree for the defence of the country, directing the executive to raise 50,000 men in addition to the troops then in service; but to diminish the number as circumstances might require. The reasons given for this decree, were the establishment of an absolute government in Spain, which left no hope of its recognising the independence of the American states, and the avowed designs by the European cabinets united under the name of holy alliance, which the congress says ought to awake the attention of the free nations of the new world, as the principles on which their independence and institutions are founded, are proscribed by these allied despots.

On the 3d day of October, a treaty, or convention of amity and commerce was concluded and signed at Bogota, between the United States and the republic of Colombia, by Mr. Anderson, our minister, and the vice-president of Colombia, and Pedro Gual, secretary of foreign affairs.

The first article provides, that "there shall be a perfect, firm, and inviolable peace and sincere friendship between the United States of America and the republic of Colombia, in all the extent of their possessions and territories, and between their people and citizens respectively, without distinction of persons or places."

The second article provides, that if either government grant any favour to any other nation, as to commerce or navigation, the same shall immediately be enjoyed by the other party to this treaty. The third article allows the citizens of one republic to frequent the coast and countries of the other, to reside and trade therein, and to pay no greater duties and charges than the most favoured nation, and to enjoy all the rights and exemptions in commerce and navigation, which are enjoyed by the most favoured nations. The merchants, commanders of vessels, and other citizens of one nation, residing temporarily for business in the ports or other places of the other, are to be treated as citizens of the country in which they reside. There are numerous articles of less importance. The treaty is to remain in force for twelve years from the time of its ratification. The respective ratifications were exchanged at Washington on the 27th day of May, 1825, by Mr. Brent, chief clerk of the department of state, and Jose Maria Salazar, minister plenipotentiary of the republic of Colombia. This, the first treaty between the two republics, is founded on principles of perfect reciprocity, and will be equally and highly advantageous to both nations; and we trust, long remain the basis of the commercial and friendly intercourse between them, which will be continually and rapidly increasing.

A convention has also been concluded between the two republics to put an end to the horrible slave trade.

During the year 1824, the executive of Hayti sent an agent to Bogota, to propose a treaty of defensive alliance between the Colombian and the Haytien governments which was not acted on by the executive, but referred to congress, who did not recommend the conclusion of such a treaty.

Colombia acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of Guatemala, and an accredited minister from that republic resides in Bogota.

The constitutional congress of Colombia commenced its session at the capital the first of January, 1825. A long and satisfactory message was delivered by the vice-president, exhibiting the tranquillity and increasing prosperity of the country.

"The congress," says the executive, "may remain satisfied that our means of defence are most abundant, and whatever enterprise may be attempted by Spain, will only end in her disgrace, and add to the lustre of our arms.

"Our relations with the American governments are on the footing of friendship and good intelligence, that ought ever to exist between states maintaining the same cause. The assistance we have afforded Peru has produced such an important change in that country, that her independence can no longer be matter of doubt."

In speaking of the United States, he observes :—

"With the United States we maintain the most friendly and cordial relations. You will have before you in a short time for your examination and approbation, the treaty of peace, friendship, navigation, and commerce, that the executive has concluded with the government of those states.

"Colombia will be proud of having been the first of the old Spanish American states that has presented itself to the world, united by means of public treaties with a nation pre-eminently favoured by the genius of liberty. You will likewise receive, for examination, the convention which has been settled with the same states, to put an end to the horrible slave trade ; our laws have declared against that execrable commerce, and on this basis the executive regulated its conduct. The law of the 21st of July, of the 11th year, prohibits the introduction of slaves : the law regulating cruizers, declares all vessels found trafficking in slaves in the waters within the jurisdiction of the republic, to be lawful prizes ; but as there are no punishments for the infraction of the law, and it being for the benefit of the human race that the authority of the law regulating cruizers should be extended, it appears to the executive that this convention with the United States supplies this deficiency."

This interesting and able document concludes with the following flattering recapitulation :—

“ This is the present state of our republic, in every branch of its administration. Friendship and the best disposition with the American and foreign governments—regularity in treaties and conventions—order and tranquillity in the interior—respect and submission to the laws—a free press—the increase of public education—well founded hopes of improving the national wealth—an army covered with glory, consecrated entirely to the cause of liberty and independence ; and sufficient resources to meet any event, and to sustain its dignity, government, and laws. It is for you to remove the obstacles that impede the rapid progress of this republic to happiness and prosperity, and to reform those defects which public opinion pointed out, and which you acknowledge to exist. If we cast our eyes back on the period when the code of laws was first published, and recollect what Colombia then was, we shall perceive with agreeable surprise, that we have made a rapid stride, and conquered vast difficulties. This ought to animate us to prosecute our designs with the greatest zeal and patriotism. The executive firmly believes that these virtues exist in the legislative body ; and you, I hope, will have sufficient confidence in me to believe that I shall afford all the assistance that the experience of administration may have placed in my power ; and above all, I shall be extremely punctual in the execution of your wise deliberations.”

Among the important laws passed this session is one completing the territorial divisions of the republic ; dividing it into twelve departments and thirty-seven provinces, which has been noticed in speaking of the government.

Among the noble projects of Colombia, or perhaps we ought to say of Bolivar, is that of forming a general confederacy, composed of all the states of what was formerly Spanish America ; and having the same origin, bound by the same interests, and threatened by the same dangers, it seems just that they should have a common destiny, and that they should reciprocally support and defend each other. The object of this confederacy is to unite the resources and means of the several independent states for the general security ; for the defence of their independence and liberty ; to strengthen the ties of amity between them, uniting them as members of the same family. The plan has been approved of by several of the emancipated states, which have concluded treaties with Colombia to carry it into execution. The congress in which all the republics of South America will doubtless be represented, and to which the United States have appointed ministers, it is expected will meet at Panama in October of the present year, (1826.) This plan is highly honourable to Colombia, which possesses

greater power and a more commanding attitude than any of the other independent states : but instead of her attempting to make use of these advantages, to become the arbitress of what was Spanish America, her only ambition seems to be, *to do most for the common cause*, to employ her power and resources for the liberation of all America, and by her example and counsels ; by her assistance and friendly conduct to unite the several states in the bonds of a family compact, which will insure the independence and liberty of all, and promote their general prosperity. Most noble ambition ! worthy of the high destinies which await Colombia ! worthy the illustrious fame of her founder, the invincible soldier of liberty, to whom history will award the rare but distinguished honour of having emancipated a greater portion of the globe than the most renowned heroes ever enslaved.



# HISTORY

## AND PRESENT STATE OF

# P E R U.

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### CHAPTER VIII.

*Extent and boundaries of Peru—its natural features—mountains and waters—civil divisions—intendancies—geographical view of—principal towns—Lima—climate—soil and natural productions—animals—population—commerce—government.*

THE republic of Peru extends from Tumbez, in latitude  $3^{\circ} 30'$  south, to the Cordillera of Vilcanota in latitude  $14^{\circ} 30'$  in the interior, and to the province of Atacama in Upper Peru, now the republic of Bolivar, in about  $20^{\circ} 30'$  south, on the coast of the Pacific, embracing nearly  $17^{\circ}$  of latitude, or 1180 miles. From west to east it extends from the Pacific ocean, eastwardly across the Andes to the great vallies of the head branches of the river Amazon; but its eastern boundary has never been correctly defined. Geographers, however, have usually allowed 500 miles for its width, east and west.

The whole of Lower Peru is traversed by the Andes, the eastern range of which approaches within from 30 to 100 miles of the Pacific. The country is naturally divided into three distinct sections, with respect to soil, surface, climate, and natural productions. The first section is that which borders on the ocean, and is one of the most extraordinary tracts of country on the globe. The whole of this region, nearly from the entrance of the river Guayaquil to Coquimbo, in Chili, or from  $4^{\circ}$  to  $30^{\circ}$  of south latitude, is an irreclaimable desert, except in the vallies of the rivers where the soil is capable of the highest cultivation. The barren high country, along the inner margin of this extensive desert, is rich in mineral treasures, but destitute of verdure. The whole coast of this region is always free from storms, and its waters may be safely navigated at all seasons of the year. It never rains, nor

is there any thunder or lightning on the borders of the Pacific. A gentle mist, or dew, falls from May to September, to moisten and fertilize the soil ; the water for the use of the inhabitants and cattle, and for the purposes of irrigation, is derived from the rivers, which descend from the Andes. Out of the vallies, the whole country is one bleak, miserable, sandy waste ; alike destitute of trees or any kind of vegetation. This tract of country is also often subject to earthquakes.

The next section consists of the elevated vallies of the Andes. These vallies and plains of a moderate elevation, like those of the high provinces, which now form the republic of Bolivar, enjoy a temperature favourable to health and human comfort, and yield abundantly the animal and vegetable productions of temperate and tropical regions. At a higher elevation, the country becomes cold, sterile, and destitute of vegetation ; but is often rich in mineral productions. The district bordering on the rivers that discharge their waters into the Amazon, comprises the last section of country, and is characterized by half-yearly alternations of rainy and dry seasons ; but possesses all the natural resources, and luxuriance of vegetation of other tropical, alluvial regions.

Peru is washed by the Pacific ocean on the whole of its western border, affording it superior advantages for commercial intercourse with the rest of the world, and for fisheries. The coast, however, is not indented like the maritime borders of most other countries, with bays and harbours, yet the small rivers that descend from the Andes, form a sufficient number of convenient harbours and landing places on this tranquil ocean, to accommodate all the purposes of commerce and navigation.

The eastern section of Peru is watered by the Ucayle and Tunguragua rivers, two of the principal branches of the Amazon. The Mautaro and Inambari form the Ucayle ; and the Apurimac and Jauja are the two branches of the Mautaro, and water some of the most flourishing districts in Peru. The Tunguragua and its numerous branches water the extensive districts in the north-eastern section of Peru. This branch of the Amazon is navigable to the city of Jaen, in south latitude  $5^{\circ} 21'$ , near 4000 miles from the mouth of the Amazon. A free navigation of these rivers would open a great field for commercial enterprise.

The republic of Lower Peru, includes eight intendancies, eight populous cities, and fourteen hundred and sixty small towns or villages ; three of the intendancies are situated on the coast of the Pacific, and five in the interior. The three first are Arequipa and Lima in the centre, and Truxillo in the north. Those in the interior are Cusco, Huamanga, Tarma, Huancaavelica, and some writers add Quantayja. The intendancies

are subdivided into districts, townships, and curacies or parishes.

The intendency of Arequipa, has an extensive maritime border on the Pacific, but much of its territory is a dreary waste; it is, however, intersected by many fertile vallies, the principal of which are the vallies of Quilca, Moguegua, Locumba, and Tacna. These vallies abound with excellent vineyards, which produce great quantities of wine and brandy; there are also olive plantations; wheat, sugar, cotton, and Guinea-pepper, are likewise produced in these fertile regions. There are many valuable silver mines in this intendency, of which several are very productive; copper is also found in the greatest abundance. Its capital is the city of Arequipa, situated in south latitude  $16^{\circ} 13' 30''$  in the valley of Quilca, in a fertile country. It was founded in the year 1530, by Pizarro; near it is a dreadful volcano; the climate is very temperate, and the best in the country; but it has been four times laid in ruins by earthquakes. The houses are well built, generally of stone, and vaulted; the streets are kept clean by means of canals. Its distance is 60 miles from the port of Molendo, on the Pacific, and 290 miles from Lima, in a south-easterly direction. Its population is 23,988. The next most considerable place is the city of Moguegua, situated in the interior, about 50 miles east from the port of Ilo, in a rich valley already mentioned, which contains about 2,000 inhabitants. The principal ports of this intendency are Iquique, in latitude  $20^{\circ} 7'$  south, a very commodious harbour, but a small village; Arica, in lat.  $18^{\circ} 20'$  south, a small town, but the principal seaport of Arequipa. This intendency has 136,800 inhabitants, and embraces seven districts.

Lima lies north of Arequipa, and south of Truxillo, and is the central intendency on the Pacific border. Like Arequipa, the province of Lima is generally a sandy desert, except the vallies on the borders of the rivers, which descend from the mountains. The most beautiful and productive of these vallies, is that which is watered by the river Rimac. The plains watered by this river are covered with a luxuriant vegetation, and produce sugar, maize, rice, and the choicest fruits in abundance. In this delightful valley, on the banks of the river Rimac, stands the ancient and populous city of Lima, the capital, not only of this intendency, but of all Peru.

This city which is the great emporium of trade for the whole Pacific coast of the continent of America, and the grand depot of the metallic regions of South America, into which they have been pouring their wealth for nearly three centuries, is situated in south lat.  $12^{\circ} 3'$ . About six miles west, is Callao, its natural harbour and port, at the mouth of the river Rimac. Lima is elevated about 600 feet above the level of the sea, and is skirted

by hills which overlook the city. It is surrounded by a wall of brick, and has seven gates. The form of the town is nearly triangular, the base extending along the river. Notwithstanding the frequent earthquakes which have destroyed this city, it occupies an area of ten miles in circumference, including the suburb of St. Lazaro, situated on the north side of the city, and separated from it by the Rimac, over which there is an excellent stone bridge. The streets are paved, and through them streams of water flow, conducted from the river a little above the city; they are broad, and cross each other at right angles, forming squares of 150 yards on each side. The houses are low, but commodious and handsome, having fruit gardens attached to most of them. In the centre of the great square there is a spacious and superb fountain. The city is divided into five parishes, and contains 23 monasteries, 14 nunneries, and 16 hospitals; a cathedral and a vice-royal palace. It is the seat of an university, a school for medicine, and numerous other public schools, besides being accommodated with a theatre, and other places of public amusement. In 1798, its population, by an accurate census, was 52,627; it is now estimated to contain near 70,000.

Lima was founded in 1535 by Pizarro, and is situated at the distance of 2865 miles from Buenos Ayres, in a north-westerly direction; 1215 miles from Potosi, in the same direction, and about 500 from the city of Cusco. Callao, the port of Lima, is situated at the mouth of the river Rimac, and is strongly fortified. The other ports belonging to this intendency are Ancan and Huacho in the north, and Pisco and Chorillos in the south. It comprises eight districts, and a population of 149,112.

Truxillo is north of Lima, to which the climate, soil, and productions, are similar. Its capital is the city of Truxillo, situated in lat.  $8^{\circ} 6'$  south, in the valley of Chimo, and was founded by Pizarro in 1535. It lies about one and a half miles distant from the sea. The houses are generally built of brick, and only one story high; its population is 5790. The port of Truxillo is Guanchaco, situated six miles north. The other port in this intendency is Payta, in lat.  $6^{\circ} 56'$ . It contains a population of 230,967, and is divided into eight districts.

Cusco is situated 500 miles south-east of Lima, adjoining Upper Peru, among the rich vallies beyond the Andes. It is watered by the Apurimac, and other head waters of the Amazon. This intendency enjoys a healthful and temperate climate, and is extremely rich in agricultural resources, producing wheat, sugar, and the choicest fruits in the greatest abundance; it contains also many valuable and productive gold mines. Its capital is the ancient city of Cusco, situated in  $13^{\circ} 32'$  south lat., and was founded in the eleventh century by Manco Capac, the first Inca of Peru, and

taken possession of by Francisco Pizarro, in 1534. It stands on an uneven site, skirted by mountains on the north and west. The ruins of the famous fort, built by the Incas, are still visible on the mountain north of the city. The houses are principally built of stone, and its public buildings are a cathedral, nine churches, and numerous convents. The Guatanay, a small river, runs past the town. Its population is estimated at 32,082.

*Huamanga* is centrally situated west of Cusco, embracing many rich and fertile vallies, and is well watered by the head branches of the river Amazon, possessing many rich and productive silver mines. The principal city is Huamanga, lying in lat.  $13^{\circ} 1' S.$ , on a declivity of a mountainous ridge, not remarkable for its height, but still so far above the river as to be scantily supplied with water. It was founded by Pizarro, in 1539, and is situated 180 miles south-east of Lima. Its population is 25,970; it has a cathedral, an university, several chapels and convents, and an hospital. The country around the city is fertile and populous. The climate of the intendancy is temperate, and abounds with various kinds of grain, fruit, and cattle. There are several mines near Huamanga, but few of which are worked. This intendancy is sub-divided into seven districts, and contains a population of 111,559.

The intendancy of *Huancavelica* comprises four districts, and 30,917 inhabitants. Its principal town of the same name is situated in south lat.  $12^{\circ} 53'$ , and has a population of 5156. The productions of the province are grain, sugar, and cattle.

*Tarma* produces grain, cattle, cocoa, and bark, and possesses several silver mines, one of which, called Yauricocha, yielded in one year, 2,816,703 dollars. It is divided into eight districts, and has a population of 201,259. Its capital of the same name as the province, lies in lat.  $12^{\circ} 33'$ , and has 5538 inhabitants.

These intendancies are divided into curacies or parishes, which are, or were, under the colonial system, governed by a *curate*, *acacique*, and an *alcade*; the first a spiritual chief, whose business it is to teach the Roman Catholic religion; the second a collector of revenue; and the third a magistrate. The dignitaries of the church consist of bishops and arch-bishops, who enjoy immense revenues and formerly a corresponding influence. The churches and other religious houses are numerous and richly endowed. The population of Peru has been estimated at 1,300,000. This population is similar to other parts of America, formerly Spanish, consisting of Creoles, European Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and the various mixed races. The European Spaniards have nearly disappeared, in consequence of the revolution. The Creoles constitute the enlightened portion of the community, and are the most efficient and patriotic supporters of

liberty and independence. The people of colour comprising the Indians and all the casts have been much devoted to the revolution. The Indians, heretofore a much degraded class, have generally filled the ranks of the armies, and made excellent soldiers. The Negroes and Mulattoes are most numerous on the coast of the Pacific, and the Indians, Mestizos, and Cholos, in the interior. The latter class are derived from Mestizos and Indians. These degraded classes possess great muscular power, and are remarkable for the quickness of their perception, and their faculty for imitation. They make ingenious artisans and mechanics, excel in painting and sculpture; many of their performances in these arts are said not to be inferior to those of the Italian masters. Some of these classes have been even leaders in the revolution. Many mulattoes on the coast possess property, and make pretensions to learning, particularly to medicine, as they are not permitted to enter into the professions of law or divinity; they afford many expert quacks. Before the revolution, they obtained letters patent of the king, conferring on them the *dignity and title* of "Don," of which they were extremely vain.

The territory between the eastern and western range of the Andes, is generally windy and cold, although some temperate and fruitful vallies intervene. This tract is called La Sierra, and is rich in metallic wealth. There are frequent storms of rain, hail, and snow on the mountains, often attended with tremendous thunder. The year is divided into only two seasons; the wet and dry; the former commences in November, and continues until April; the latter occupies the remainder of the year, during which there is no rain. This is the winter of the climate, there being frequent frosts of considerable severity. The coldest weather occurs in May and June, and resembles the months of October and November in the northern states of North America; but fires are never lighted to warm apartments. The same kind of dress is worn the year round, and cattle are never housed. The lofty regions are destitute of trees; the table lands only exhibit a stunted shrubbery, and a species of wire grass or rush, which grows where nothing else will vegetate, upon which the Vicunas and Guanacos feed. In the vallies and ravines of this tract of country, the climate is temperate and the soil fertile; these vallies and ravines are profusely watered by the torrents which roll down the mountains, and are well adapted to the production of luxuriant crops.

On the eastern side of the eastern range, the climate is uniformly warm; the seasons are divided in the same manner as in the former tract. There are here no frosts or snow, and all the varieties of the climate consist in the gradations of heat, and in humidity and dryness. On the west of the western range, or the

territory of the coast, it never rains ; the moisture of the earth is supplied from the torrents which descend from the mountains, and from dews. Chilly weather sometimes prevails, but the extremes of heat and cold are inconsiderable ; thunder storms never occur, but earthquakes are not uncommon. There are some volcanic mountains in the eastern range of the Andes, but their visible fires have long since been extinct. The climate of Peru is highly salubrious. On the coast of the Pacific, fever and ague prevails in some places, but acute diseases are almost entirely unknown. The inhabitants who live a temperate life, attain generally to an advanced age. Peru has been called the country of old men.

Among the animals peculiar to Peru, are four distinct kinds of sheep ; the Llama, the Alpacha, the Guanaco, and the Vicuna. The Llama and Alpacha are domestic animals ; the Llama is about the size of a stag, of different colours, white, brown, and black ; it chews the cud like common sheep ; its flesh is excellent food, equal to mutton—the wool long and coarse ; it is used as a beast of burden, and can carry a load of 125 pounds, but it is slow in motion, having a lofty and majestic gait, carrying its head high in the air. It is mild and docile.

The Alpacha is a smaller animal than the Llama ; its colour is white, black, and sometimes spotted ; its flesh is not eaten, but its wool is very fine and useful. The Guanaco is still smaller than the Alpacha ; its colour is usually red, resembling a dried rose in the sun ; its wool is fine and valuable. This animal is wild, and frequents the most rude and inaccessible parts of the mountains, and is extremely fleet. The Vicuna is somewhat taller than the common English sheep, but with a smaller body ; its colour is brown, with white belly and legs. This animal is more vigorous in the elevated regions of the mountains, than in low and temperate situations ; its wool is very fine. They are found in abundance on the high ranges of the Andes—are swift in their course, and very timid. They are usually seen in droves of many hundreds, among the cliffs of the mountains.

The Chinchilla, a little animal about the size of a cat, produces valuable fur, not inferior to the Marten. The most remarkable bird of Peru, is the Condor, which is between three and four feet in height, and whose wings are at least fourteen feet from end to end ; its colour is dark brown, with a white collar round its neck. This bird possesses great strength, and will run and fly with amazing swiftness.

Among the peculiar vegetable productions is Quinquina, or Peruvian bark. This important article in the *Materia Medica*, is found only in Peru and the adjacent territory of Colombia ; there are several species of this bark—the pale, yellow, and red ; the trees from which it is taken are slender and straight, rarely ex-

ceeding ten feet in height, and are about the size of a man's leg ; they never occur in clusters, but are thinly scattered throughout the forests. The bark is principally collected by the Indians.

The commerce of Peru, was, originally, during the galleon trade, carried on at Porto Bello, across the isthmus. Peru also participated in the Manilla trade. In consequence of the difficulty of conveying bulky and heavy articles across the country, Spain granted to Peru the privilege of cultivating the vine and olive, to make wine and oil—a privilege not enjoyed in other parts of Spanish America, except in Chili. But it was not allowed to furnish any of the Spanish possessions with these articles, which could be supplied from Spain. And for this privilege, Peru and Chili were restricted in the cultivation of tobacco, and some other articles. The foreign commerce of Peru, since 1778, with Europe and the East Indies, has been carried on around Cape Horn, and by way of Manilla.

The interior commerce between what were formerly Upper and Lower Peru, now the republics of Bolivar and Peru, has been estimated at the annual value of 6,693,513 dollars ; and the amount of foreign goods introduced into these countries through Buenos Ayres, has been calculated at 18,000,000 dollars, annually, previous to the revolution. The independence of the country will increase its foreign commerce almost beyond conception ; it has not only opened the ports and removed the restrictions on trade, so that the existing wants of the people can be supplied, but it will increase those wants an hundred-fold. The Indians, the Mestizos, Cholos, and all the mixed races, comprising the principal part of the population, have been kept in so degraded a condition, that they did not consume any portion of foreign goods. These classes, being raised to the dignity of free citizens, and protected in their rights and the products of their industry, will all become consumers of foreign goods. No country in the world has more ample national resources than Peru. In addition to the produce of the mines, which, in Lower and Upper Peru, have been estimated at 14,000,000 dollars per annum, the country affords many valuable exports ; Peruvian bark, numerous mineral substances, valuable for medicines, paints, and other purposes ; copper, precious woods for dying and cabinet work, cochineal, wool of the Alpacha and Vicuna, chinchilla skins, tobacco, &c. At the present time, the foreign commerce is principally enjoyed by Great Britain and the United States ; the principal articles sent from the former are manufactured goods of every description ; and from the latter, coarse cottons, ships, leather and its manufactures, hats, furniture, iron, castings, nails, carriages, paper, and some other articles. These articles often command a very high price, even in time of peace ; iron has been 80 and 90 dol



lars per cwt., and steel 135 dollars; common writing paper 12 dollars a ream; broadcloth from 15 to 20 dollars per yard; Levantine silks, 5 or 6 dollars; and boots, 25 dollars per pair.\*

Peru maintains a coasting trade with Acapulco and San Blas in Mexico; Guayaquil and Panama in Colombia; and with Guatemala and Chili. Peru is favourably situated to engage in the whale fishery, but has not participated in it, whilst the British and our own citizens traverse half the globe to pursue this lucrative branch of commerce. The free navigation of the Amazon to the foot of the eastern Andes, will follow as a consequence of the independence of the country, which will have a favourable influence on the interior trade.

Peru is entirely emancipated from the dominion of Spain. It declared its independence in 1821, after it was liberated by San Martin, and organized a government. This government, however, maintained its authority but a short time after San Martin left Peru, and the Spaniards re-established their authority over the country, which continued until the arrival of the liberating army, under the magnanimous Bolivar, in 1824.

After the great victory of Ayacucho, which annihilated the Spanish army, and liberated the whole of Peru, Bolivar, who had been appointed dictator, convened a congress, and resigned into their hands his authority. This congress, which was installed on the 10th of February, 1825, conferred on the liberator the supreme political and military power, until the constitutional congress should be installed, in the year 1826. The government, therefore, in Peru, is not yet actually established; its powers are exercised by the Liberator as president and dictator; it is expected that a congress will be convened, a constitution framed, and a republican government organized and put into operation during the year 1826. The Peruvian territories are the last of the Spanish American dominions redeemed from foreign despotism, and this has been effected by the other independent governments.

\* Pazos' Letter, p. 241.

# HISTORY

## OF THE

# REVOLUTION IN PERU.

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### CHAPTER IX.

*Events before the revolution—expedition from Chili—Lord Cockrane appointed to command the naval squadron—San Martin appointed commander in chief—landing at Pisco—attack on Callao—expedition proceeds to Huara—the army advances towards the capital, which is abandoned by the royalists—declaration of independence—congress assembles—San Martin resigns and sails for Chili—congress dissolved—Bolívar enters Peru—desertions of the royalists—battles of Junin and Ayacucho—treaty signed—congress installed—speech of the president—his resignation—general Sucre—events in Upper Peru—expected meeting of congress—conclusion.*

NOTWITHSTANDING Peru has been the last of the Spanish colonies, which has participated in the renovating and salutary influence of the spirit of independence and reform which has so extensively prevailed in both North and South America; yet this region, in the early part of its history, produced one of the most distinguished reformers of the age in which he lived. Don Jose Antequera, a native of the city of Lima, was one of those extraordinary men, who, possessing a nobleness of soul, and being animated by the most exalted sentiments, and the purest patriotism, devoted himself, enthusiastically, to the cause of liberty, and the happiness of mankind.

Being appointed commissioner to inquire into the abuses of the Jesuits of Paraguay, and having found the administration profligate and corrupt, he endeavoured to reform it, and establish a representative government. But, after an ineffectual struggle, he was defeated, arrested, conveyed to Lima, and with his compa-

nions, imprisoned for nearly five years, after which, he was barbarously executed by the Spanish authorities.

The spirit of independence excited by Antequera, was suppressed by his death, for nearly fifty years ; but in 1780, during the struggle for independence among the North American states, it again burst forth in Cusco. Jose Gabriel Tupac Amaru, illustrious by his descent from Inca Sayri Tupac, but more illustrious as the first martyr to the emancipation of Peru, from the degradation and calamities of Spanish colonial despotism, was the valiant leader of this revolution. But, like his predecessor Antequera, he was unsuccessful, and died like a hero. The manner of his death was revolting to humanity, and characteristic of the brutality of the Spanish colonial tyranny ; his tongue being cut out, his body drawn in quarters by horses, and the mutilated fragments burnt to ashes. His wife and children were also murdered in the most shocking manner, and an exterminating war was waged against his successors, which did not cease until nearly one third of the population of Peru were destroyed by the hand of violence.\*

Notwithstanding the horrid devastation and massacre of all engaged in this struggle, another patriot devoted to the cause of liberty and independence arose in Peru, in 1805, of the name of Ubalde. He was a native of Arica, and was the assessor, or chief lawyer of the presidency of Cusco ; an enlightened man of acknowledged talents and excellent character. Before his project was matured, Ubalde was betrayed, and fell a victim to his patriotism and devotion to the cause of his country. He was sentenced to death, with eight of his companions, and more than one hundred others were banished from the country. Ubalde was executed at Cusco, in August, 1805, and died with christian serenity, maintaining his principles to the last. While seated on the scaffold, he declared that his death would not stop the progress of liberty ; that the independence of South America was not far distant ; and, although he was going down to the grave without the satisfaction of witnessing that glorious event, yet his mind was consoled with the hope, that his friends who survived him would one day enrol his name among the martyred patriots of his country. His lamentable fate drew tears from every eye.† Most excellent man, and martyred hero ! thy prayers have been heard—scarce twenty years have elapsed, and the day of retribu-

\* " I passed over (says Don Vincente Pasos) the plains of Cica-Cica and Calamarca, about twenty years after these massacres, and for an extent of forty miles I beheld numerous heaps of bones of the miserable beings who had fallen there by the sword ; and at that time were to be seen at the cross roads and in the public places throughout the country, the heads of the leaders of the insurrection suspended on gibbets."

† Pasos' Letters.

tion has come upon thy murderers—the oppressors of thy country. The eagles of liberty have already winged their flight to the summits of the Andes, and the cry of independence and freedom is heard from the loftiest mountains, and the deepest recesses of the vallies ; and the same enlivening page that records the liberation of thy country shall inscribe thy glorious devotion to the sacred cause of humanity and justice.

No further effort was made for the emancipation of Peru until after the battle of Maypu, which gave liberty to Chili, when the gallant general San Martin, perceiving that the independence of Chili would be much exposed, while the royalists were able to command the wealth and resources of Peru, conceived the noble project of liberating that country also. He, accordingly, with the aid of the governments of Chili and Buenos Ayres, made immediate preparations to fit out an expedition against that country. A naval armament was provided with all possible haste, and lord Cochrane, arriving in Chili, in November, 1818, was immediately appointed to the command. Many English and American officers and seamen flocked to his standard, and by great exertions a formidable squadron was equipped, and sailed in 1819. This squadron visited the coast of Peru, and continued to harass the enemy by capturing their ships, and blockading their ports, until the army was ready, which was not, however, until August, 1820. The expedition was reported ready for sailing on the 15th, and on the 18th the troops were embarked at Valparaiso. Their appearance and discipline were worthy of any country, and their numbers amounted to 4900 ; 15,000 stand of arms, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition and clothing, were shipped for the purpose of organizing a corps of Peruvians, who, it was expected, would flock to the revolutionary standard as soon as the expedition landed. General San Martin was appointed commander in chief of the liberating army of Peru. The fleet under lord Cochrane consisted of the flag ship of fifty guns, one of sixty guns, another of forty, and four smaller vessels ; the transports were twenty in number.\*

Before the expedition sailed, the following bulletin was published :—

“ An expedition, equipped by means of great sacrifices, is at length ready to proceed, and the army of Chili, united to that of the Andes, is now called upon to redeem the land in which slavery has long existed, and from whence the latest efforts have been made to oppress the whole continent. Happy be this day on which the record of the movements and the actions of the expedition commences. The object of this enterprise is to decide whether or not the time is arrived, when the influence of South America

\* Journal of B. Hall.

upon the rest of the world, shall be commensurate with its extent, its riches, and its situation."

The expedition sailed from the port of Valparaiso in Chili on the 20th of August, 1820, and reached Pisco, which is situated about 100 miles south of Lima, on the 7th of September, and by the 11th the whole army was disembarked. The Spanish troops stationed in the neighbourhood had previously retired to Lima, where the viceroy resolved to collect his whole army. The liberating army at first encountered no resistance, and on the 26th of September an armistice for eight days was concluded, at the request of the viceroy, and commissioners from both parties held a conference. On the 4th of October, the armistice terminated without any successful result to the negotiation, which had been attempted, and on the 26th the expedition moved northward to Ancon. Lord Cochrane, with part of the squadron, anchored in the outer roads of Callao, the sea port of Lima. The inner harbour is extensively and strongly fortified, and is called the castle of Callao. Under the protection of the batteries, lay three Spanish armed vessels of war, a forty gun frigate, and two sloops of war, guarded by fourteen gun boats. On the night of the 5th of November, lord Cochrane, with 240 volunteers in fourteen boats, attempted the daring enterprise of cutting out the Spanish frigate, and succeeded in the most gallant manner, with the loss of only 41 killed and wounded. The Spanish loss was 120 men. This success annihilated the Spanish naval power on the Pacific.

The joy occasioned by this splendid naval exploit was increased by col. Arenales, who had been sent from Pisco with 1000 men, with orders to proceed by a circuitous route around Lima, until he rejoined the army. On his march, he attacked and defeated a detachment of the royal army sent from Lima to oppose him; and at the same time took the commanding officer prisoner. Many districts declared in favour of the liberating army, and the revolutionary cause became so popular, that on the 3d of December a whole regiment of the royalists, with their colonel at their head, deserted from the Spanish service, and joined the liberating army.

After a short stay at Ancon, San Martin proceeded to Huará, a strong position near the port of Huacho, about 75 miles north of Lima. Here the army remained for six months, engaged in recruiting; in disseminating the spirit of independence, and cutting off the resources of the royalists in Lima. After another unavailing armistice, the liberating army began to advance towards the capital on the 5th of July, 1821, when the viceroy, alarmed for its security, issued a proclamation, announcing his intention of abandoning the city, and pointing out Callao as an asylum for those who felt insecure in the capital. This was a

signal for an immediate flight; the consternation was excessive throughout the city; the road to Callao was crowded with fugitives, carrying their most valuable effects. The women were seen flying in all directions towards the convents, and the narrow streets were literally choked up with loaded wagons, mules, and mounted horsemen; the confusion continuing all night, and until day-break. The viceroy marched out with his troops, not leaving a single sentinel over the powder magazine, having previously nominated the marquis Montemire as governor of the city, who immediately called a meeting of the inhabitants, and the cabildo, or town council, which resolved to invite San Martin to enter the capital. The answer of San Martin was full of magnanimity, and immediately inspired the greatest confidence among the inhabitants. He told them that he did not desire to enter the capital as a conqueror, but as their liberator; adding, as a proof of his sincerity, that the governor might command a portion of his troops, for the security of the persons and property of the inhabitants. The people who had deserted the city, now returned to their dwellings, and order was restored; and San Martin, who a few days before was considered an enemy, was now hailed as a benefactor. On the 12th of July, he made his entry into the capital, without ostentation or ceremony, and in a manner worthy of a republican general. He was accompanied by a single aid-de-camp only, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm by most of the inhabitants. All classes were anxious to behold the man who had performed such distinguished services for their country; he was kind, courteous, and affable to all. The females caught the enthusiasm of the men, and vied with each other in paying their respects to their liberator. To every one he had something kind and appropriate to say, occasioning an agreeable surprise to the person he addressed. San Martin now commenced the difficult task of reforming the abuses of the colonial government, and published an address to the Peruvians, containing sound and judicious sentiments, which justly entitles it to preservation.\*

On the 28th of July, 1821, the independence of Peru was solemnly proclaimed. The troops were drawn up in the great square, in the centre of which was erected a lofty stage, from which San Martin, accompanied by the governor and some of the principal inhabitants, displayed for the first time the independent flag proclaiming that Peru was *free* and *independent*, by the general wish of the people, and the justice of her cause: Then waving the flag, San Martin exclaimed, *Vive La Patria! Vive La Liberta! Vive La Independence!* which was reiterated by the multitude in the square, while the bells rung a joyous peal,

\* Journal of captain Basil Hall.

and cannon were discharged amidst the universal acclamations of the people. On the 3d of August, San Martin took upon himself the title of protector of Peru, and issued a proclamation.

This proclamation concluded by declaring that the supreme political authority and military command were united in him, under the title of protector, and that Juan Garcia del Rial was named secretary of state, and by specifying the other appointments under his new government. He also addressed a proclamation to the Spaniards, bearing date the 4th of August, in which he says, that he has respected their persons and property agreeably to his promise, but notwithstanding which, they murmur in secret, and maliciously propagate suspicions of his intentions. He assures those who remain peaceable, who swear to the independence of the country, and respect the new government, of being protected in their persons and estates; he offers to such as do not confide in his word, the privilege of passports, within a given time, to leave the country with all their effects, and declares that those who remain and profess to submit to the government, but are plotting against it, shall feel the full rigour of the law, and be deprived of their possessions.

San Martin now proceeded steadily in recruiting and disciplining his army, in reforming the local abuses in the administration of affairs, and in preparing and organizing a provisional government, until the permanent constitution of the state could be established. When absent, he appointed the marquis of Torre Tagle as supreme delegate, to exercise the functions of government.

On the 10th of September, the Spanish army returned from the interior, and marching past Lima, entered Callao. As it passed the capital, San Martin drew up his army, but did not attack the enemy, wisely foreseeing that an increase of the garrison of Callao would diminish their provisions, and hasten the surrender of the fortress. The Spanish army, after a short stay, retired, carrying off the treasures deposited in the castle, which shortly after surrendered to the independents.

The liberating army now remained inactive until the following May, when a detachment was sent against the Spaniards, which proved unsuccessful. In July, 1822, San Martin left Lima for Guayaquil, where he had an interview with Bolivar, the liberator of Colombia, and, during his absence, the people of Lima irritated against the minister, Monteagudo, forcibly deposed, imprisoned, and afterwards banished him to Panama. In August, San Martin returned with a re-enforcement of Colombian troops.

On the 20th of September, 1822, the sovereign constitutional congress of the federal provinces of Peru was assembled, and the patriotic and popular chief was happy to divest himself of the dictatorship, and gladly resigned into their hands the supreme autho-

ity which he had exercised for more than a year. The congress duly appreciating his magnanimity and patriotic services, elected him, by an unanimous vote, general and commander in chief of the armies of Peru; but he declined the appointment, only accepting the *title* as a mark of the approbation and confidence of the Peruvians, declaring that in his opinion, his presence in Peru in command of the army, was inconsistent with the authority of the congress.

"I have," says this illustrious patriot, "fulfilled the sacred promise which I made to Peru. I have witnessed the assembly of its representatives. The enemy's force threatens the independence of no place that wishes to be free, and possesses the means of being so. A numerous army, under the direction of warlike chiefs, is ready to march in a few days to put an end to the war. Nothing is left for me to do, but to offer you my sincerest thanks, and to promise that if the liberties of the Peruvians shall ever be attacked, I shall claim the honour of accompanying them, to defend their freedom like a citizen."

The congress expressed much regret at his declaration, and entreated him to take the actual command of their armies; but their appeal had no effect on the conduct of San Martin, whose resolution was formed on mature consideration. He had accomplished the object of his mission; he had emancipated the country which he had visited for that purpose, and not to become its ruler. On retiring from a country which he had redeemed from slavery, and to which he had given a new creation, he published a proclamation, in which he says that he is repaid for ten years of his life spent in revolution and war: "I hold in my hand the standard which Pizarro brought over to enslave the empire of the Incas."

"My promises to the countries in which I made war, are fulfilled—I give them independence, and leave them the choice of their government."

San Martin proceeded to Callao, and immediately sailed for Chili.

The congress, now left to themselves, appointed a supreme junta of three enlightened men, to whom they confided the executive power. In November, 1822, an expedition sailed from Lima for the southern coast, but in January, 1823, shortly after landing, the army was defeated and dispersed. This disaster was followed by a general discontent among the people, and in February, the sittings of the congress were suspended by Rivaaguero the president, who shortly after dissolved them in a most unconstitutional manner, and every thing was in confusion. Availing themselves of these disorders, in June, 1823, the Spanish army under general Canterac, re-entered Lima, having driven the pa-



tricts into Callao. They remained in the capital about a fortnight, levying contributions on the defenceless inhabitants. This was a short and sad termination of a struggle which had been so successful under the direction of an able leader. Whilst the cause of the revolution was thus prostrated in Peru, general Bolivar was bringing the war to a close in Colombia. Foreseeing that if the affairs of Peru were not placed in a better condition, the royal authority would shortly be re-established in that country, and the independence of Colombia would be endangered, and being invited by the Peruvians, he resolved to proceed to that country. This he did at the head of a considerable force, and was most cordially received at Lima, and appointed dictator until the Spaniards should be expelled or subdued. On his approach, the royalists retired into the interior.

In addition to a formidable enemy that possessed the whole of Upper, and most of the interior of Lower Peru, the liberator soon found himself surrounded with difficulties, in the dissensions among the patriots, which threatened the entire destruction of the revolutionary cause. Rivaaguero, the late president of the congress, collected a force to oppose both the congress and Bolivar. This insurrection, however, was soon suppressed, and the principal instigators were made prisoners, and exiled: but the disasters of the army, and the conflicts of the parties soon obliged the congress to confer on Bolivar the supreme power as dictator, to preserve the republic from ruin; notwithstanding, however, Bolivar found it necessary to return to Truxillo for safety until the arrival of his re-enforcements from Colombia.

In the month of February, 1824, the royalists under general Canterac, took possession of the city of Lima without opposition, and about the same time, of the important fortress of Callao, by means of a defection of the troops from Buenos Ayres, which formed part of the garrison. The state of affairs in Peru was now critical and alarming. The factious exerted themselves to prejudice the people against Bolivar, and charged him with entertaining ambitious designs, which induced him to address a proclamation to the people, dated at Truxillo, the 11th of March, 1824. Great exertions were made by the liberator to forward his re-enforcements from Colombia, and to organize a force for the ensuing campaign, sufficient to liberate the whole of Peru from the power of the royalists; it was also necessary to acquire a naval superiority in order to conduct the operations of the war in the most efficient manner. Such additions were therefore made to the naval force, as to enable the patriots, not only to blockade the port of Callao, but to destroy a number of vessels in that harbour.

The army being at length completely organized, commenced its operations in the month of June, 1824, and crossing the An-

des, routed the vanguard of the enemy, consisting of 3500 men, with great loss. In addition to the other advantages of this victory, it was productive of an accession to the forces of the patriots of 500 of the enemy's infantry, and 100 of his cavalry, who deserted the royal standard, went over to the patriots, and fought bravely against the Spaniards.

The beginning of August, 1824, the liberating army was at Conocancha, and the royalists having approached near it for the purpose of reconnoitering, Bolivar marched with his whole force, with the determination of bringing the enemy to a general action. Alarmed by this movement, the royalists retraced their steps by forced marches, and succeeded in passing the point on the road to Jauja, (where Bolivar had intended to take a position, with the view to bring them to an engagement,) several hours before the independents arrived. Perceiving that the enemy continued to retreat in the most precipitate manner, Bolivar, unwilling that they should escape, and seeing it impossible to engage them with his whole force, placed himself at the head of his cavalry, although greatly inferior in point of numbers to that of the enemy, and pursued at full speed. The patriots came up with the enemy on the plains of Junin, and took a position near them, hoping that the inferiority of their numbers would induce the royalists to engage them. The event answered their expectations; for relying on his superior numbers, the enemy made a furious charge on the patriot cavalry, which sustained the shock with great firmness. The conflict was sharp, and in the successive charges, each party, at times, seemed to have the advantage; but at length the royalists were thrown into confusion, beaten, and compelled to fall back on their infantry for safety, which had continued its retreat towards Jauja, and was many miles from the scene of action when the battle was decided. The enemy sustained a severe loss; 235 lay dead on the field, among whom were ten chiefs and officers; many were wounded and dispersed, and 80 made prisoners, besides which, 300 horses were taken with all their equipments, and immense spoil. The loss of the patriots was 60 killed and wounded.\* The action took place on the 6th of August. This brilliant success nearly destroyed the enemy's cavalry, on which they principally relied, at the commencement of the campaign, and had a highly favourable influence on the army and the people of Peru.

Two days after this victory, the republicans followed in pursuit of the enemy towards the valley of Jauja. From the battle of Junin, no important action occurred until the 9th of December. After much skilful manœuvring on both sides, general Sucre, commanding the liberating army, consisting of the united forces of Colombia and Peru, took a position at Ayacucho early in De-

\* See Bolivar's despatch.

ember, near the enemy, who was posted on a height. On the 8th of the month, some skirmishes took place ; and on the following day, the enemy attacked the liberating army ; his right was commanded by general Valdez, composed of four battalions and two squadrons of huzzars, with four field pieces ; his centre by general Monet, consisting of five battalions ; and general Villalobos commanded the left, composed of four battalions, with seven pieces of artillery. The remainder of the enemy's cavalry formed a reserve in the rear. General Cordova commanded the right of the liberating army, with the second division of Colombia, consisting of the battalions of Bogota and the voltigeurs of Pinchincha and Caraccas ; general Lllamar commanded the left, composed of the battalions of Peru, and three legions of Colombians, and the division of general Lara formed the reserve. According to the official returns, there were 9310 of the Spanish army, commanded by Canterac, the viceroy, in person ; and only 5780 of the liberating army, headed by the intrepid general Sucre. But although the two armies were unequal in numbers, they were both ardent to engage, and both confident of victory. The Colombian division marched with *supported arms*, in the most intrepid manner, and taking their station near the Spanish line, opened a fire with such coolness and destructive effect, that the enemy soon began to give way : and in spite of all their efforts to maintain their ground, they were driven back and thrown into confusion. The division of Peru on the left, experienced a more vigorous resistance, and was re-enforced by general Lara with two battalions of the reserve, consisting of the Colombian guards. This enabled the left, as well as the right, to gain ground on the enemy ; and in a few moments, nothing could resist the impetuosity of the troops of the united army. The second squadron of huzzars of Junin made a brilliant charge on the enemy's cavalry posted on the right of general Valdez, and repulsed them ; the Colombian grenadiers alighted and charged the Spanish infantry on foot, and the regiment of huzzars of Colombia, charged with their lances the grenadiers of the viceroy's guard, and put them to the rout. The ardour and impetuosity of the republican troops soon decided the battle, which was short, but terrible. The slaughter was immense for the numbers engaged. The enemy had 2600 men killed and wounded on the field of action, including the viceroy wounded, and six generals killed. The united army sustained a loss of 823 killed and wounded, of which there were one general, eight officers, and 300 men killed, and six generals, thirty-four officers, and 480 men wounded. What remained of the Spanish army capitulated, and a treaty was signed on the field of battle, between the royal commander, Canterac, and general Sucre, whereby all the royal

troops in Peru, all military posts, all royal artillery and magazines, and the whole of Peru occupied by the Spanish, were surrendered to the patriots as the trophies of the victory of Ayacucho.

This is one of the most distinguished victories which the annals of the South American revolution afford, whether considered with reference to the brilliancy of the achievement, its decisive character, or its important consequences. It annihilated the Spanish power, and liberated all of Lower Peru. Its immediate trophies were 9310 men killed and made prisoners on the field of battle, and 348 which surrendered in garrisons in Cusco, Arequipa, and Puno, including the column of general Ramirez dispersed in Quilca. The troops which afterwards surrendered in Upper Peru, on Sucre's marching into that country, in consequence of this victory, amounted to 4610, making a grand total of 18,598, including 25 general officers, and 1100 chiefs and officers.\*

The liberator addressed a proclamation to the Peruvians, and another to the army of Colombia. In the former he says, that "the army has fulfilled the promise he made to them in its name, of emancipating Peru; and adds, that the time has now arrived that he must also fulfil the promise he had made to them, of divesting himself of the dictatorship, the moment victory declared their freedom, and sealed their destiny."

General Rodel, who commanded the castle of Callao, refused to comply with the terms of capitulation entered into by his superior officer, Canterac; in consequence of which, that fortress was immediately invested by the Colombian troops, and rigorously blockaded by a naval force, part of the navy of Chili being placed under the orders of Bolivar by the government of that country for that purpose.

On the 10th of December the Peruvian congress was installed, on which occasion the liberator transmitted to them an interesting message, containing a resignation of his authority.

He speaks of the internal disorders of the country—the exertions he had made to remedy them, and of their relations with the other independent governments. "Colombia," he observes, "their ally and confederate had employed her army, her navy, and her treasure, in fighting the common enemy, making the cause her own; which ought to convince the congress of the infinite value that she attaches to a close confederation of all the new states. The governments of Mexico, Guatemala, and Buenos Ayres, had offered their services; but our rapid successes had rendered their assistance unnecessary." The agent of Colombia had been accredited, and the consuls of Great Britain, the United States, and of Colombia, had presented themselves in the

\* Official despatch of general Sucre, dated 19th April, 1825.

capital, to exercise their functions. He speaks with confidence of the probability of England and France recognising the independence of Peru on being informed of its complete liberation, and the entire extinction of the Spanish power.

The constituent congress passed a decree, by which they conferred on general Bolivar the supreme, political, and military command of the republic, until the installation of the congress prescribed by the constitution, to take place in 1826. They voted him one million of dollars for his eminent services, which he magnanimously declined accepting. They also ordered that an equestrian statue of the liberator should be erected in the constitutional square of Lima, and a medal struck, with the bust of the hero on one side, and on the other this inscription :—"TO OUR LIBERATOR, SIMON BOLIVAR." These proceedings of the congress were communicated to the illustrious Bolivar, by its president, whose answer contains the most noble and patriotic sentiments.

After the liberation of the interior provinces of Lower Peru, general Sucre proceeded to Upper Peru, where general Olaneta still held out against the patriots, and refused to agree to the terms of capitulation ; but as the conquerors of Ayacucho advanced into the country, the corps of the royal army at Cochabamba, Chiquisaca, Santa Cruz, and other places, spontaneously proclaimed their independence, and declared in favour of the cause of the country. Those who adhered to Olaneta were dispersed by the brave Sucre, their general killed, and those who survived were compelled to surrender. Thus was liberated the whole of Upper Peru, except the province of Chiquitos, which had been invaded and occupied by a division of the Brazilian army.

During the summer of 1825, most of the Colombian troops which had been employed in Peru, embarked at Lima for Panama. Bolivar visited Upper Peru in June, and since his return to Lima he has remained in Lower Peru, as dictator and ruler of the country. He prosecuted the siege of Callao, and kept it closely invested. In August the scurvy raged among the troops, and sickness prevailed among the unfortunate inhabitants, who were compelled to retire within the Spanish lines. Neither the inhabitants nor the troops had any other than salt provisions, and many of the former left the place and threw themselves on the generosity of the besiegers, whilst the latter deserted daily. General Rodel, however, obstinately continued to hold out, when it was evident that the possession of the castle could be of no use to Spain, and that it must soon yield to a destiny which was inevitable. The fortress held out until early in the year 1826, when it surrendered. The garrison was reduced to about 500 men, who, with their commander, general Rodel, embarked for Europe. The fall of Callao terminated the war in Peru, and the Colombian

troops employed in the siege of that place were to be immediately transported to their own country.

Bolivar, while administering the government of Lower Peru, and preparing it for the adoption of republican institutions, has not confined his attention to that republic. His mighty mind and capacious patriotism compass all the vast countries formerly Spanish in America. On the 7th of December, he despatched a circular from Lima, to all the new republics, urging the appointment of plenipotentiaries, to form a general confederacy, which were to meet at Panama. The circular having been favourably received by the governments of Colombia and Mexico, the liberator soon after appointed two delegates to represent Peru, who immediately repaired to the isthmus of Panama, to await the arrival of the plenipotentiaries from the other republics.

The liberator has made provisions in Peru for the education of the Indians, at the expense of the republic; 300 dollars a month are appropriated for the instruction of Indian youth in the colleges of Liberty and St. Charles, and 200 monthly, are to be expended for the same laudable purpose at the college of Independence.

# HISTORY

## AND PRESENT STATE

### OF THE

# REPUBLIC OF BOLIVAR.

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## CHAPTER X.

*Extent of territory, and face of the country—description of departments—cities of Potosi, Charcas, and La Paz—rivers, climate, productions, mines, commerce, and population.*

THE new republic of Bolivar is composed of that extensive and highly interesting country heretofore called Upper Peru, consisting of seven separate territorial governments, formerly denominated intendancies, but now called departments, which are Potosi, Charcas or La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, Santa Cruz or Puno, Moxos, and Chiquitos. This tract of country extends from lat.  $14^{\circ}$  to  $24^{\circ}$  south, a distance of nearly 700 miles; and from the Pacific ocean to the river Paraguay, about the same distance; it is watered by the head branches of the Amazon and La Plata, and traversed by the Andes. It possesses a climate of almost every variety of temperature, from the torrid to the frozen zone, and a soil well suited to the productions of both Europe and the Indies. The region which extends from Oruro to Jujui, from  $17^{\circ} 52'$  to  $22^{\circ}$  south lat., comprises the most mountainous and irregular part of the country, ascending gradually on every side to Potosi, which is the most elevated part. Here the two noble rivers, Amazon and La Plata, take their rise within about seventy miles of each other, in lat.  $17^{\circ} 30'$  south, and discharge their waters into the Atlantic ocean, the former under the equator, and the latter in  $35^{\circ}$  south lat. at a distance of nearly 2500 miles from each other. This whole country is cold and mountainous; but sterile as is its surface, its bowels are rich in the precious metals.

There are two ranges of the Andes extending through this territory, from north to south, which are called the eastern and western. The eastern is the loftiest, and its summit is covered with perpetual snow, while the western range is more low, irregular, is less a region of frost, and the communication through the intervening vallies to the Pacific ocean, is not obstructed by one continuous and unbroken range.\*

*Potosi* is the most southern department, and is divided into eight provinces. Extending from the Pacific across the ridges of the Andes, it is generally a lofty and mountainous region, with the exception of some beautiful and fertile vallies, which are watered by the river San Juan and its branches, discharging its waters into the Pilcomayo, one of the principal western tributaries of the great La Plata; the head waters of the San Juan approach very near the Pacific. The principal river on the coast of the Pacific is the Loxa. Here the vallies are rich in the various productions of the tropical and temperate zones; the mountains, however, are cold and steril, almost excluding vegetation, but rich in the metallic treasures. In addition to the celebrated mines of *Potosi*, which are considered the richest and most productive in South America, almost every section of this department abounds with valuable mines of silver. There are also many rich mines of gold, copper, and iron ores scattered over the whole face of the country—in short, the mineral resources of this region are not surpassed by any other in the world, either in respect to abundance or variety.

The population of *Potosi* has been variously estimated, but is supposed, by the best authorities, to be about 112,000, including 25,000 Indians. The principal town, and also the capital of the republic of Bolivar, is the celebrated mining city of *Potosi*, situated in lat. 19° 30' S., at the elevation of 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, on the great post road leading from Buenos Ayres to Lima; 1650 miles from the former, and 1215 from the latter, and about 300 miles east of the Pacific ocean. The city is built at the bottom of the celebrated mountain of the same name, so famous for the immense riches which it has been pouring forth for the last three centuries. The figure of this mountain is conical, and it is covered with green, red, yellow, and blue spots, which give it a singular appearance, unlike to any other mountain in the world; it is entirely bare of trees or shrubs. The city of *Potosi* is nearly nine miles in circumference; it is divided into the city proper,

\* For this account of the new republic of Bolivar, we are principally indebted to the letters of Don Vincente Pazos, on the United Provinces of South America, the most authentic and valuable work on that country. The author is a native of the country and a man of learning and intelligence, as well as patriotism and humanity.



and *Yngenios*, where are situated the laboratories of the mines, and which are separated by a small stream, called the river of the lakes, over which there is a stone bridge. The city and *Yngenios* are nearly a mile apart. The streets are narrow and irregular, and paved with round stones, with side walks. The houses are uniformly of one story, built of stone and brick, with balconies of wood, and without chimnies, each one having a yard in the rear, supplied with fountains of water. There are in Potosi three monasteries, five convents, and nineteen parochial churches, which are richly ornamented with silver. On the north side of the public square is situated the mint, which is a grand edifice of free stone, of a quadrangular figure, two stories high, and nearly 450 feet square, in which are offices for the governors and workmen, and apartments for the extensive machinery. The coining of this mint surpasses that of Lima or Santiago, and is said to have amounted, in prosperous times, to 4,000,000 of dollars annually. The climate of Potosi is very cold, and for a distance of twelve miles around the city there are no trees or shrubbery of any kind, and nothing vegetates, except a species of green moss. On the hills above the town, there are about thirty artificial lakes for supplying the city with water, and turning the mills of the miners; the number of mills, or amalgamation works, are 120; the ores worked in these are brought down from the mountains above, at the height of 16,250 feet above the level of the sea.\* The extraordinary mines of this mountain were accidentally discovered in 1545 by an Indian named Hualpa, as he was pursuing his goats upon the mountain; but others say that the first discoverer was Potocchi, from whom the mountain derives its name. Potosi, according to the best authorities, contains a population of 40,000

\* The following is the process of separating the metals from the ores:—The mills set in operation several copper or iron hammers of the weight of 200 pounds, by which the ore is reduced to powder. To prepare it for this operation, it is sometimes dried; at others, moistened with water. This powder is sifted through large iron or copper sieves, requiring four or five Indians each: what passes through the sieve, is taken for amalgamation; and what does not, is returned to the mills. The pulverized ore is wet, and kneaded with the feet by the Indians, and then spread on floors about one foot thick, in parcels of about 2500 weight each. On these heaps, about 200 weight of salt, and a quantity of mercury, which varies according to the richness of the ore, are strewed, and the whole mass is stirred eight or ten times a day, sometimes for a month or six weeks. This is the process of amalgamation, the object of which, is to have the mercury unite or amalgamate with the grains of silver. When this process is through, the mass is removed into vats, where the earth is washed off, and the amalgam is found at the bottom, which is put into bags and hung up for the quicksilver to drain off; the bags are beaten and pressed, and finally the amalgam is hardened, and the remaining quicksilver evaporated by means of ignited charcoal. What remains, is a lump of grains of silver, which require to be fused to unite them into a mass.

inhabitants, who subsist chiefly by mining; it is the focus of all the commerce between Buenos Ayres and Upper and Lower Peru, and is a place of great business and wealth. The other considerable towns in this department are Pilaya, the capital of a province of the same name, containing 12,000 inhabitants; it enjoys a fine climate, and is surrounded by a fertile country; Tarija, situated in lat.  $21^{\circ} 30'$  south, in a delightful valley of the same name, and has a population of 10,000; Tupiza, Lipiz, Tarapaca, St. Francisco de Atacama, are near the Pacific.

The intendency of *Charcas* or *La Plata* is watered by the river Pilcomayo and its branch, the Cachimayo, which flow into the La Plata, and are celebrated for the abundance and excellence of their fish; their banks are clothed with verdure, and covered with forests. This is an excellent agricultural district, its climate is generally warm, and it has some vineyards and sugar plantations; it abounds with cultivated farms, and affords fine cattle and sheep, wheat, and excellent fruits. There are few mines in it.

Charcas, now called Chuquisaca, the capital, in lat.  $19^{\circ}$  S. is distant 75 miles northeast of Potosi, and was founded by one of Pizarro's captains, in the year 1538; it stands on a plain, surrounded on every side by several small hills, and has a fine climate. The streets cross each other at right angles, are very wide and well paved. The houses are regularly built one story high, with balconies of wood, and spacious gardens in the rear; its population at present does not exceed 15,000. The cathedral is a magnificent edifice; the gate is of copper, very massy and much ornamented. The palace of the archbishop is a splendid building, with grand saloons and spacious gardens with fountains of water; and is furnished in a princely style. There are also five convents, three nunneries, an university, two colleges, and an academy for law-students. In the university and colleges, there are about 500 students, who come from all parts of the country. The city of Oruro is situated in south lat.  $17^{\circ} 58'$ , 171 miles northwest of Potosi. It is admirably located for inland commerce, and is about 170 miles east of the port of Arica on the Pacific; the post road from Buenos Ayres to Lima passes through it; there is a good mule road to Arica. The city is built at the foot of a mineral mountain of the same name. Its figure is a crescent; it is well laid out, and its houses are regularly of one story. It has five convents, and its markets are well supplied with fresh fish from the ocean. The population is about 15,000.

The department of *Cochabamba* forms an oblong tract of land, extending from east to west 520 miles, and from north to south 92 miles. The western section of this territory is traversed by

the Andes, from which there is a gradual slope, or gentle declivity from the west until it is lost in the interminable plains on the east. This district of country is well watered by the head branches of the Amazon, and possesses every variety of soil and climate. On the summits of the mountains, winter reigns continually, while the plains below are covered with perpetual verdure. The fecundity of nature is here displayed in all its richness and beauty; all the animals and vegetables of every class and variety, attract the curiosity of the observer; trees and plants innumerable, cover the soil with great abundance, and fill the atmosphere with a salubrity and fragrance beyond any other region. Among the agricultural productions, are wheat, vines, and the olive, in the greatest abundance, the choicest fruits of both temperate and tropical climates; and so productive is the country in grass, that its name in the dialect of the aboriginal inhabitants, means *rich grass*. This territory thus excelling both in its animal and vegetable productions, is not rich as might be supposed in mineral treasures. Its population is estimated at 115,000, consisting principally of industrious farmers and skilful mechanics, distinguished for their intelligence. The capital is the city of Oropesa, or Cochabamba, in south lat.  $16^{\circ} 31'$ , situated on a beautiful plain near the river Sacabo. The city is square, and the streets, which are spacious, cross each other at right angles. It contains five convents and two nunneries, with a population of 25,000.

The department of *La Paz*, has a population of 110,000, exclusive of Indians. The western section of this territory is an extensive plain, bordering on the eastern shore of the great lake Titicaca. The climate is cold on account of its proximity to the Andes, and its productions are principally potatoes and barley. The appearance of the mountain Illumani is wonderfully grand, particularly when seen in the night time from the city of La Paz, situated in the vallies below, at a distance of 30 miles.

This territory abounds with valuable silver mines, and many fertile vallies: its waters are chiefly embodied in the great lake Titicaca, which forms its western boundary. This lake is about 240 miles in circumference, its medium width is about 30 miles, containing several beautiful islands. Its borders are picturesque and covered with villages and cultivated fields. It abounds with excellent fish, and on its shores and islands are found great numbers of water-fowl, of various species. The waters of the eastern section of this department consists principally of the river Tipuani and its branches. This river pours down from the eastern Andes, like a torrent, and flowing with an impetuous and noisy current, a distance of 120 miles, through the narrow defiles of the mountains in a northerly direction to the valley of Tipu-

ani, unites with the Challana which rises in the same chain of mountains, and assumes the name of Beni ; here it loses its rapidity, and flows with a smooth and even current towards the coast. The river Beni, after a course of several hundred miles, in a northeasterly direction, unites with the Madeira, and these united waters constitute the great southern branch of the Amazon.

The capital of this department is the city of La Paz, situated in lat.  $16^{\circ} 30'$  south, 180 miles east of the Pacific. It lies in a hollow, considerably below the elevation of the plains which extend from the eastern Andes to the lake, and is divided by the river Chookeago, which is a branch of the river Tipuani. There are four stone bridges across the river ; the streets are rectangular and well paved, and the houses are principally built of stone, of two and three stories high, many of them exhibiting much taste and elegance in their structure. In the public square there are some splendid edifices ; in the centre, stands a fountain of water, constructed of transparent alabaster. There are four convents, three nunneries, five parochial churches, a college and an alms-house, where the poor are entertained. The city stands at the base of the peak of Illimani, which overlooks it, and whose snowy summit and verdant sides exhibit a splendid view. The plains which surround the city are clothed in perpetual verdure, and are very fertile, supplying it with all kinds of vegetables. The population of the city is 40,000.

The department of *Santa Cruz* or *Puno*, which has a population of 10,000, is well watered by the Rio Grande and other head waters of the Mamore, a branch of the Amazon. It is divided into two provinces, Misque and Santa Cruz, from which the department takes its name. The province of Misque is comprised in its western section, enjoying a warm climate. The chief town, which is of the same name, stands in a fine valley, of twenty-four miles in circumference, with a population of 12,000. This is an extremely fertile province, producing, in great abundance, corn, sugar, grapes, bees wax, and honey. The province of Santa Cruz is situated east of Misque. The chief town is of the same name, and is the capital, situated in lat.  $17^{\circ} 49'$  south, at the foot of a small range of mountains. The productions of this province are the same as those of Misque, but cultivation is more neglected ; there are no mines in the district.

*Moxos* and *Chiquitos* are departments of great extent of territory, but have only a small population. *Moxos* extends from north to south 360 miles, and nearly the same distance east and west. It is watered by three rivers, Beni, Mamore, and Santa Cruz, which, rising in the eastern Andes, flow into the Amazon. *Chiquitos* lies southeast of *Moxos*, east of Santa Cruz, and west of the river Paraguay, and is a country of great extent, but thinly

settled. The territory of Moxos and Chiquitos extend from lat. 14° to 20° south, embracing an extensive and fertile tract of country mostly in a state of nature, and without cultivation, but possessing immense natural resources, and capable of sustaining a vast population in affluence. The climate of these intendancies is like the East Indies, with half yearly alternations of rainy and dry seasons ; the productions also are similar ; cinnamon is produced in abundance. The rivers and lakes abound with fish ; honey is also collected in great quantities in the forests. The silk worm abounds, and the mulberry, on which it feeds, is a common tree of the country. The intendancies or departments are divided into provinces, and the latter into curacies or parishes, like Peru, in each of which there is a curate, a cacique, and an alcade.

The territories of the new republic of Bolivar, are an interior country, embracing only about three degrees of coast on the Pacific ; yet no portion of South America possesses a more salubrious climate, or more exuberant soil, variety of productions, or inexhaustible mineral treasures. Although its territory is not so extensive as some of the other republics, and is almost without sea coast ; yet so abundant are the resources of the soil and mines, that it is capable of sustaining a large population, and of becoming a wealthy and prosperous republic. A free and stable government, with just and liberal institutions, securing to all classes of people their rights, protecting and encouraging their industry, and diffusing among them the light of knowledge, by means of education, is all that is necessary to insure prosperity to this country. Its population has been estimated at 1,740,000, considerably exceeding that of Peru ; its character is similar, but perhaps more hardy and industrious. There are more Indians, Mestizos, and Cholos ; but fewer Negroes and Mulattoes than in Peru. The Indians alone amount to 1,155,000. They are sober and honest, and have the most persevering habits of industry ; they make good agriculturists and labourers of every kind, and are robust, muscular, and free from diseases. They perform all the heavy work of the country, without the aid of machinery, carrying on their shoulders 150 pounds. The Mestizos and Cholos usually possess moderate fortunes ; they carry on most of the internal commerce of the country, and superintend the *Haciendas* or plantations of the men of fortune. They are expert mechanics, and have astonishing faculties of imitation.\*

\* In 1801, a Swede, with a company of equestrian performers, arrived at Lima, and after obtaining permission of the king, proceeded into the interior to Cusco, and exhibited their performances to the delight and astonishment of the inhabitants. The young Cholos soon began to imitate the feats they had witnessed, and with such success, that in a short time they

The vegetable productions of the republic are similar to Peru, comprising those of both temperate and tropical climates, all in the greatest abundance, and almost spontaneously. Among those more rare or peculiar to the country, are *cinnamon*, the *potato*, which is believed to be indigenous in this region; *oka*, a sweet root and an important article of food; *quinoa*, or Peruvian rice, much used as a grain for food, and from which, together with Indian corn, a liquor is made, called *chica*, of universal use among the Indians; *agi*, or Guinea pepper; *coca*, a bitter herb, which constitutes the tobacco of the Indians, and is extensively used; *quinquina* or Peruvian bark, *vanilla* and *ginger*. The forests abound with various gums, resins, and balsams, and the mountains with common epsom and glauber salts, nitre, green vitriol, native soda, and numerous other mineral substances.

The Llama and other animals mentioned in Peru, are common in this country; the cochineal insect is reared with greater facility than in Mexico. A large proportion of the products from the mines exported from Peru, has been from the territories of this republic. From 15° to 23° south latitude, there are twenty-two silver and eleven gold mines, which have been worked, besides gold washings found in the river Tipuani and its numerous branches. The precious metals extracted from these mines have been estimated at 14,000,000 dollars annually; and the coin and bullion exported, at 8,240,000. Gold is found every where on the banks of the Tipuani by digging a sufficient depth, and finer in its native state by a carat and a half than the gold coin of the United States. The gold is found mixed with a hard blue clay, which is taken out together, and the clay separated by washing in canals prepared for the purpose. The annual product of the river Tipuani has been 35,200 ounces, worth 16 dollars per ounce.

The commerce of this country is almost entirely inland; it has maintained an extensive interior trade with Peru and Buenos Ayres; the former has been estimated at nearly 7,000,000 dollars, and the goods received from the latter, at 18,000,000 dollars, previous to the revolution, part of which must have been consumed in Lower Peru. Foreign goods have been introduced either through Lima or Buenos Ayres. The Spaniards and Creoles hitherto have been almost the only consumers of foreign goods, as the Indians and mixed races have used the manufactures of the country, consisting of coarse cottons and baizes, the king having prohibited the fulling and dressing of cloths. The consumption of foreign goods must now increase rapidly and to a very great extent, as the freedom of the Indians and Mestizos

could perform all the feats of the equestrians, who, with astonishment, viewed the streets filled with performers, which obliged them to abandon their enterprise.

will cause them to imitate the manners and style of the whites. The churches, monasteries, nunneries, and convents in this republic are numerous, and have amassed wealth to an extent almost incredible, even in a country abounding in the precious metals. All the vessels and chandeliers of the churches are of silver or gold, and the altars and even the pulpits are often covered with silver; but the greatest wealth is hoarded in the nunneries and monasteries. Don Vincente Pozos says that he saw in a nunnery in La Paz, two boxes, each of four feet and a half long, and two feet broad, filled with doubloons. The republic, in August, 1825, by its representations, declared its independence, not only of Spain, but of both Lower Peru and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, and took the name of BOLIVAR, from the hero of that name, who liberated it from the dominion of Spain. It has, at present, only a provisional government, not having yet adopted a constitution. General Sucre was appointed by the congress captain-general of the republic, and commander of the military force; the departments are under the government of an officer called a president.

# HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVAR.

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## CHAPTER XI.

*Revolution breaks out in La Paz—a government is established—the patriots are attacked by the royalists, dispersed, and the city sacked—Buenos Ayres sends an army to Peru; it is at first successful, but finally defeated, and Peru lost—the revolution breaks out again—Cochabamba is sacked, and its inhabitants massacred—retaken by the patriots—the royalists drive the patriots from La Paz, covering it with desolation—an army of Buenos Ayres again advances into Peru—it is defeated at Sipesipe—the war kept up by several guerrilla leaders—the country emancipated by the victory of Ayacucho—Sucre proceeds to Upper Peru, and all the royal troops surrender—Chiquitos invaded by the Brazilians—a congress convened, which declares the country independent, and passes several decrees.*

THE seven intendancies, now departments, composing the Bolivarian republic, belonged to the viceregal jurisdiction of Peru, until 1778, when they were annexed to the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata. They were not, however, embraced in the jurisdiction of the royal audience of Lima, but constituted a distinct jurisdiction, called the district or audiencia of Charcas, and the city of that name was the seat of government of the royal audiencia. This country suffered severely during the rebellion of Tupac Amaru, in 1780, many of its cities being almost desolated, and one third of its whole population destroyed by the war.

It has also poured its blood prodigally in the late revolutionary struggles, and has experienced the singular ill fortune of having the first and the last scenes of the bloody drama exhibited within



its territory ; of being the first to throw off the Spanish yoke, and the last to be redeemed from its dominion. Upper Peru and its borders, the neighbouring provinces of Salta and Jujuy have been the theatres of war during almost the whole revolution ; but as the operations on the part of the patriots were carried on by the popular government of Buenos Ayres, or the United Provinces, and are closely combined with the events of the revolution there, we have deemed it advisable to relate them in connexion with the history of the revolution in that republic. Some events, however, which occurred in this territory, less connected with the struggle in the United Provinces, will be noticed here.

In the city of La Paz, distinguished for the intelligence, bravery, and wealth of its inhabitants, the flame of the revolution first burst forth, and such was the implacable fury which it excited in the breasts of the royal chiefs, that it served immediately to light the torch of civil war, which to the inhabitants of this devoted city, became a *consuming fire*. After witnessing the subversion of the Spanish monarchy, and the subsequent establishment of a government in the peninsula, emanating from the people, the inhabitants claiming the same rights as those of old Spain, and believing it disgraceful to remain in the same state of apathy as they did during the war for the succession to the crown of Spain, convened in a public meeting on the 25th of March, 1809, to consider their political situation. They deposed the Spanish authorities, and erected a provisional government called a *Junta Tutiva*, and published a manifesto, maintaining their right of governing themselves as Spain had done. Authorities were established for the administration of justice, and soon the junta found it necessary to raise an armed force to defend the new government against the hostile designs of the royal chiefs. An army was sent against them by Cisneros, the viceroy of Buenos Ayres, under Nieto, and another by the viceroy of Lima, commanded by Goyeneche, which were expected to form a junction ; but Goyeneche, without waiting for the arrival of Nieto, stormed the city of La Paz, which not being in a situation for defence, was obliged to surrender ; not, however, without a resolute resistance. The monster Goyeneche immediately caused all the principal citizens to be arrested and thrown into prison, whence for several days in succession they were sent to the scaffold without trial and without discrimination. At length it was thought expedient to give some colour or form to this massacre, and Goyeneche applied to Cisneros, who, instead of restraining this bloody assassin, decreed that all who remained in prison should be executed ; but, fortunately, before this tyrant had carried this sanguinary decree into execution, the revolution broke out in Buenos Ayres, which wrested the bloody sceptre from his hands,

and saved the lives of the remaining prisoners. Such, however, had been the work of death and desolation, that La Paz had become like a desert. Filled with terror or revenge by such horrid barbarities, its inhabitants who escaped massacre or confinement, fled to the forests and mountains, whither they were pursued by the royal troops, and such was their horror at falling into the hands of the enemy, that except a few who escaped, they all either fell in battle or perished with famine. The leaders of this unfortunate revolution were the two Lanzas and Rodriguez, who were among its victims.\*

After the revolution broke out in Buenos Ayres, more than a year from the commencement of that at La Paz, the popular government which was established was immediately threatened by the royalists, who had collected from all quarters in Upper Peru. An army was sent against them commanded by Ocampo, which dispersed them; this army was re-enforced, and the command given to general Balcarce. The royal army of Peru, under Sanz, governor of Potosi, Nieto, president of the audience of Charcas, and colonel Cordova, fortified an advantageous position at Suy-pacha, where they were attacked by Balcarce, and completely routed. The patriot general following up his advantages, attacked them at Tupiza with equal success; the royal chiefs were captured and shot. Nieto was cut short in his career of tyranny; he had treated the garrison at Charcas with the greatest severity and cruelty, condemning all who were suspected of entertaining opinions favourable to the patriots, to hard labour in the mines. The rapacity of this man was equal to his tyranny; in less than one year after entering into his office he is said to have accumulated 100,000 dollars. The successes of the patriots enabled them to advance to the river Desaguadero, on the left bank of which they extended their line occupying the villages of Saxa, Guiaqui, and several others. Balcarce had 6000 men, and the royal army commanded by Goyeneche of about 5000, was at the village of Desaguadero. The patriots had hitherto been victorious in every town through which they passed, the people received them with acclamations, and Abascal the viceroy of Lima, trembled for the safety of his government. He consented to have the cabildo of Lima open a negotiation with Castelli, who accompanied the army as the representative of the popular government of Buenos Ayres; the result was an armistice for forty days, which only served to afford the royalists time to prepare to renew hostilities. Availing himself of this opportunity, Goyeneche made every exertion to rouse the superstitions of his troops, and to excite among them a religious enthusiasm. The troops from Buenos Ayres, from their intercourse with strangers, were more en-

\* Pazos' Letters, p. 31.

lightened than those of Peru, and manifested but little respect for the religious worship of the Peruvians, which consisted only of external forms and unmeaning ceremonies. Goyeneche told his troops, principally Indians and Mestizos from Cusco, miserably ignorant and superstitious, that the Buenos Ayreans had come into the country to destroy their religion, and that they were the enemies of God and the king : and the more effectually to inflame their religious zeal, he proclaimed to the whole army, that the Virgin del Carmen was the commander in chief, and himself only her lieutenant. His exertions were too successful, his troops were filled with enthusiasm, which inspired them with courage ; and taking advantage of these favourable circumstances, Goyeneche, without waiting for the expiration of the armistice, on the 20th of July, 1811, attacked the patriots at Guaqui with great fury, and completely routed them ; so great was their panic, that they fled, leaving all their artillery and baggage on the field of battle.

After this unfortunate defeat, the patriots never regained possession of Upper Peru, but it remained under the dominion of the royalists until liberated by Sucre after the victory of Ayacucho. In February, 1813, Belgrano, at Salta, defeated general Tristan, commanding the advance corps of the royalists, and captured his whole army. This compelled Goyeneche to retire from Potosi, and rekindled the fire of the revolution throughout Upper Peru. The people were roused to arms in the intendancies of La Paz and Cochabamba. The revolutionists, principally Indians, besieged the city of La Paz, and Arce the leader of the patriots in Cochabamba, drove the Spaniards from that province, took possession of its capital, and established a junta for its government. Goyeneche marched with his best troops against the patriots of Cochabamba, and as he drew near the city, it was proposed by the president of the junta, to implore the clemency of the royal chief, but the people opposed it, as they preferred the horrors of war to submission in any form of their oppressors. The city was defended with matchless valour and resolution ; the inhabitants fought with a fury and desperation, which nothing but tyranny and cruelty could inspire ; the women mixed promiscuously with the men, and combatted with equal ardour and courage, regardless alike of hardships and danger. But the patriots had more bravery than discipline ; their efforts were irregular, and they were in a great measure destitute of arms, but they fought with the best weapons they could obtain. After a most fearful struggle the royalists entered the city over the dead bodies of its inhabitants ; such as survived were devoted to massacre and rapine. The city was delivered up to the lawless plunder of a ferocious soldiery, and exhibited a picture of desolation and horror. The

president of the junta, Antesana, who had sought an asylum in a convent, was dragged forth and beheaded, and his head placed on a pike, and carried in triumph through the streets of the city.\* Whilst Goyeneche was engaged in suppressing the insurrection in Cochabamba, another broke out near Potosi, in the provinces of Chayante and Paria, whither he sent a body of troops commanded by Emas, whose cruelties exceeded those of his master. Devastation and murder marked his path; he laid waste more than 60 villages with fire and sword, and converted the country into a desert. Having become weary of putting the inhabitants to death, this savage indulged himself in the brutal sport of cutting off the ears of the patriots to mark them, and then setting them at liberty.

The royal army was re-enforced by troops from Lima under Pezuela, who assumed the command, and in two actions, one fought at Vilcapugio, the other at Ayoma, defeated, and nearly destroyed the army of Buenos Ayres, under Belgrano, making the royalists masters of the whole of Upper Peru. But dominion over the country did not subdue the spirit of the people, and the standard of revolt was again raised in different quarters. The Cochabambians who survived, had fled, and united in the Valle Grande, where, impelled by despair and revenge, they made a furious charge on a division of 1000 royalists, and cut them to pieces; then uniting with the patriots of Santa Cruz, under Warnes, an intrepid leader, they again liberated the intendancy of Cochabamba. The hopes of the people once more revived, and the spirit of revolt appeared in every province; a partisan warfare was carried on with success. Warnes marched into Chiquitos, where he defeated the royalists; general Chamargo liberated and took possession of the province of Chayante, and Padilla defeated the royalists under Tacon at Yampares. In the meantime the spirit of resistance revived in La Paz, where Pinelo and Munecas, a priest, succeeded in taking possession of the city. Nothing could equal the rage which these successes occasioned in the royalists; such was their frantic fury that they poisoned all the springs of water in La Paz, and undermined, and blew up a barrack, by which explosion 300 of the patriots were killed. These diabolical and incendiary deeds excited such vengeance in the inhabitants, that they cut the throats of every European Spaniard in the city. Such bloody scenes drew Pezuela to La Paz, and the patriots retired to Desaguedero, where they were pursued, and completely routed by the royalists, which compelled Pinelo and Munecas to retire towards Cusco. One of the leaders of the insurgents was an Indian of the name of Pomakagua, who marched to Arequipa, which he attacked, and

\* Pazos' Letters.

after severe fighting, defeated the royalists; taking possession of the place, he made prisoners of the royal governor and commander in chief, Pezuela and Ramires marched in pursuit of him; he evacuated Arequipa, and was attacked near the river Ayavere, and defeated, after displaying prodigies of valour. He was taken prisoner, and sent to Cusco, where he was executed with several other of the leaders of the revolution.\*

The spirit of resistance which prevailed in Upper Peru, encouraged Rondeau, at the head of the army of Buenos Ayres, to advance into the country; and having defeated the enemy at Mochares and Pueto Grande, he established his head quarters at Potosi. He took possession of Cochabamba, and despatched Rodriguez at the head of a division to take a station which would enable him to keep open the communication between that city and Potosi. Rodriguez was repulsed, upon which Rondeau was compelled to fight the battle of Sipesipe, in which, after a most obstinate contest, he was defeated. The Cochabambians had prepared triumphal arches to honour their brethren in arms, who they expected would have been victorious; instead, however, of beholding a triumph, they were compelled to witness the sacking of their city the second time, and a repetition of those scenes of blood and carnage, which had spread over it the face of desolation.† After the defeat of Rondeau, the dissensions among the different parties and factions in the United Provinces, prevented their prosecuting the war with success on the frontier of Peru; and the government of Buenos Ayres never regained possession of the upper provinces. A partisan or guerrilla warfare, however, was maintained, and often with success, by Padilla, Warnes, Rivera, Calla, and numerous other leaders, which contributed to occupy the attention and the forces of Pezuela, who was now appointed viceroy of Peru, and to weaken the royal authority.

The Spaniards, however, maintained their dominion in the territories of the Bolivarian republic until 1825; it was the last strong hold of their power in America, from whence they annoyed the neighbouring independent territories. The glory of the illustrious individual whose name it bears, would not have been complete, had he not added to his former renown, that of the emancipation of Peru, thus becoming the liberator, the founder, and the father of three independent republics. After the great victory of Ayacucho, general Sucre was directed to pro-

\* This noble Indian took part with the king in the revolution of Tupac Amaru, which so recommended him to royal favour that he was appointed a brigadier general in the Spanish army, and had conferred on him the seigniorship of his town.

† Pazos' Letters.

ceed with the victorious liberating army into Upper Peru. There was an armed force in the Upper Province of 5 or 6000 men, commanded by general Olaneta, and stationed in all the principal towns. As the heroic Sucre advanced into the country, he was not only received with universal joy by the inhabitants, but the royal corps at Cochabamba, Chiquisaca, Santa Cruz, and Chica spontaneously abandoned an unjust and sinking cause, and declared for the independence of the country. Sucre advanced to Potosi in April, 1825, where Olaneta made what resistance he could; but was himself slain, and all the royal troops in Upper Peru surrendered to the hero of Ayacucho. The number of men in the Upper Provinces which capitulated was 5490, which together with those destroyed, and taken on the field of battle, and in the garrisons of Lower Peru, made a total of 18,598, as the trophies of the great victory of Ayacucho, which holds that rank in the revolution of South America, that the victory at Yorktown does in the revolution in North America. About the time of the arrival of Sucre at Potosi, the intendancy of Chiquitos was invaded and taken possession of by the Brazilian troops from the interior province of Matto Grosso; the Brazilian commander informed Sucre that he had taken possession of the province in pursuance of a capitulation concluded between the chief of Matto Grosso, and the governor of Chiquitos. Sucre in reply to this communication on the 11th of May, says, that Ramas the governor of Chiquitos, had no power for a negotiation with the authorities of Brazil, that his delivering up the province of Chiquitos was an act of treason, and the occupation of it by the Brazilian general, an unprovoked aggression, and that he had ordered the commandant of Santa Cruz to march against him, unless he immediately evacuated the territories of Peru. It is supposed that this decisive conduct caused the Brazilians to withdraw from Chiquitos.

The territories of Upper Peru, so long the theatre of the most fearful and terrific struggles of the revolution, being at length entirely free from every foreign power, measures were adopted to convene a general congress of delegates from the intendancies, to decide on their political destiny, whether they would unite with Lower Peru, the United Provinces, or form a separate and independent nation. The congress was convened at Chiquisaca, and after long deliberation, on the 6th of August, 1825, published a solemn declaration of the independence of Upper Peru. They say that at length "the happy day has arrived when Upper Peru has become liberated from unjust power, from the tyrannic and wretched Ferdinand VII., and that this fertile region has escaped the debasing relation of a colony of Spain; that it is important

to its welfare not to incorporate itself with any of the co-terminous republics, but to erect itself into a sovereign and independent state, in relation to the new as well as to the old world ; that the provinces of Upper Peru, firm and unanimous in their resolution, proclaim to the whole earth, that they will govern themselves, under their own constitution, laws, and authorities, in that way which they may think most conducive to the prosperity of the nation, the inviolable support of the Catholic religion, and the maintenance of the sacred rights of honour, life, liberty, equality, property, and security. To carry into effect this determination, they bind themselves through this sovereign representation, by their lives, property, and sacred honour." This declaration was signed by Jose Mariano Serrano, the president, and 57 members of the congress. It was the direction of Bolivar that the representatives of the people should be left entirely free in their deliberations and decision on this important question ; but it is supposed that he was in favour of these provinces uniting with Lower Peru. The congress decreed that the new state should be called "THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVAR," in honour of the liberator of Colombia and Peru, whom it acknowledges as the father of the nation ; that he should exercise the supreme power whilst he remained in the limits of the republic ; that the 6th of August and the 9th of December, the days on which the battles of Junin and Ayacucho were fought, should be annually kept as national festivals ; that in the capitals of each of the departments, an equestrian statue of the liberator should be placed on a column ; and his portrait in all the tribunals, cabildoes, universities, and schools ; on the left of which, in the same situations, to be placed the portrait of Sucre, whom the congress calls grand marshal of Ayacucho ; a pedestrian statue of the grand marshal is also decreed to be placed in the capitals of each department, and he is to be further honoured by the capital of the republic and its department, being called *Sucre*. The grand marshal is declared captain-general of the republic, and invested with the command of all the departments. Every soldier in the battles of Junin and Ayacucho was declared a citizen of the republic, and one million of dollars directed to be distributed among them by Bolivar.\*

No constitution has been adopted, or permanent government established, and the republic must at present be considered as under the authority of general Sucre as dictator, who, however, acknowledges the superiority of Bolivar, so that the liberator may be considered as exercising supreme power in both Upper and Lower Peru.

\* Decree of the 14th of August, 1825.

In December, 1825, the liberator proceeded from Lima to Chiquisaca, the capital of the new republic, to arrange its affairs. In January, when about to return to Lima, he issued a proclamation informing the people that they shall be acknowledged as an independent nation, and shall receive as liberal a constitution as is to be found on earth. He proposes to call the republic *Bolivia* instead of Bolivar, the date of which he says will be the 25th of May, 1826, when it is supposed that a congress will be instituted to frame a constitution.



# HISTORY

## AND PRESENT STATE

### OF THE

# UNITED PROVINCES.

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## CHAPTER XI.

*Extent and boundaries—description of the country—the pampas, rivers, bays, and harbours—productions and commerce—civil divisions—population and principal towns—government, army, navy, and finances—character of the people—amusements—the herdsmen of the plains.*

THE republic of the United Provinces of South America or Rio de la Plata, extends from the northern boundary of Paraguay in about lat.  $23^{\circ}$  south, to St. George's bay, in lat.  $45^{\circ}$  south, comprehending  $22^{\circ}$  of lat., or 1529 miles from north to south. On its northern boundary from the Brazilian territory to the Andes, it is nearly 900 miles; but on its southern boundary it is not more than 300 across the continent from St. George's bay to the gulf of Guaytecas, and less than 200 miles to the Andes. These limits do not include Upper Peru, which was attached to the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres in 1778. The present boundaries of the republic are north on Bolivar and Brazil, west on the Andes or Chili, and according to Pazos, partly on the gulf of Guaytecas; south on Patagonia, east on Brazil and the Atlantic ocean.

The territory included within the above mentioned limits is mostly comprised within the great valley of the La Plata and its branches, one of the most extraordinary vallies on the earth, both with respect to its magnitude and its peculiar soil and surface. The region which is watered by the vast river La Plata and its branches, rises towards the west into lofty mountains, whose

bases extend into immense plains which terminate on the La Plata and the Atlantic ocean. The eastern boundaries of this valley are mountainous ridges, not far from the coast of Brazil, whence the eastern branches of the La Plata have their sources. Perhaps no country in the world presents so level a surface as the republic of the United Provinces of South America, with the exception of the elevated tracts at the head branches of the rivers near the extreme boundaries of the great valley. The country west and south of the La Plata is one wide extended plain, embracing all the varieties from the richest alluvial to the high, broken, stéril plain; most of this vast level tract is destitute of timber, except near the borders of the rivers. The lower section of this interminable plain, extending from the northern part of the province of Cordova south, on the borders of the river La Plata and the Atlantic, far into Patagonia, and from the river and the coast into the interior to the highlands, at the foot of the Andes, is usually called the *Pampas*, and extends nearly 1500 miles from north to south, with a breadth of nearly five hundred miles in many places. Over all this immense space, there is scarcely a tree or shrub, or a single perennial plant to be seen. There are neither hills nor eminences, and the undulations are so gentle, as only to be perceived by taking a long view over its surface. The keen winds, called *Pamperos*, sweep over this unsheltered plain without the least obstruction. The surface of the earth appears to be a soft, black, rich soil, without stone, gravel, or sand. On the banks of some of the rivers, and in some other places, reddish clay appears on the surface.

Many of the rivers intersecting the Pampas are blackish, and salt lakes abound. Near the La Plata and other considerable rivers a few trees and some shrubbery are to be found, but most of the lesser ones creep through the plains, resembling crooked ditches of stagnant water, more than living streams; their courses not being marked by vallies, trees, or shrubbery. The whole of the pampas is rich pasture, and exceedingly productive in grass; a species of thistle also abounds, which grows from two to seven feet high. The only tree that seems to flourish is the Embudo, or perennial Poke, the trunk of which is a mere watery pulp, and is useless for fuel. The peach tree thrives when cultivated, as does also the olive and fig tree; the soil also produces good wheat, barley, and Indian corn, but the crops sometimes fail.

The pampas is chiefly useful for pasturage; on its immense surface are fed innumerable herds of horned cattle, horses, mules, and sheep; deer, ostriches, and wild dogs also abound. Thousands of these animals may often be seen at one view.

The more elevated plains to the north and west of the pampas are likewise generally destitute of timber, except on their water

courses, but have a soil more dry and sandy. The rivers here are more numerous, and the country is copiously supplied with pure water. This region is also well adapted to pasturage, particularly to the rearing of horses, mules, and sheep; and many districts are suitable for cultivation, and produce grain and fruit, of which they yield great abundance. The country east of the La Plata has generally a waving or an undulated surface, every where abundantly irrigated with never-failing springs and streams of the purest water. This tract is generally found clothed with stately forests, with the exception of some of the lower districts on the La Plata, and has a rich and fertile soil, producing in great abundance all the varied productions of temperate and tropical regions.

*Waters.*—The river La Plata embodies most of the interior waters of the United Provinces. The principal head water of the river La Plata is the Paraguay, which rises in Brazil in lat. 13° south, and after a southerly course of 1250 miles, receiving numerous branches and passing through the great lake or morass of the Xaraes, it assumes the name of La Plata at its junction with the river Parana, about 750 miles from the mouth of the La Plata. The waters of the La Plata and Paraguay are navigable for vessels to Assumption, 977 miles from the sea; and the latter river is said to afford a boat navigation 1500 miles farther into the interior. The two great eastern branches of the La Plata and Paraguay are the Parana and Uruguay; the first unites with the Paraguay after a course of 900 miles, 500 of which are navigable; the Uruguay has its source in Brazil, and after a southerly course of 900 miles, discharges its waters into the La Plata above the city of Buenos Ayres, having in its course received the Negro. The principal western branches of the La Plata and Paraguay are the Pilcomayo, which rises in Peru, and after a course of 1000 miles, discharges its waters into the Paraguay below Assumption by two mouths, fifty miles apart, affording navigation into the heart of the high provinces; the Rio Grande which unites with the Paraguay 50 miles above the mouth of the Parana after a course of 800 miles, nearly the whole of which admits of navigation; and the river Salado, which after a southerly course of 800 miles, empties into the La Plata at Santa Fe. Besides these there are two rivers of the name of Saladillo, and innumerable small streams which empty into the La Plata from the west. The Colorado, the Camaronies, and the waters emptying into St. Matthias' bay, are the principal which discharge into the Atlantic below the La Plata. The bays of St. Matthias and St. George afford the only considerable harbours except those on the great bay of the La Plata.

*Productions and Commerce.*—Enjoying every variety of climate

of the temperate and tropical regions, and blest with extensive tracts of fertile soil, the republic of the United Provinces possesses ample agricultural resources,<sup>9</sup> but its immense herds of cattle, horses, and sheep that graze on its extensive plains, constitute its principal source of wealth, and of commerce. These have been estimated at 1,200,000 cattle, and 3,000,000 of horses, which roam in vast herds over the interminable savannas of the Pampas. The principle articles for exportation are included in the following list:—hides, tallow, jerked beef, wool of various qualities, not only from the common sheep, but of the Gunaco and Vicuna; skins of lions, tigers, and wild dogs, horns, hair, and the *matte* or *yerba* of Paraguay. Its exports have amounted to 6,000,000 dollars, one half of which consisted of hides; and the imports to eight millions; the balance has been made up from specie received from the high provinces and Chili from the trade with them. The imports consist principally of European and India goods; about one half of the whole amount are English manufactures; the articles received from the United States are cordage, pitch, tar, fish, furniture, rice, butter, spermaceti candles, ale, gin, plank, and timber. The interior trade with Peru and Chili is extensive, and consists principally of a sale of foreign goods, matte, and mules, for the precious metals, and some productions of the high provinces. Mules are purchased in the territories of the pampas and plains at two years of age, and drove to Cordova, where they are wintered, and then taken to Salta, where they spend the second winter, by which time they have attained their growth, when they are driven in droves of two thousand to Lima for market. From fifty to seventy thousand mules were driven from Salta to Lima annually, before the revolution; but since that time the trade has been interrupted. All transportation is performed by mules in the high provinces, but ox teams are used in the pampas country. Six pair of oxen are attached to a cart, very large and coarse, made without iron, and covered with thatch or hides, as a protection to the driver. These teams pass over the immense plains in caravans of thirty or forty; they stop at night in the midst of the waste, and turn the oxen loose to graze, which is their sole support. These carts carry about four thousand weight, and perform the route from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, which is 900 miles, or to Tucuman, which is the same distance, in about thirty days, the fare being from 100 to 140 dollars per load. The mules carry 400 pounds on their backs, and are employed in the high provinces in droves of fifty or one hundred; they are relieved from their burden and turned loose at night to feed on the grass. This, however, often affords only a scanty subsistence. On the mountains grass is sometimes not to be found, and the mules can only browse.

*Civil divisions, population, and principal towns.*—The territory within the present limits of the republic, during its colonial state, was divided into the intendancies or provinces of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Cordova, and Salta; its present provincial divisions are involved in some obscurity, but for some purposes of government the republic may be considered as comprising fifteen provinces: Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Corrientes, Entre Rios, Banda Oriental, Cordova, Mendoza or Cuyo, Tucuman, Salta, San Luis, San Juan, Rioja, Catamarca, Santiago, and Jujuy.\*

*Buenos Ayres*, the first in importance, is situated in the south-eastern section of the republic, and is estimated to comprise an area of 50,000 square miles, composed entirely of the pampas territory, adapted to pasturage; but produces some fruit and grain when cultivated. The population of this province is estimated at 120,000, and including Indians at 250,000. The city of Buenos Ayres, the capital of the republic, its principal commercial town, and the seat of government for the province, is situated in lat. 34° 37' south, on the south-west bank of the river La Plata, about 200 miles from its mouth. The river is here thirty miles across, and is merely an open road; the opposite bank is low and rarely visible. The creek Reachucio falls into the La Plata on the east border of the town. The city extends along the bank nearly three miles; the streets intersect each other at right angles, dividing the town into solid squares of 150 yards each. The houses are generally two stories high, and built with terrace roofs. It is defended by a fort, and its public buildings consist of a cathedral, several convents, nunneries, churches, and a town house, and the building formerly appropriated to the royal monopolies. The number of dwelling houses is estimated at 6000, which are mostly built of brick, and generally have gardens attached to them. Among the public institutions, are an university, an academy, and a library containing nearly 20,000 volumes. There are a number of public schools, and the means of education have been greatly extended since the revolution. The city is accommodated with several bookstores, and newspaper establishments devoted to the republican principles of the government, and the independence of the country. The population of Buenos Ayres is estimated at from 62 to 70,000; about one half are whites, and the other people of colour, of various mixtures.

The climate is healthful and temperate, but subject to the pamperos, or south-west winds, during the prevalence of which,

\* Entre Rios and Corrientes are sometimes regarded as constituting one province only, and Santa Fe included in Entre Rios is often called a province; Jujuy is not always considered as a distinct province, but is included in Salta. Paraguay has never joined the union, and is an independent state, and Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Banda Oriental, were also for a long time independent, and not members of the confederacy.

the atmosphere is remarkably dry. In the vicinity of Buenos Ayres are some very productive farms, upon which wheat and corn are abundantly raised with little attention. Peach orchards also abound, and are cultivated to supply the town with fuel. Buenos Ayres is 1215 miles from Potosi, and 2865 miles from Lima, in a south-easterly direction. The other principal towns and villages in the province, are Ensenada, St. Isidro, Las Conchas, on the river La Plata, and Luxan, on the plains.

Paraguay, the next most important province, is bounded by the river Paraguay on the west, the Parana on the east and south, and by Brazil north, comprising about 43,000 square miles. Its population is estimated at 110,000, or 300,000, including Indians, who are numerous in this region. This province is considered as the fairest portion of the La Platan territory; its climate is delightful; the face of the country is not mountainous, nor any where flat; it is well supplied with a great variety of streams of pure water; its soil is every where found to be exceedingly fertile and productive, and was originally covered with rich and variegated forests of stately timber. Grain, cotton, sugar, and excellent fruit, oranges, figs, the olive and the grape, are produced abundantly, as well as the singular vegetable called *matte*, or the *yerva Paraguay*, so extensively used in South America as a tea or beverage.\*

The capital of this province is the ancient city of Assumption, founded in 1538, situated in latitude  $25^{\circ} 16'$  south, on the east bank of the river Paraguay, 977 miles from the ocean, at the head of ship navigation. The population of this city is not ascertained. Paraguay maintains an independent government, under a chief, called a dictator.

The provinces of *Corrientes*, *Entre Rios*, and *Banda Oriental*, lie east of the river La Plata, below Paraguay; a narrow strip of territory belonging to Entre Rios, lies on the west side of the river, stretching entirely across the country to the Patagonian pampas. Corrientes and Entre Rios comprise 104,500 square miles; the former has a population, without including Indians, of 40,000, and the latter of 45,000. This territory is very fertile, abounding in timber, and besides the richest pasture affords grain, tropical fruits, wine, and matte. The city of Santa Fe situated in latitude  $31^{\circ} 40'$  south, on the right or west bank of the La Plata, at the confluence of the Salado, 300 miles above

\* This is a perennial shrub or tree, which grows to the size of an apple-tree. In the spring when the leaves are about half grown, the young succulent shoots are cut and dried, and afterwards cured and put into sacks of raw hide containing 100 pounds each. This herb is used like the teas of China, and its consumption is as universal among all classes, as tea is in the United States.

Buenos Ayres, is the capital of Entre Rios. Its population exceeds 6000. The city of Corrientes, on the east side of the La Plata, 20 miles below the mouth of the Parana, with a population of about 6000, is the capital of the province of Corrientes. Monte Video is the principal town in the Banda Oriental, situated in latitude  $34^{\circ} 50'$  south, on the east bank of the La Plata. The harbour, which as well as the city, derives its name from a high mountain in the vicinity, has sufficient depth of water for the first rate ships. Its population, much reduced by the war, is estimated at 10,000. The town is strongly fortified but was taken by the Portuguese and Brazilians in 1817, who have ever since retained possession of it. The town of Maldonado, on the La Plata near the sea coast, contains about 10,000 inhabitants; Colonia, is a port on the La Plata nearly opposite to Buenos Ayres, and Purification is a town of about 4000 inhabitants, and was the seat of government whilst the province was under Artigas. The territory of the Banda Oriental is extremely fertile, its climate salubrious, and its waters abundant and pure. The northern sections are clothed with forests, and its southern part is a vast prairie, affording the most luxuriant pasture, and supporting throughout the year immense herds of cattle, mules, and horses. This province contains about 86,000 square miles, and a population not including Indians, of about 45,000. The extensive province of *Cordova* lies west of the Salado, and the territory of Entre Rios, extending south to the Atlantic and Patagonian region, and west to the provinces of San Luis, and San Juan, and is composed principally of plains and pampas devoted to pasturage. It contains about 90,000 inhabitants; the city of Cordova, its capital, contains 10,000 inhabitants, situated on the river Primero, and is the seat of an university. West of Cordova is the extensive territory composing the province of *Mendoza*, or Cuyo, which extends south to the pampas of Patagonia, and west to the Cordillera, which separates the republic from Chili. This territory consists of plains, mountains, and vallies among the eastern ridges of the Andes. Its population is estimated at 38,000, about 20,000 of which are in its capital, the city of Mendoza, pleasantly situated at the foot of the eastern Andes. It was here San Martin disciplined his army for the liberation of Chili.

North of Cordova is the province of *Tucuman*, extending west to the eastern Andes, and containing 40,000 inhabitants. Its seat of government of the same name is situated on the river St. Miguel de Tucuman, just above its junction with the Rio Dulce, in lat.  $27^{\circ} 25'$  south. This town is 900 miles from Buenos Ayres; it was honoured with the congress at the time independence was declared. North of Tucuman is the province of *Salta*, stretching north to the Rio Grande, and west to the moun-

tains, and embracing many beautiful and fertile vallies amongst the ridges of the Andes. Its population is 40,000; and its chief town, Salta, contains 9000 inhabitants, and carries on considerable trade with Peru, Bolivar, and Chili. This province was long the seat of war, and being occupied alternately by the contending parties, suffered severely in the long struggle for independence. Lying west of Cordova, are the provinces of *San Luis*, or *Punta San Luis*, and *San Juan*, carved out of the original province of Cuyo, or Mendoza, containing each about 27,000 inhabitants; the former extends south to the boundary of the republic on Patagonia, and the latter stretches along at the foot of the eastern Andes; the capital town of each is of the name of the province. North of the two last is the province of *Rioja*, lying in a valley of the same name, and containing 25,000 inhabitants; to the east is the valley of Catamarca, which, with that of Conando, form the province of *Catamarca*, which has a population of 30,000. To the east of this is the province of *Santiago*, lying north of Cordova; its capital, the city of *Santiago del Estero*, contains 10 or 15,000 inhabitants, and the province 60,000. Stretching north of Salta is the province of *Jujuy*, bounded north on the Bolivarian republic, with a population of 25,000; this is a mountainous country, and its chief town of the same name contains about 3000 inhabitants.

The population of the states, belonging to the present confederacy, according to the latest estimates, amounts to nearly 700,000, exclusive of civilized Indians, which may probably swell the aggregate to 1,200,000, in the whole United Provinces. The various races which compose the population are the same as in other parts of what was Spanish America. The Spaniards have greatly diminished since the revolution, whilst other natives of Europe have increased. The Creoles, or descendants of Europeans, as in all the rest of America, comprise the most efficient, the most patriotic, and intelligent class of the population. The people of colour, comprehending the Indians, Africans, and the various mixed races, constitute the labouring class, as in other parts of Spanish America, and make, when disciplined, good soldiers.

*Government, army, navy, and finances.*—A governing junta was established at Buenos Ayres on the 25th of May, 1810, from whence the country dates the commencement of the revolution and its political regeneration. In March, 1811, a congress, composed of deputies from the different provinces, was convened, and a new junta appointed. After this, various changes and revolutions took place in the government, some of which occasioned civil wars. A triumvirate, or executive of three persons was established, and this was followed by a single executive,



called a director. But the government continued unstable and shaken by factions; the dissensions of parties, and the ambitious designs of individuals, until March, 1816, when the election of Juan Martin Pueyredon, supreme director, quieted the factions, and gave stability to the government for a considerable period. This was followed by a declaration of independence by the general congress on the 9th of July, 1816. Since that period, until recently, no attempt has been made to organize a general government: one is now in successful operation, and adopted by most of the provinces. Measures have lately been taken to organize and maintain an efficient army for the purpose of defence; by a decree adopted in 1825, organizing and apportioning the military force among the provinces, it is to consist of 7600 men; very little attention has yet been paid to the formation of a navy. The actual revenue of the provinces, belonging to the republic, in 1817, was 3,037,187 dollars; the national debt, at the same time, amounted to 1,438,054 dollars, and the property belonging to the government, was valued at 19,055,597 dollars, exclusive of the public lands. The principal source of revenue is that derived from duties on imports and exports.

*Character of the population, &c.*—The same classes are found here as in the other states; but there is one portion of the population, which is, in some measure, peculiar; we allude to the herdsmen of the plains and pampas. Neither the Spanish or the French have been as successful in colonizing as the English, and one principal reason has been, the disposition of the two former to crowd themselves together in towns. In the United States the population is spread over the whole country, and was, at an early period, as far as the settlements extended; but in South America, almost the whole Spanish population are grouped together in towns. Even the great landholders reside almost entirely in the cities which owe their growth to mines, commerce, and to being seats of government. Among other consequences of this state of things, is the wide dissimilarity between the inhabitants of the cities and those out of them. Where landholders reside on their estates, and men of wealth and intelligence live in the country, they have a powerful influence in enlightening and improving all classes of the people. That a population living in solitude, scattered over an immense waste, without the means of education, and without enjoying any social intercourse, should be sunk low in ignorance, cannot be surprising. The intelligence which is found in the cities of the interior, and much more so that in cities which are maritime, is owing to their intercourse with foreigners. Buenos Ayres, for various reasons, ranks first in intelligence, as well as in wealth and population. The advantages of the other cities have not been so great as

those of the capital ; yet their inhabitants are but little behind those of Buenos Ayres in intelligence and general information. The revolution has excited a spirit of inquiry, and to a considerable extent provided the means of indulging it ; newspapers, schools, and colleges, have been established. The means of improvement have not been confined to the higher classes, but have produced important effects among every description of the population, not excepting the Indians. The inhabitants of Paraguay are a peculiar race, differing from those of the other provinces, being a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood ; they are an industrious, peaceful, taciturn, superstitious, and obedient people ; much attached to their country, desiring never to see any other, or to have any intercourse with foreigners. Their character was formed by the Jesuits, and has ever since been maintained.

But the herdsmen who form a considerable proportion of the population of the country, are the most peculiar class. They are scattered over the immense pampas and plains, each one having the charge of an *estancia*, or grazing farm, of many miles in extent ; their houses, or cabins, consist of mud walls, with a thatched roof, without furniture, and as simple and rude within as without ; they are generally erected near an embudo, which is the herdsmen's favourite shade. Here, in the midst of an immense waste, and unbroken solitude, he spends his days, shut out from the world, and from the "cheerful ways of man," scarcely less the child of nature than his Indian ancestors. Horse riding is both the herdsmen's employment and amusement, and being in the practise of it from their infancy, they are the most dexterous horsemen in the world. They wear a cloak, called a *poncho*, the same that is worn by the Indians ; it is larger than a Dutch blanket, and has no more the form of a garment, being only a square piece of cloth, with a slit for the head, hanging down all around the body. It serves not only for a cloak, but for a saddle covering, and a bag, during the day, and for a bed at night. The herdsmen is armed at all times with a large butcher knife secured about his waist, and the *lazo*, which is a thong or cord of hide, about thirty yards in length, with an iron ring at one end, by means of which a noose is formed in an instant, and the other end is fastened to the cinco, or girth of the saddle. The *lazo* is used with a dexterity truly astonishing ; it is thrown with unerring aim on horseback at full speed, at the swiftest animal. If it takes effect, and it seldom fails, the horse, being practised in the business, either stands still, or moves off, as directed by the rider. The *lazo* is suspended to the hinder part of the saddle, and always ready for use, as occasion may require. The habits and character of the herdsmen fit them for soldiers, particularly for cavalry ; and during the long wars in which the

country has been engaged, particularly the Banda Oriental, they have become as expert in the use of a gun on horseback, as of the lazo ; hardy, brave, accustomed to fatigue and privations, they form the most formidable guerrilla soldiery that ever existed. Such are the men who formed the forces of Artigas, which made such astonishing efforts, and exhibited such bravery and perseverance. They are commonly called Gauchos, and are usually one half or one fourth Indian blood.

The means of education in this, as well as in other parts of South America, have been greatly extended since the revolution. The schools have been multiplied ; new institutions of learning established ; and all kinds of books permitted to circulate freely. The newspaper establishments have increased, and a spirit of inquiry become prevalent among all classes of the people, by the successful exertions of the brave and intelligent citizens, by whose patriotic labours a new republic has been brought into life. Go on, illustrious people ! do what has been accomplished in another part of the same hemisphere ; “ establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, and perpetuate the blessings of liberty to yourselves and your posterity.” Go on, and be the pride of your friends, and a terror to your enemies.

The Roman Catholic religion is the established religion of the United Provinces ; but the advocates of universal toleration are increasing, and the rigours of the ancient laws are considerably relaxed. The executive has recently presented to the congress the project of a law, providing for the general toleration of all religions.\*

\* We are indebted for many of the details concerning the United Provinces to Judge Bland's Report.

# HISTORY

## OF THE REVOLUTION

### IN THE

# UNITED PROVINCES.

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## CHAPTER XI.

*Arrival of a French brig at Buenos Ayres with despatches—proceedings of Liniers, the viceroy—junta formed at Monte Video—R. H. de Cisneros appointed viceroy—proceedings of the revolutionists—junta established at Buenos Ayres—Liniers defeated and taken prisoner—junta sends a deputy to Chili—an army marches against the royalists in Upper Peru—its successes—war in the Banda Oriental—dissensions among the patriots—change in the government—Monte Video besieged—army in Peru defeated—royalists defeated at Salta—new political regulations—supreme director appointed—Monte Video capitulates—quarrel with Artigas—political revolution—naval events—war with Artigas—J. M. Pueyrredon—Portuguese invade Monte Video—war in Peru—Portuguese take Monte Video—events of the war in Peru.*

THE forcible seizure of Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte, and his attempt to establish his authority over the American colonies, gave the first impulse to the revolution in Spanish America. In July, 1808, a French brig, with an envoy from Napoleon, arrived at Buenos Ayres with despatches to Liniers, the viceroy, informing him of the cessions of Bayonne, and the events which had taken place in the peninsula.

The viceroy called together the cabildo, and the members of the court of audience for consultation; and it was decided, that the extraordinary occurrences in Spain required that the people should be officially made acquainted with them. Accordingly,

Liniers issued a proclamation, and being himself inclined to support the pretensions of Bonaparte, and knowing that the people were strongly opposed to the transfer of the country to France, he only mentioned in an obscure manner this important event; but reminded the people of the indifference they had shown in the war for the succession to the crown of Spain, and concluded by assuring them of the high opinion Napoleon entertained for them, on account of their recent triumphs over the British. He exhorted the inhabitants in the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, to remain quiet, and preserve the public tranquillity. A personal enmity subsisting between Liniers and Don F. X. Elio, the governor of Monte Video, the latter accused the viceroy of disloyalty, and forming a junta in imitation of those in Spain, he, by these means, separated the country under his command from its allegiance to the viceroy. About this time, Don J. Goyeneche, one of the agents sent to America by the junta of Seville, arrived at Monte Video with despatches from the junta; he approved of the conduct of Elio in forming a junta, and declared that "his mission had no other object than to promote the establishment of juntas, to secure the tranquillity of the country." Notwithstanding this language, and conduct, which probably were occasioned by his knowing that Liniers favoured the pretensions of Bonaparte, Goyeneche, at Lima, not only opposed the establishment of juntas, but conquered the troops which supported the junta of La Paz.

Whilst the body of the people considered the events in the peninsula as important only, by exposing the colonies as well as Spain, to fall under the dominion of the French emperor, a few individuals, distinguished for their intelligence and patriotism, regarded them as the dawn of a new era. They perceived that the connexion between the two countries was *de facto*, at an end, and that the time had at last arrived, to break the chains which had so long enslaved their country. Castelli, a lawyer of distinguished reputation, was the leader of the patriots in Buenos Ayres, and their secret meetings were held at his country-house, where they eluded the vigilance of the spies of the government. His associates were Belgrano, Chiclana, Pena, Beruti, Donado, Thompson, and others. The central junta of Spain injudiciously displaced Liniers, who was respected for his services in defending the country against the British a few years before, and sent Don B. H. Cisneros from Spain to succeed him. The revolution which broke out in La Paz in 1809, alarmed the new viceroy, and led him to establish the most severe political inquisition. But neither the activity and vigilance of the government, nor the melancholy termination of the revolution in La Paz, deterred the patriots of Buenos Ayres from their bold and patriotic designs.

They succeeded in attaching to the popular cause three regiments of troops, comprising the greater part of what were in the capital. These regiments were commanded by colonels Saavedra, Ocampo, and Rodriguez. The revolutionists also gained over to their interests the most intelligent creoles, and in some measure prepared the public mind for the great political change which they meditated. Things were in this state when, in May, 1810, the news was received of the dispersion of the central junta of Spain, and the advance of the French armies through the pass of Sierra Morena, which removed every doubt of the speedy subjugation of the peninsula. Cisneros, the viceroy, issued a proclamation informing the people of the disastrous and alarming events which had occurred in Spain, and at the same time intimated a doubt, or the uncertainty he felt as to his own authority. This enabled the revolutionists to prevail on the Cabildo or municipality, consisting of five creoles and one Spaniard, to present a petition to the viceroy, praying him to assemble a meeting of the citizens to decide on the course proper to be pursued at such a conjuncture. The meeting, which the viceroy could not prevent, was held on the 22d of May: the debate was long and animated; the bold and popular eloquence of Castelli confounded the royalists, and convinced them that the patriots had not only the advantage of a just cause, but of superior talents. During the debate, a body of armed citizens assembled in the public square to protect the friends of the people, should any violence or danger menace them. The meeting deposed the viceroy, and declared that the only lawful authority existed in the cabildo, who immediately proceeded to appoint a junta, naming the viceroy, however, as president. The people were dissatisfied on account of the viceroy being a member of the junta, and a tumult ensued, which was followed by a memorial addressed to the cabildo, praying for his removal. This occasioned the establishment of a new junta of nine persons, to exercise the powers of government in the name of the captive king; who were, Saavedra, Azcuenaga, Alberti, Matheu, Larrea, Castelli, Belgrano, Paso, and Moreno. This junta was created on the 25th of May, and immediately commenced its session. This measure of the inhabitants, deposing the viceroy, was not without a precedent, it having been done in 1807, when an attack was threatened by general Beresford, which met the approbation of the Spanish government.\*

Its first act was to depute Don J. J. Passo to acquaint the inhabitants of Monte Video with the events which had occurred at Buenos Ayres. This intelligence occasioned the calling of an assembly of the inhabitants of that city, who approved of the proceedings at Buenos Ayres, and agreed to support the new govern-

\* Pazos' Letters, p. 34—39.

ment. The Spaniards, however, at Monte Video, were violently opposed to the revolution at Buenos Ayres, and causing the troops to be landed from on board the Spanish vessels in the harbour, the royal party became strengthened, and bold in their opposition. The Spanish chiefs of Paraguay, Cordova, Chuquisaca, and Potosi, were roused to oppose the junta, and the late viceroy, Cisneros, and the members of the audience, secretly assisted them, and contrived to overthrow the new government, the former having privately despatched circulars to all the royal governors to incite them to civil war. The ex-viceroy, Liniers, was also among the enemies of the junta; and having raised a force of 2000 men, he laid waste the environs of Cordova to prevent the approach of the popular troops. The part secretly acted by the viceroy and members of the audience being discovered, they were seized and ordered to quit the country, and embark for the Canary Islands. The junta appointed colonel Ocampo to command the army, who attacked Liniers and took him prisoner, his troops having principally deserted him. Liniers, Concha, the late governor of Cordova, Allende, Moreno, and Rodriguez, who had been the most active opposers of the revolution in that quarter, were condemned and executed, to the astonishment of the Spanish chiefs.

An English ship of war having assisted the royalists, and opposed the commerce of Buenos Ayres, the junta remonstrated against the conduct of captain Elliott, its commander, to Lord Strangford, the British ambassador at Rio Janeiro, who ordered him not to interfere in the dispute between the royalists and the popular government.

Sensible of the importance of extending the revolution to Chili, the junta despatched Don A. A. Jonte, who was well known to the inhabitants in that country, to Santiago, to hasten the forming of a junta there, which measure had the desired effect. The royal chief was deposed, a junta established, and Jonte was continued there in the capacity of charge de affairs from the government of Buenos Ayres; and obtained from the junta of Chili, 300 troops for the assistance of his government, at a critical conjuncture.

The army under Ocampo having been considerably re-enforced, he was ordered to march against the Spaniards who had collected in Upper Peru, under colonel Cordova, and the royal chiefs, Sanz and Nieto. They were attacked by general Balcarce, who had brought re-enforcements to the army of the junta, and assumed the command; after a hard fought action, the royalists were completely defeated, although occupying a strongly fortified position at Suypacha. Cordova, Sanz, governor of Potosi, and Nieto, president of the audience of Charcas, were taken prisoners and shot. This victory was followed by another at Tupiza.

These successes led to the occupation of Upper Peru, as far as the river Desaguadero, which is the boundary between the territories of Peru and Buenos Ayres. The army was accompanied by Castelli, a member of the junta of Buenos Ayres, as its representative, and also as general governor of Upper Peru. With this victorious army it was intended to invade that part of Peru where the viceroy Abascal maintained the Spanish authority; but Castelli having received proposals from the municipality of Lima for the suspension of hostilities, as a preliminary step to peace, the invasion was suspended. The municipality sent at the same time the eleven propositions which had been submitted to the Cortes of Spain by the members of that body, representing the American colonies, and believing that they had been acceded to by the Cortes, they offered them as the basis of an accommodation, or treaty of peace. These propositions were sent by Castelli to the junta, who then entered into an armistice with Goyeneche, commanding the royal troops. The danger on the side of Peru was now considered at an end; but a storm was gathering in another quarter. Velasco, governor of Paraguay, had raised an army to attack the new government of Buenos Ayres, which ordered 800 men, under Don M. Belgrano, against Velasco. Don N. Yedros commanded the royalist army of Paraguay. An engagement took place on the banks of the Tacuari; the army of Buenos Ayres was defeated, which led Belgrano to propose a conference with Yedros, the result of which was, that the patriot army was allowed to retreat without molestation. Velasco was afterwards deposed by the people, and a junta established for Paraguay, which formed an alliance with Buenos Ayres; but refused to join the confederacy.

The regency of Spain had appointed Elio captain-general of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and in that capacity he governed the province of Monte Video, or the Banda Oriental; and was now the most dangerous and powerful enemy with which the popular government of Buenos Ayres had to contend. Don J. Artigas, a native of Monte Video, and a captain in the royal service, having, in consequence of a personal difficulty, determined to abandon the royal cause, applied to the junta of Buenos Ayres early in 1811, for assistance, in arms and ammunition, to enable him to excite a revolt in the Banda Oriental. The junta, anxious to destroy the royal authority in the provinces east of the river La Plata, not only furnished the supplies requested, but ordered the army which had withdrawn from Paraguay, to proceed to the Banda Oriental, to co-operate with Artigas, who had collected a body of guerrillas. Rondeau was appointed to the command of the troops of Buenos Ayres. In the contests with the British in 1807, he was made a prisoner and carried to England,



and from thence he went to Spain, and served some time in the war in the peninsula. After gaining several less important advantages, Rondeau and Artigas obtained a signal victory over the royalists at Las Piedras, in May, 1811; all the royal troops which survived being made prisoners, together with their commander. The victors immediately marched against Monte Video, and having received re-enforcements from Buenos Ayres, they laid siege to the city.

At Buenos Ayres as well as in the other parts of Spanish America, the patriots soon became divided among themselves, and the cause of the revolution suffered greatly from their dissensions. There were two parties in the junta, one headed by Don C. Saavedra, the president, and the other by doctor Moreno, the secretary, who accused the president of ambitious views, and Saavedra charged the doctor with being the leader of the mob. The president, with a view to strengthen his party, procured a decree, that the deputies nominated by the provinces to the general congress, should also be entitled to seats in the junta, whereby its members were increased from nine to twenty-two. This plan succeeded, and deprived Moreno of his influence, which induced him to resign his situation. He was afterwards sent to England to solicit the protection of the British government, and died on his passage.\* The dissensions among the civil rulers extended to the military, and occasioned two parties in the army, which consisted of three corps, one commanded by colonel Diasvelez, one by Viamont, and one under the immediate command of brigadier Balcarce, commander in chief. The first and last declared for Moreno's party, and Viamont for the president's.

Notwithstanding the armistice which had not yet expired, Goyeneche, taking advantage of these dissensions, in July, 1811, attacked Diasvelez at Guaqui, who, not being supported by the other corps, was easily overcome; and his defeat compelled the other two divisions to retreat, and enabled Goyeneche, who had been appointed to the command of the royal army of Peru by the viceroy of Lima, to take possession of Upper Peru. Pueyredon, president of the audience of Chuquisaca, was chosen by the troops to command them, in preference to their former leader, and he and Viamont retired to the province of Salta. Goyeneche was checked in his career, by the rising of the people of the pro-

\* Moreno was a young man of distinguished talents, and a true patriot. Saavedra had procured a decree of the junta, directing the same honours and respect to be shown to their president that had been to the viceroys. His house was called the palace; and had sentinels posted at every avenue; he rode out in a carriage drawn by six horses, and accompanied by an escort of dragoons. Moreno opposed these relics of royalty, and anti-republican ceremonies, and procured them to be abolished. They were however revived by the director Posadas.

vinces of Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and the bands of the guerrillas which overrun the provinces he occupied, and constantly harassed his troops; being greatly exasperated at this annoyance, he determined to shoot every prisoner he should take, and put to death every partisan of the revolution who should fall into his hands. This bloody and savage measure did not produce the expected effect; the guerrillas still kept the field, and prevented Goyeneche from advancing into the low country. The junta appointed Saavedra commander in chief, and ordered him to raise a new army. Having left the capital with officers and muskets for this purpose, his enemies, taking advantage of his absence, accused him of ambition and arbitrary conduct, particularly in having by his influence obtained the decree of the 6th of April, exiling Larrea, Pena, Posadas, and others, who opposed his ambitious designs. Saavedra was deposed by the Cabildo, and a change in the government determined on, the junta being considered too numerous and slow in its decisions to save the country in so alarming a crisis. The municipality of the city called a meeting of the inhabitants in September, which resolved that a new government should be established, consisting of only three members, and two secretaries. M. Sarratea, F. Chiclana, and J. J. Passo, were entrusted with the powers of the government; and B. Rivadavia, and J. Perez, chosen secretaries. Regulations were adopted called a *provisional statute*, providing for the renewal of the members of the executive: a meeting composed of deputies of the municipalities of the provinces, was to be held every six months, when one member of the government vacated his seat, and another was chosen by the deputies to supply his place. The liberty of the press was guaranteed, and a junta was to be established annually, which, together with the municipality, were to have exclusive jurisdiction of all questions relating to the liberty of the press and the public revenue, augmented by confiscating the property of Spaniards to nearly the amount of 1,400,000 dollars.

In the mean time Artigas and Rondeau prosecuted the siege against Monte Video with vigour and success; and the captain-general, Elio, being unable to hold out long without assistance, applied to the Portuguese government in Brazil for succour. Through the influence of the Princess Charlotte, sister to Ferdinand VII. with Souza, the minister, Elio obtained 4000 men, besides money and jewels from the Princess herself. The troops were commanded by general Souza, brother of the minister; but, notwithstanding their arrival at Monte Video, Elio offered terms of peace to the government of Buenos Ayres, and in November, 1811, a treaty was concluded. The Portuguese troops were to return to their own territory, and the army of Buenos Ayres to

raise the siege and evacuate the Banda Oriental as far as the river Uruguay. Accordingly the siege was raised, but the Portuguese troops, instead of being withdrawn according to the treaty, committed acts of hostility in the territory of Rio de la Plata.

The army of Peru was destined to experience further disasters, and was defeated by the royalists under general Tristan, who added the province of Salta to those then in the occupation of the royal troops. The revolutionary cause in Buenos Ayres was now in a dangerous and critical situation; the government having no troops to re-enforce the army of Peru, to enable it to check the royalists, who were advancing victoriously towards the capital, and at the same time threatened by the Portuguese in an opposite quarter. Unappalled by the dangerous aspect of affairs, the government prepared to act with all the energy of which their situation would admit. Sarratea, one of the members of the government, marched at the head of 4000 men to oppose the Portuguese army; and general Belgrano, who commanded in Peru, was ordered to retire to Tucuman. The unexpected advance of the army against the Portuguese occasioned alarm, and the minister Souza, dying about the same time, his successor, count de Las Galveas, proposed terms of peace, and an armistice was concluded in June, 1812, without limitation of time. The Portuguese troops withdrew from the territory of Buenos Ayres, and peace was concluded between the two governments, which mutually guaranteed each other's territories.

But external hostilities were not the only source of danger, nor perhaps the most alarming, with which the government of Buenos Ayres was threatened. A bold and daring conspiracy was formed against it for the purpose of arresting the revolution. All the members of the junta and the partisans of the revolution were to be put to death. Don M. Alzaga, a Spaniard, and a rich merchant of Buenos Ayres, was at the head of the conspiracy, who, with twenty more of the principal leaders, was tried, condemned, and executed. The plot was discovered by means of the Portuguese ambassador, who was solicited to join in the conspiracy, but declined, and gave intimation to the government of their danger. General Belgrano, retreating agreeably to his orders, was pursued to Tucuman by the royal general Tristan, and would have continued to retire, had not the inhabitants of Tucuman armed themselves and compelled him to keep his ground. He was attacked by the royalists under general Tristan, on the 24th of September, who suffered a most signal defeat, losing 1100 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. This victorious field was honoured with the appellation of *campo del honor*. The royalists were compelled to retreat after their defeat, which relieved the government and people from apprehension on the side of Peru.

On the 5th of April, 1812, a congress was convened at the capital, which elected Don J. M. Pueyredon a member of the government; and at a meeting held on the 6th of October, Don M. Medrano was nominated a member. Both of these assemblies claimed to possess the sovereign power of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and undertook to form a constitution; this was evidently exceeding their authority, and was opposed by the governing junta, and both assemblies were dissolved by military force. Two days after the dispersion of the last assembly, a general meeting of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres was held, which confided the government to Don N. Pena, J. J. Passo, and A. A. Jonte.

The captain-general, Elio, having violated the treaty with Buenos Ayres, by hostilities committed by the Portuguese troops, the governing junta determined again to besiege Monte Video; and the foundry which had been established at the capital by Monasterio, who was director of the military school at Madrid in the reign of Charles the IV., supplied the requisite bombarding cannon. Don G. Vigodet succeeded Elio in his command, and having received re-enforcements from Spain, he not only felt confident of defending Monte Video, but entertained hopes of crushing the junta at Buenos Ayres. Rondeau again commanded the troops sent against Monte Video, and on the 31st of December, Vigodet attacked him, but was defeated with loss. Re-enforcements were sent from Buenos Ayres under Sarratea, who assumed the chief command, but a misunderstanding soon arising between him and Artigas, and the officers supporting the latter, Sarratea was obliged to quit the army, and leave the command again to Rondeau. Not discouraged by his defeat, Vigodet, availing himself of his naval superiority, embarked a body of troops and landed them at Parana, on the coast of Buenos Ayres, in February, 1813, for the purpose of procuring provisions, of which the besieged were in great want. The governing junta obtaining information of this expedition, despatched colonel San Martin to oppose the royalists; having come up with the enemy with his cavalry at San Lorenzo, on the river Parana, this gallant officer gave them battle without waiting for his infantry, and obtained for his country a most decisive victory, and for himself, the first fruits of the distinguished fame which he afterwards acquired.

Belgrano having received re-enforcements, attacked the royalists of Salta, on the 20th of February, 1813, and after a hard fought battle of nearly four hours, victory declared for the patriots, and general Tristan and all his troops fell into the hands of the victors. But the advantages of this victory were partially lost by an act of indiscreet generosity on one part, and base perfidy on the other. Belgrano and Tristan had been intimate friends, and the

former confiding in the faith and honour of the latter, permitted him to withdraw with all his troops on taking an oath that neither himself nor any of his soldiers would ever take arms again against Buenos Ayres. But so lightly did he regard his honour or his oath, that he immediately, with all his men, joined the royalists under Goyeneche, who was preparing to take the field. The government disapproved of the generosity of Belgrano, but its consequences could not be prevented. This victory, however, compelled Goyeneche to retreat to Oruro, and restored to the patriots the provinces of Potosi, Charcas, Chayante, and Cochabamba. On the 31st of January, a congress, called the *constituyente*, composed of deputies from the towns and cities of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, met in the capital. The sovereignty of the congress was acknowledged by each inhabitant. The style of the governing junta was changed to that of the supreme executive, and consisted of Pena, Perez, and Jonte. The congress adopted some liberal measures; that every future child of a slave should be free, and that all slaves from any part of the world, who might come into Rio de la Plata, should immediately be emancipated. A plan was also formed for the gradual manumission of the slaves; all proprietors were to sell to government when required, one third part of their slaves, the price of which was to be liquidated as a debt against the state. The government was to manumit the slaves purchased; but they were to be formed into battalions, their officers to be whites, and to be fed, clothed, and paid by the government.\*

A new conspiracy was formed at Monte Video, against the popular government, instigated by Spaniards at Buenos Ayres; but it was discovered, and the conspirators arrested, tried, and four of them executed. In August, the term of Jonte as a member of the executive expired, and the congress filled the place by Don G. Posadas. Jonte and Don J. Ugarteche, were appointed commissioners to visit the provinces and make the necessary political reforms and arrangements, conformable to the new order of things, and particularly as it respected the finances.

The armies of the hostile parties in Peru, the royalists under Pezuela, the successor of Goyeneche, and the patriots commanded by Belgrano, met at Vilcapugio on the north of Potosi, where a severe and long contested engagement took place; the advantage was on the side of the royalists; Belgrano retreated to Ayoma on the north of Chuquisaca, but being hotly pursued, another action was fought near the close of November, in which the patriots were completely defeated, after fighting with such determined bravery and perseverance, as extorted a tribute of praise from the royalist general in his official despatch. This victory made the

\* Outline of the Revolution in South America.

royalists masters of all Upper Peru, and also Jujuy and Salta. These serious disasters placed the government at Buenos Ayres in a critical situation, and occasioned general alarm. A victorious army without any troops to oppose it, threatened the country on the side of Peru, and the war on the east side of the river required additional forces. These threatening circumstances which demanded the entire resources of the country, instead of calling into requisition those resources, served to impair both the energy of the government, and its means, as the public mind began to waver as to the issue of the contest: and when their country had most need of their services, many were thinking only of their own safety. Under the influence of this appalling aspect of affairs, the governing junta proposed to concentrate the executive power in one magistrate, to give more energy and decision to the government; and on the 31st of December, the congress repealed the decree establishing a triplicate executive, and vested the powers of government in one chief magistrate, called the supreme director. Don G. Posadas was nominated director, and an executive council of seven members was also appointed for his advice and assistance.

At this gloomy period, an individual, whose name afterwards became illustrious, was brought into notice. This individual was San Martin, who was appointed to succeed Belgrano, the latter having been ordered to be tried for his late defeat. San Martin, in the course of a few months, *created* a new army of 3500 men; besides which, he formed the guerrillas into several corps, which cut off the communications between the different divisions of the royalists, and by constantly watching and harassing foraging parties, deprived them of provisions. In consequence of these annoyances by the guerrillas, the Spanish general was obliged to abandon Salta, Jujuy, and a part of Upper Peru, where the war was carried on by Pinelo, Munecas, the Indian Pomakagua, and other partisan warriors. In the mean time, Don Juan Larrea, secretary of finance, contrived and executed a plan for establishing a naval force superior to that of the enemy. Two brigs, three corvettes, and one schooner, were equipped, manned, and ready for sea, with troops on board. Mr. Brown, an English merchant at Buenos Ayres, was appointed to command this little flotilla, which, having put to sea, engaged some ships of the enemy, in April, 1814, near the island of Martingarcia; and on the 25th of May, another engagement took place off Monte Video, in sight of the town, of a more decisive character. Two of the enemy's corvettes were taken, two others destroyed by fire, and the rest escaped. This victory enabled Brown to blockade Monte Video. General Rondeau, in consequence of a difficulty with Artigas, had been obliged to withdraw his troops from the siege, but

had renewed it with more vigour than ever, before colonel Alvear arrived from Buenos Ayres with re-enforcements to assume the command.\* San Martin having demanded leave of absence, in consequence of the impaired state of his health, Rondeau supplied his place, as commander of the army of Peru. Soon after Alvear took command of the besieging army, the town not being able to hold out any longer, Vigodet proposed to capitulate, and the terms agreed on, were, that the garrison should be permitted to embark for Spain, that the troops of Buenos Ayres should enter Monte Video, and hold possession of it until the result of the deputation should be known, which the congress intended to send to Spain. There were 5500 prisoners surrendered, 11,000 muskets, and an immense park of artillery and military stores. The government did not, however, strictly comply with these terms of capitulation, for neglecting which, they assigned various reasons; the principal one was, the right of retaliation for Tristan and Goyeneche's breaches of faith. Vigodet was permitted to embark for Spain, but the troops were distributed through the interior provinces of Rio de la Plata, except what could be induced to enlist into the popular service.

The difficulties between the government of Buenos Ayres and Artigas, commenced almost immediately after their united exertions had captured Monte Video, and reduced the Spanish power in the Banda Oriental. Artigas claimed that Monte Video ought to be given up to him, as chief of the Banda Oriental; this demand was resisted by the government of Buenos Ayres, and to check the designs of Artigas, a part of their troops were left in the country under the command of colonel Soler, who was appointed governor of Monte Video. To the contention with Artigas, was added mischievous dissensions among the patriots at Buenos Ayres. Availing himself of the ephemeral popularity, which the capture of Monte Video had given him, Alvear obtained the ap-

\* General Rondeau, in the name of the government, convened an Oriental congress for the purpose of appointing deputies to represent the Banda Oriental, and to choose a governor for the province. Artigas, as chief of the Orientals, demanded that the electors should appear at his headquarters, and receive instructions from him. This arbitrary demand being disregarded, he opposed the congress, declared it illegal, and attempted to dissolve it. The electors, however, appointed deputies and a governor, which so exasperated Artigas, that he exerted himself to spread disaffection among the Oriental troops, and finally withdrew from the army, and carried off nearly all the Orientals. This conduct produced great indignation against Artigas at Buenos Ayres, and the director, Posadas, declared him both a traitor and an outlaw, and deprived him of all his offices, offering 6000 dollars to any one who would bring him in, dead or alive. This rash measure, fraught with great cruelty and injustice, only served to strengthen the influence of Artigas over the Orientals, and render the breach between them and the government of Buenos Ayres almost irreparable.—*Fines*.

pointment of commander in chief of the army in Peru, and marched with a large re-enforcement to join the army; but, learning before he arrived, that from the influence of Rondeau, the troops were opposed to him, he returned to Buenos Ayres. Here he solicited the place of supreme director, which he obtained in January, 1815, Posados resigning the post. These events occasioned deep animosities and general anarchy. The army of Peru refused to acknowledge Alvear. Some of the provinces declared for Rondeau, and others supported the director. Communication between the capital and many of the provinces was obstructed, although the two factions did not commit actual hostilities. To complete the difficulties of the republic, their troops were defeated in the Banda Oriental, by Rivera, one of Artigas' generals, which compelled the director to order Soler to evacuate the country with the remnant of his forces. Artigas now entered Monte Vidco, and being in the undisputed possession of the Banda Oriental, he was a more formidable enemy to Buenos Ayres, than the royalists in that quarter had been. He determined to invade the territories of Buenos Ayres, and proceeded against Santa Fe, which, instead of opposing him, declared in his favour. The director sent 2000 men to oppose Artigas, commanded by general Viana and colonel Alvarez; but the latter declared against the director, arrested Viana, the commander in chief, and united with Artigas, for the purpose of overthrowing the director. The army in Peru sent Jonte to insist on Alvear's renouncing the directorship; and being at last satisfied that he could not rule a people against their will, a people who had lost all confidence in him, in consequence of his rash ambition, he reluctantly yielded to the general voice, and resigned his post. So indignant were the inhabitants against the director, that when Alvarez had joined Artigas, and was marching against Buenos Ayres, they collected in crowds, and denounced the director, instead of the apostate officer. These occurrences occasioned a public meeting of the inhabitants, who declared the authority of Alvear, and also that of the congress, illegal and disannulled, and vested the government in the municipality of the city. The ex-director, Alvear, retired three miles from the city, where the troops were encamped, of which he assumed the command; and it being reported that he meditated attacking the town, the inhabitants were thrown into alarm and confusion, and the municipality ordered every citizen under arms, and arrested the wife of Alvear, and several deputies, who were his partisans. An accommodation finally took place, and Alvear engaged to leave the country. He embarked for England in a British frigate, commanded by captain Percy, who acted as mediator between the parties, and engaged to guarantee the performance of Alvear.



The municipality established a new junta, called *de observación*, and promulgated a new provisional constitution. The junta of observation were a sort of tribunes; whose duty it was to see that the laws were executed, to watch the conduct of the director, check his ambition, and oppose his acts when prejudicial to the public interest. Rondeau retaining his post at the head of the army, colonel Alvarez was appointed his substitute. The public papers were filled with invectives against the members of the late administration; more than twenty persons were arrested, and the government was occupied in preparing for their trial. Colonel Paillardel was condemned to death, and executed, but the people of Buenos Ayres being much dissatisfied, the rest of the accused were exiled.\*

The destruction of the Spanish naval force procured for Brown the rank of admiral, and in 1815, he proposed to the government to sail with his flotilla on a cruise into the Pacific ocean for the annoyance of the Spanish commerce. The government approving of the proposal, and having made the necessary preparations, the expedition sailed at the end of the year. For some time it cruised with success, but the admiral's ship having grounded on the sands near the coast of Guayaquil, was captured by the Spaniards. Brown, however, was exchanged for the newly appointed governor of Guayaquil, who had been captured on his way from Panama, a few days before, by one of Brown's cruisers. Whilst on this station, Brown greatly annoyed the Spanish commerce, and captured many vessels, some of which he sent to Buenos Ayres. On his return in the *Hercules* with a rich booty on board, Brown was captured by the British ship of war, *Brazen*; his vessel was carried into Antigua, where it was condemned, on pretence that it had violated the navigation laws.

Great disorders prevailed at Santa Fe, and a body of troops was sent thither under general Viamont to overawe the partisans of Artigas and the disaffected. The death of the governor, and the selection of a lieutenant governor, occasioned fresh tumults. The inhabitants, rising in a mass, led by Vera, and aided by a few troops, attacked Viamont with that fury which a spirit of faction inspires, and compelled him and all his troops to surrender. To this disaster, succeeded one still more serious. The royalist general, Pezuela, having received re-enforcements from Spain, attacked the patriot army in Peru, and defeated it at Sipesipe, in November, 1815. This victory enabled the royalists the third time to occupy the provinces of Charcas, Potosi, and Jujuy. Civil dissensions still continued to agitate the state. Alvarez, who exercised the supreme executive authority, in consequence of the

\* Outline of the Revolution. Dean Funes' History of the Revolution in the United Provinces.

absence of Rondeau, ordered the convocation of a new congress; but before it assembled, he was displaced from his command, by a popular revolution, and Balcarce appointed to succeed him; but he also was soon removed by the popular voice, and the government placed in the hands of a committee. Notwithstanding these commotions, the new congress assembled in Tucuman, and their first act was the appointment of a supreme director. Don J. M. Pueyredon was elevated to the supreme executive authority, which gave great satisfaction to the inhabitants, tired and disgusted with repeated revolutions, and revived the hopes of the friends of liberty. Pueyredon commenced his administration with energy; he gave the command of the army of Peru to general Belgrano, and sent troops to re-enforce San Martin, who was defending the frontiers of the country bordering on Chili. But he found the republic in a general state of anarchy; not only the Orientals under Artigas, opposed the government, but Santa Fe maintained its independence, and Cordova and other cities refused to submit to the government of Buenos Ayres. The capital was charged with arrogating every thing, and of assuming all the powers of government. Those opposed to the government were in favour of a federative system, securing to all the provinces an influence according to their population. Previous to this time, a corps of troops from Buenos Ayres had been sent against Santa Fe, under E. D. Velis, which being aided by a small squadron, the inhabitants, seeing no chance of defending the city, resolved to abandon it, and all fled, leaving every thing they could not remove to their invaders. So inveterate was their animosity against Buenos Ayres. Having captured the vessels of the enemy, they not long after returned and besieged their invaders in their own capital. Affairs being in this situation, the director sent deputies to attempt an accommodation with Santa Fe; but before they arrived, the troops of Buenos Ayres had evacuated the city and gone down the river. The threatened invasion by the Portuguese, rendered the director more anxious for a reconciliation with Artigas, to whom he sent a deputy and a supply of arms and munitions of war, offering to furnish all the assistance he wanted to enable him to repel the threatened invasion. Artigas received the supplies, but refused to listen to any terms of accommodation. The congress issued a manifesto, deploring the disorders, exhorting the people to obedience, and threatening the disturbers of the public tranquillity; but it produced no effect.

The congress, on the 9th of July, 1816, in a short, yet solemn declaration, announced the independence of the United Provinces. At a subsequent period, a manifesto was published, assigning, at greater length, the reasons which moved them to a separation.

The invasion of the Portuguese induced Pueyredon, the director,

to make a second attempt at reconciliation with Artigas, and commissioners were appointed to treat with him. A treaty was finally concluded, wherein it was stipulated that the province of the Banda Oriental should acknowledge the authority of the government of Buenos Ayres; that it should send members to the congress, and that the government should immediately furnish troops for its defence. This event occasioned great joy with the inhabitants, on both sides of the river; which, however, was soon checked, by information that the Orientals refused to ratify the treaty, influenced, as was supposed, by Artigas. The executive of the United Provinces remonstrated with the Portuguese general, Lecor, and warned him of the consequence of an unprovoked and unjustifiable invasion, but without any effect. His pretext was, that the disorders and anarchy in the neighbouring provinces rendered it necessary to occupy the country, to prevent the contagion from spreading into Brazil.

In the mean time the war raged in Upper Peru, where colonel M. A. Padilla checked the progress of the bloody Facon. To oppose the successful career of Padilla, the enemy despatched 1000 men towards Laguana. Padilla prepared to meet the assailants, and entrusted to his captains the defence of several posts, and one to the command of *his wife*; the enemy made a furious assault, but was completely repulsed and routed, and this heroic female, deserving of Spartan renown, had the satisfaction of presenting to her husband a standard of the enemy, taken with her own hands. Padilla pursued the fugitives in every direction, driving such as escaped into the town of Chuquisaca, where they were shut up. The wife of Padilla, for her heroic conduct, was rewarded by the government with the commission and pay of a lieutenant colonel.

Another victory was obtained over a body of Spaniards of 1000 men, under the command of Facon, in person, by the patriot officer Warnes, the royalists being almost entirely destroyed. In Salta and Jujuy, general Guemes, with a formidable guerrilla force, and numerous other corps of guerrillas under different leaders, constantly annoyed the royalists, deprived them of their conquests as fast as they were made, and finally compelled Puzuela to retreat.

Internal dissensions and the voice of faction had not yet ceased to disturb the public councils. The removal of the congress from Tucuman to the capital was deemed expedient for the better management of the war; as it was convenient to have the different departments of the government near each other. This measure was opposed by most of the provinces, who desired to have the congress out of the reach of the influence of the capital. After much discussion, a vote was obtained in congress to

remove the capital, which gave rise to new commotions and disturbances. Don Francisco Borges was the leader of the factions; and a body of veteran troops being sent against them, they were routed and dispersed, and their leader, Borges, taken prisoner, who paid with his life the price of his factious temerity. Disturbances also occurred in the province of Cordova; the governor, Antonio Funes, brother of the historian of that name, although a man of great firmness and prudence, could not protect himself against intrigue and conspiracy. He was seized in his house by the conspirators, led by Bulnes, his son-in-law, and thrown into prison with Sayos, the military commandant. The insurgents not having sufficient confidence in Bulnes, appointed another person to be their leader; but the governor, obtaining his liberty, collected a small force of militia, with which the conspirators were dispersed, and took refuge in Santa Fe; their leader was taken prisoner, who, with several others was sent to Buenos Ayres, where they were condemned and executed. Tranquillity was restored, and the governor re-established in his authority.

The boundary between the Portuguese possessions in America, and those of Spain, was long a subject of dispute, and notwithstanding the treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded in 1777, the court of Brazil had made frequent attempts to extend its limits to the La Plata; and since the emigration of the royal family to Brazil, it had become an object of more importance to obtain the territory east of the river, and it was hoped that the distractions of the Spanish provinces would afford a favourable opportunity to accomplish this desirable object. It was this consideration which induced the court of Brazil so readily to send an army to Monte Video, in 1811, at the solicitation of Elío. Encouraged by the disorders in the provinces, particularly in the Banda Oriental, which afforded a pretext for the measure, and urged on by Alvear, Garcia, Herrera, and other disaffected persons, who having been banished from Buenos Ayres had retired to Monte Video, the Brazilian government resolved on invading the eastern shore. Troops were obtained from Lisbon, and an army of 10,000 men was collected at Rio Grande, with which the Portuguese general Lecor, in December, 1816, invaded the Banda Oriental in three directions. General Lecor, with 5000 men, marched by the way of Santa Teresa; general Silveira, with a division of 1600 troops, advanced by the way of Serno Largo, and the third corps of 3400, led by general Curau, proceeded towards Purification. It was impossible for the Orientals to oppose this overwhelming torrent. Rivera, one of Artigas' generals, attacked the Portuguese general, Pinto, at India Muerte, but after a sharp conflict, was repulsed, with the loss of half of

his men : mortified with this defeat, soon after one hundred Orientals fell in with the same number of the enemy, who had marched out of Maldonado, and attacked them with such fury that they were literally cut to pieces. Rivera and Forges opposed general Silveira ; they harassed him on his march, but had not a force sufficient to engage him, or prevent his junction with Lecor, whose march Artigas had not been able to oppose. After this junction, general Lecor proceeded to Monte Video, which was evacuated by the garrison on the 19th of January, 1817, and entered by the Portuguese the next day. Artigas still occupied the province of Banda Oriental, and by his guerrillas continued to harass the Portuguese, and to cut off their supplies of provisions from the interior.\*

### CHAPTER XIII.

*War between the Portuguese and Artigas—San Martin—his expedition into Chili—difficulties in passing the Andes—victory of Chacabuco—San Martin returns to Buenos Ayres—events in Upper Peru—affairs in the Banda Oriental—events of the war in Chili—parties in Buenos Ayres—conspiracy—arrival of Spanish transport—revolt of Spanish prisoners—threatened expedition from Cadiz—constitution proclaimed—resignation of Pueyredon—negotiations with France—invasion by the Monteneros—they defeat Rondeau the director—Pueyredon's party overthrown—anarchy and civil war ensue—defeat of Alvear and Carrera—Rodriguez appointed governor of Buenos Ayres—Ramirez defeated—treaty with Spain—arrival of Mr. Rodney, minister from the United States—minister sent to Washington—meeting of congress—revolution in the Banda Oriental—conduct of the emperor of Brazil.*

AFTER the fall of Monte Video into the hands of the Portuguese, on the 20th of January, 1817, the right wing of the Portuguese army under Curau, marched against the Orientals, and at Arayo de los Catalanos, were attacked by general La Torre, com

\* Dean Funes' History of the Revolution in the United Provinces.

manding 3000 men, in opposition to the advice of his officers. The action was obstinate and sanguinary ; but terminated most disastrously to the patriots, who were defeated with very great loss. Artigas occupied a position in the rear of the army, with 100 men, and before he was aware of this disastrous result, he was surrounded with 400 troops, and only escaped by the aid of an Indian, leaving his baggage to the enemy. In the mean time, Lecor found himself shut up in Monte Video, and all supplies being cut off, he was suffering for provisions, and exposed to all the privations of a siege, which compelled him to march into the interior with 2000 men in pursuit of cattle. His movements were watched by Rivera, one of the Oriental chiefs, who surprised and attacked him several times with considerable success.

The calamities which now afflicted, and the more serious calamities which threatened the Banda Oriental, produced a universal cry among the inhabitants, for a re-union with the confederacy ; and even some of their chiefs were in favour of the measure, believing it the only means of saving the country from conquest and desolation. Under the influence of these sentiments, a correspondence was opened with the director, who, to evince his desire of an accommodation, immediately sent some military supplies and arms by way of Colonia. Rivera consented to the union, subject to the provision, that it met the approbation of Artigas. This daring chief, influenced only by ambition and a determination to preserve his own power, used all his influence, and all the artifice he possessed to prevent the union. The party in favour of a union, however, was numerous, and several corps and detachments of the troops, elected Don Tames Garcia their commander, and entered into articles of union with the government of Buenos Ayres. Rivera, after a warm altercation with Garcia, sent to Artigas for a re-enforcement of 500 men to oppose him by force. Being decidedly opposed by general Forges, who expressed great horror at a measure calculated to enkindle again the flames of civil war, Artigas sent only fifty men to Colonia, under the pretext of defending that place from the Portuguese flotilla, but as is supposed, with the real design of uniting with Rivera, to make war on the party in favour of the union. Finally the party of Artigas prevailed, and this favourable opportunity for an accommodation passed by without producing this desirable object.

While disorders reigned in the east, which cast a shade over the political horizon, a more brilliant prospect was opening in the west. San Martin, then governor of Cuyo or Mendoza, had, for some time, conceived the bold and noble design of crossing the Andes, with a force sufficient for the emancipation of Chili, which was groaning under an exasperated tyrannay, the Spaniards having

re-established their authority over the country, and banished a large number of the most influential patriots to the island of Juan Fernandez. Chili had sent men and money to assist the United Provinces, when threatened by the Spanish general Elio, which required a return; but the constant annoyance of the United Provinces, by the royalists of Chili and Peru, rendered it an important object to the security of the republic, that the royal authority in those countries should be overthrown. The invasion of Chili, therefore, promised, not only the emancipation of that country, but security to the frontiers of the United Provinces, and to advance the general cause. But how was this to be effected? San Martin had no army, and the confederacy had no means of raising or supporting one; its affairs had never been in a more deplorable condition since the commencement of the war. The province of Cuyo was thinly peopled, and impoverished and devastated by the predatory incursions of the Spaniards. These discouraging circumstances, however, did not deter San Martin from his noble enterprise, but only served to bring into requisition the wonderful resources of his mind. Such was his influence over the people of Cuyo, and so completely had he engaged their affections and confidence, that they placed every thing they had at his disposal. They voluntarily furnished him with 600 slaves, 300 horses, 10,000 mules, and contributed, by money and personal exertions, to the construction of barracks, and providing arms, munitions, and equipments. They furnished the means also of conducting troops from Buenos Ayres.

After one year spent in organizing and disciplining an army, composed of such materials, San Martin set out on his patriotic and daring enterprise. He had to cross the majestic Andes, with an army accompanied with baggage and artillery, which, for 300 miles, presented rugged and almost inaccessible summits and narrow defiles, admitting of two persons only abreast along the giddy verge of frightful precipices, where eternal frosts hold their undisputed reign. This passage with an army over the highest mountains in the world, is an achievement more daring and difficult than that of the renowned Hannibal in crossing the Alps; and perhaps there is nothing on the page of history that surpasses it. But no obstacles could shake the purpose of San Martin; no difficulties were too great for his genius to overcome. In thirteen days, the frozen Andes were vanquished and passed, with the loss of 5000 horses and mules, and a few men. The liberating army encountered the enemy at Chacabuco soon after; and the veterans, who had conquered the Andes, experienced no difficulty in vanquishing the instruments of tyranny. Seldom has a victory been more complete, or a triumph more splendid. "In twenty-four days," said the commander, "we have crossed the

most elevated mountains of the globe, terminated the campaign, put an end to the sway of tyrants, and given liberty to Chili." The remnant of the royalists took refuge in *Talcahuano*. The inhabitants formed a junta at Santiago, and, as a reward for his services, offered to San Martin the dictatorship of Chili, which he declined, and this power was vested in Bernardo O'Higgins.

After this splendid victory, *the general of the Andes*, as San Martin was now called, returned to Buenos Ayres to concert a plan with the government to direct the victorious arms of the republic against Peru. As he approached Mendoza, the capital of Cuyo, the whole inhabitants of the town flocked out to meet him; the youth strewed the road with roses, and all demonstrated the most lively sensations of admiration and joy on beholding the hero of the Andes, and the liberator of Chili. At Buenos Ayres the same sentiments prevailed, and preparations were making to receive him with every mark of respect and honour; but being apprized of what was intended, he stole into the city unobserved, to the no small disappointment of the people.\*

General Belgrano, who had been appointed by Pueyredon, to the command of the army in Upper Peru, by his talents and exertions, had retrieved the disasters of the republic in that quarter. The Spanish general Pezuela was succeeded in the command by general Serna, a less skilful general than his predecessor. After the death of Padilla and Mercedes, the bloody Facon was successfully opposed by Warnes, Ganderilla, and Fernandez, who pressed him hard; but he was destined to fall a victim to a higher power; a stroke of lightning from heaven put an end to his days and his cruelties. General Serna, haughty and presumptuous, resolved to recover the provinces which his predecessor had been obliged to abandon. At the head of 2000 men he pushed forwards into Jujuy, but was so closely pursued and harassed by Guemes with his formidable guerrilla, that he soon had occasion to repent of his temerity. After several engagements, in which he sustained considerable loss, as well as from the continual annoyance of several guerrilla corps, Serna was compelled to retreat with the remains of his army, and abandon his designs of conquest.

The state of affairs in the Banda Oriental remained essentially the same; Erenu and Samanuego, the chiefs in the province of Entre Rios, made some concessions, and manifested a disposition for an accommodation with the United Provinces; but Artigas sent an abusive letter to the director, accusing him of secretly favouring the Portuguese, of having connived at the supplies which had been furnished them, and threatening to attack

\* Funes.



him even in the capital. To secure Santa Fe, which commands the interior of the province of Buenos Ayres, and at the same time to furnish relief to the people of Entre Rios, the director sent a body of troops under Montes de Oca, which were furiously attacked and defeated by a detachment ordered against them by Artigas ; a re-enforcement sent under colonel Balcarce, was also attacked with still greater desperation, and shared the same fate.

These disasters were soon followed by intelligence still more disagreeable from Chili. Whilst San Martin and O'Higgins, were exerting all their means to reduce the fortress of Talcahuano, the last strong hold of the royalists, the viceroy of Lima succeeded in throwing 1500 men into that fortress, which as to strength will almost compare with Gibraltar. San Martin, however, instead of being discouraged by this untoward event, was re-enforcing his army, and preparing for a grand expedition to Peru, intending to strike the same blow there, which he had with such important results in Chili. Alarmed at this threatened invasion, the viceroy resolved to decide the fate of Peru in Chili, and accordingly, after great preparation, embarked an army of nearly 5000 men, under Osorio, for Talcahuano. Almost immediately after the landing of his troops, Osorio, confident of victory, and despising the army, and the general whose valour he had not yet tried, commenced his march for the capital of Chili. Being re-enforced by the garrison of the fortress, and the royalists in the country, his army amounted to 8000 men. He marched rapidly through the province of Concepcion, and advanced as far as Talca. Previous to this, the divisions of San Martin's army had united and kept up a continual skirmishing with the royalists, and on the 19th of March, the van of the Spanish army was attacked and driven back into the streets of Talca. Osorio now became alarmed for his safety, and resolved to attack the patriots in the night in their encampment. The attack was made in the most unexpected and furious manner ; and the independents were surprised, thrown into confusion, and completely routed. San Martin, with the remains of his army, retired to the pass of Angulemu, on the route to Santiago, and in a few days marched towards the capital, where, in a short time, by his own incredible exertions, and the patriotism of the inhabitants, his army was re-enforced, re-organized, and prepared to dispute the dominion of Chili and of Peru, on the plains of Maypu. Here on the 5th of April, 1818, was fought one of the most sanguinary actions which the records of the revolution in South America afford, the result of which was equally decisive and glorious. It annihilated the Spanish army, secured to San Martin an imperishable renown, and established the independence and liberty of Chili and Peru.

San Martin was universally greeted as the saviour of the country, and the hero of the revolution. Soon after this, he returned to Buenos Ayres, where he was received with the honour due to his private worth and important public services.\*

At this period many privateers were fitted out at Buenos Ayres, or sailed under commissions of the government of the United Provinces; some were fitted out in the United States, in violation of our laws, and others in England, which obtained commissions from that government; many also sailed with commissions from Artigas. These privateers scoured the ocean, and destroyed what remained of the Spanish commerce, and some of them committed outrages on neutral vessels.

The war on the other side of the river still continued between the Orientals and the Portuguese; but the government at Buenos Ayres took no part against the Portuguese, and Pueyrredon was even accused of secretly assisting them. On the first of May 1818, the Portuguese got possession of Colonia, either by force or treachery, and stationed there a garrison of 1000 men. About the same time the Portuguese general Curau, with a force of 3500 men, took Purification and Pysander, and a body of cavalry crossed the river Uruguay, and ravaged the country. Purification was afterwards abandoned and the troops took a station between the Uruguay and Pysander. Their vessels went up the river to co-operate with their troops, without any efforts being made by the government of Buenos Ayres to prevent it.

A strong party existed in the United Provinces, opposed to the administration, which was charged with secretly favouring the designs of the Portuguese against the Banda Oriental; but the principal ground of dissatisfaction, was an alleged opposition on the part of the director and his party to the rights of the provinces, which complained of the controlling influence of Buenos Ayres. The opposition were in favour of what was called *federalism*, or a different system of government, which should give to all the provinces an equal participation therein. The violence of the opposition led to a conspiracy against the administration, which was discovered in August, 1818. The plan was to seize and carry off the director, but the plot was discovered, and the leader arrested, who accused three distinguished citizens as being the authors of the conspiracy, who were arrested, tried, and acquitted. This conspiracy, and the measures adopted to suppress it, increased the agitation of the public mind, and the director issued a proclamation to quiet the alarm, and preserve tranquillity.

In the month of February this year, (1818,) the commissioners of the United States, Messrs. Rodney, Bland, and Graham, who sailed from our shores the preceding December, arrived at

\* Funes' History of the Revolution in the United Provinces.

Buenos Ayres, and were the first public functionaries received by the republic from any foreign power. They were sent by the president, as special agents to obtain information as to the state of the country, and the condition of the new government. They were received by the public authorities at Buenos Ayres with much respect, and obtained extensive information respecting the country and the war, which the following year was laid before congress, contained in the reports of the commissioners, and the accompanying documents.

In the month of August, a Spanish transport, which had sailed from Cadiz with 200 troops for Lima, arrived at Buenos Ayres. The troops mutinied, killed such of their officers as would not join them, and compelled the captain and crew to conduct the vessel to Buenos Ayres, where they took the oath of allegiance to the independent government, and joined the forces of the republic. On the 12th of December the congress passed a decree recognising the independence of Chili. Most of the troops of the government being in Chili, under San Martin, or on the frontiers of Upper Peru, the Monteneros or hordes of Indians, disturbed the public tranquillity, and cut off all communication with the interior. Early in the year 1819, the Spanish prisoners at San Luis revolted, and seven of them, headed by a general officer, attacked the governor in his own house; but, undaunted by their number, he defended himself, killed one, and compelled the rest to retreat. Twenty-seven of the conspirators were arrested, condemned, and shot; including one brigadier-general, two colonels, and several other officers. The expedition, which had long been preparing at Cadiz, occasioned considerable excitement, and attracted the principal attention of the government, which made all the preparations its situation would admit of, to meet any force that might invade the country.

The congress of the confederacy assembled on the 25th of February, and the session was opened by a message from the supreme director, who speaks of the dissensions which prevailed, and of the conspiracies against the government. He says, that "the frequency of disorders, and the repeated instances in which he had been under the painful necessity of punishing the authors of disturbances, and the enemies of the republic, had rendered him obnoxious to the malice and vengeance of many individuals who might be useful to the country," and adds that he would resign, did he not think it would have an unfavourable influence, at home and abroad, under present circumstances. He urges the speedy adoption of a constitution as the most effectual means of pacifying the disaffected, and restoring the public tranquillity. "The threatened expedition from Spain," he remarks, "requires preparations for defence commensurate to the

danger;" and recommends that the provinces assume a warlike attitude, and be put in the most complete state of defence; and intimates that "this will require a head possessing more military experience and capacity than he can claim." Whilst engaged in providing for the defence of the country, the congress were also deliberating on a constitution for the state, and one having been prepared, was publicly proclaimed on the 25th of May. It was formed on the federal basis, and its principles did not vary essentially from the constitution of the United States. It presented the great features of liberty; the legislative power being vested in two chambers, one consisting of deputies, chosen by the people for four years, the other of senators, elected by the provinces or states; the executive authority was vested in one person, called a director; it declared the equality of the citizens, the freedom of the press, the inviolability of persons, their dwellings, &c.

Shortly after this event, Pueyredon, in consequence of ill health, as he alleged, but perhaps from the disaffection to his administration, and the apprehension of a gathering storm, resigned the directorship, and Joseph Rondeau succeeded him *ad interim*, until a new director could be chosen according to the forms of the constitution. Great preparations to defend the country against the long threatened expedition from Cadiz continued to be made until all apprehensions, from that quarter, were put at rest by the revolution in Spain, which defeated the expedition. No important operations of the armies of the United Provinces, in Upper Peru and Chili, occurred this year; but the war, on the east side of the river, was kept up by the indefatigable Artigas, who with astonishing perseverance and ability, maintained the unequal contest with the Portuguese, without any assistance from the government of Buenos Ayres, and whilst often at open war with it.

The revolution in South America early attracted the attention of the great powers of Europe, forming the "holy alliance;" and from the period it became evident that Spain could not re-establish her authority over her American colonies, there is the strongest reason for believing that the allied powers seriously meditated such an interference as should dispose of the destinies of those countries. The primary object of the allied powers, the proscription of all revolutions and political reforms originating from the people, and their determination to oppose the establishment of free institutions, could leave no doubt of the concern and hostility with which they viewed the developement of events in Spanish America, and the probable establishment of several independent free states, resting on institutions emanating from the will and the valour of the people. But there is more specific evidence of their hostile intentions. Don Jose Valentine Gomez, envoy from the government of Buenos Ayres at Paris, in a note to the secretary

of his government of the 20th of April, 1819, says, that "the diminution of republican governments was a basis of the plans adopted by the holy alliance for the preservation of their thrones; and that, in consequence, the republics of Holland, Venice, and Genoa, received their death blow at Vienna, at the very time that the world was amused by the solemn declaration, that all the states of Europe would be restored to the same situation they were in before the French revolution. I also expressed the belief, that the sovereigns assembled at Aix la Chapelle, had agreed, secretly, *to draw the Americans to join them* in this policy, when Spain should be undeceived, and have renounced the project of reconquering her provinces; and that the king of Portugal warmly promoted this plan *through his ministers*."

By a circular note addressed by the Spanish minister to the allied powers in 1817, it appeared that these powers had agreed with the Spanish sovereign to interfere in the dispute between Spain and her American colonies, and that the manner and extent of their interposition was to be determined on at the congress to be held at Aix la Chapelle.\* The great obstacle to the interference of the allied powers, was Great Britain, whose commercial policy, in this instance, was opposed to the political designs of the alliance, and to her own political views. Her commercial interests were the strongest, and she could not be persuaded to favour the designs of the other allied powers against the independence and liberty of Spanish America. The condition of the United States, and the attitude assumed by the government, (the president having declared, subsequently, that the interference of any foreign power against the independence of the states of South America, would be viewed as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States,) were not without their influence on the designs of these powers.

But, if the obstacles which Great Britain and the United States interposed, prevented their attempting to dispose of the countries of South America by force, as they had of Naples and Spain, they were in hopes to control their destinies by the arts of diplomacy and disguised friendship. Taking advantage of the threatened invasion from Spain, and the alarms which it excited at Buenos Ayres, the French cabinet attempted, by intrigue and artifice, to establish in the United Provinces, a monarchy under a European prince related to the house of Bourbon. Rondeau, the director, was by birth a Frenchman, a circumstance which favoured this bold intrigue.

The French minister for foreign affairs, in a conference with Gomez, the envoy of the United Provinces, after expressing the ardent wish of the ministry for the success of the glorious cause

\* See President Monroe's Message, in 1818.

in which the United Provinces were engaged, and regretting the obstacles which prevented France from affording them assistance, said, "that on reflecting on their true interests, he was convinced that these entirely depended on the choice of a government, under whose influence they might enjoy the advantages of peace; and that he firmly believed this form of government could only be a constitutional monarchy, with a prince of Europe at its head; whose relations might command and increase a respect for the state, and facilitate the acknowledgment of their national independence. This measure he thought alone would ensure tranquillity to the provinces, conciliate the powers of Europe, and even lead to peace and a recognition of the independence of the country on the part of Spain itself. He recommended the Duke of Lucca, late heir of the kingdom of Etruria and a Bourbon by his mother's side, as a suitable prince; and said that the emperors of Russia and Austria were very friendly to him, and that England could find neither reason nor pretext to oppose his elevation. It was proposed that France would furnish the necessary land and naval forces to render the new king respectable, and secure the independence of the country; that the duke should marry a princess of Brazil, on condition of a cession from the government of Brazil of the country east of the La Plata to the United Provinces, and that France would use her influence with the king of Spain to induce him to acknowledge the independence of the country.

Gomez informed the secretary that he had no authority to negotiate on this delicate and important subject; but that he would communicate what he had expressed to him, to his government, which he did by a note dated the 19th of June, 1819. The same intrigue was undertaken with the government of Chili through its deputy, Don Jose Yrizarri. The despatches from Gomez were received in October, 1819, and on the 26th of that month, Rondeau, the director, communicated them to congress, without expressing any opinion, but urging a speedy decision.\* After long deliberation, at a secret session on the 12th of November, strange as it may seem, the congress approved of the project of France, subject to nine conditions; the principal of which were, that his most christian majesty, the king of France, should obtain the assent of the five great powers of Europe, including England and Spain; that he should facilitate the marriage of the duke of Lucca with a princess of Brazil, and procure a cession of the provinces east of the La Plata; that France should afford to the duke all the assistance necessary to defend and consolidate the monarchy, and to comprise within it all the east side, including Monte Video and Paraguay, and also furnish troops, ships,

\* See the despatch of Gomez to his government.

and four millions of dollars by way of loan, to put the country in a condition to defend itself, and secure its independence. The design and result of this scheme, had it succeeded, could not have occasioned a moment's doubt. It was intended to prostrate the republic, and to have established a monarchy on its ruins, under the protection, and consequently, entirely under the control of France. If this daring plot against the independence and liberties of Spanish America had succeeded, the example would have been laid hold of to favour similar attempts, by other European powers, against the other governments in Spanish America. Fortunately for the interests of South America, and the cause of liberty, there was too much virtue and intelligence in the people, in the midst of all their dissensions, to permit so degrading and pernicious a scheme to be carried into effect. And those who had favoured it, were soon treated with the indignation and contempt which their conduct deserved.

In the month of November the territory of Buenos Ayres was invaded by the Monteneros, headed by one of Artigas' officers, and J. M. Carrera, a distinguished Chilese, well known in the United States for his inveterate opposition to the administration of Pueyredon in the United Provinces, and that of O'Higgins in Chili. The director, Rondeau, placing himself at the head of the troops which could be collected, proceeded against the Monteneros; in the beginning of February, 1820, he was defeated by these formidable guerrillas, commanded by Ramirez, formerly an officer under Artigas, and a plain guacho, but shrewd, brave, and violent. Previous to this disaster, near the close of the last year, another conspiracy had been discovered in the capital against the administration, and many persons were seized and banished from the city. The dissensions and disorders that existed, were much increased by the defeat of Rondeau, which produced the greatest alarm at Buenos Ayres, and occasioned general confusion and anarchy. The opponents of the administration were now emboldened to act more openly and decisively, and the authority of the government was entirely prostrated. Buenos Ayres, the cradle of the revolution in this part of Spanish America, which had displayed distinguished patriotism, and made immense sacrifices for the independence of the country, and the cause of liberty, was now threatened with invasion, without any army for its defence, without a government; and what was worse, had become a theatre of faction, civil war, and intrigue. Ramirez was at the head of 3000 men, within seventy miles of the city: the congress and director proposed to treat with him, and appointed commissioners, but he refused, declaring that he would not negotiate until a new set of rulers were appointed, who should be free from the influence of Pueyredon.

The Pueyredon party which had long maintained the ascendancy, although with a powerful and violent opposition, could no longer sustain their authority. They were accused of having brought on the country all the evils which afflicted it; of having occasioned the dissensions which distracted the state, by their male-administration and violent measures; of promoting the disgraceful intrigue with France; of preventing an accommodation with Artigas, and of having secretly aided the Portuguese to crush his power, and in their encroachments on the Banda Oriental, and of entirely neglecting to prosecute the war against the royalists in Upper Peru. Whatever truth there might be in these charges, it was evident that a conjuncture had arrived, which rendered the fall of this party inevitable. To avoid the storm, Pueyredon and his friends fled to the Portuguese for safety, carrying off, as was said at the time, a large sum of the public treasure; but the truth of this was never established, and the charge was probably wholly unfounded.

When Rondeau left the city to command the army, the congress, on the first of February, named Don Juan Pedro Aquirre to fill the office of director, during the absence of the incumbent; and on the 5th of the month, Rondeau returned after his defeat, and resumed the directorship; but on the 8th a revolution took place, which overthrew the administration, and dissolved the congress. A provisional junta was established by the cabildo of the city, which assumed the government. Manuel de Sarratea was appointed governor of the city.\* He opened a negotiation with the enemy, and on the 20th of February, concluded a treaty with Ramirez, when Carrera and the adherents of what was called the federal party, entered the city. Tranquillity, however, was not restored; for early in March a counter revolution was effected, headed by general Balcarce, and Carrera and the leaders of the federal party were obliged to flee to the army. Balcarce was invested with the powers of dictator until a government could be provided; but on the 12th of March, the troops on which he relied, deserted him, when he immediately made his escape. The same day Sarratea, who had been obliged to leave the city, returned and resumed his authority amidst the acclamations of the people. The officers of the two late administrations were arrested, and many of the adherents of Pueyredon. This revolution led to a discovery of the disgraceful negotiation with France, for *importing* a king, and placing the country under the protection of that

\* The government constituted by the cabildo was confined to the province of Buenos Ayres, which, for a considerable time after, stood alone; each province governed itself, or remained in a state of anarchy. In the absence of higher authority, the cabildoes of the capital cities of the provinces assumed the power of government, or vested it in a junta



monarchy, and all the members of the congress who voted in favour of this measure were arrested, with the exception of three, who accompanied their signatures with a protest.

The most dreadful factions, anarchy, and civil war followed these events, and continued to distract the country, for several months. Many valuable citizens fell victims to these disorders. The severity of the storm fell on Buenos Ayres, although it was felt throughout the provinces. Numerous governors of the city rapidly succeeded each other, and such was the state of alarm, turbulence, and faction, that there was no safety of persons or property. Ramirez, Carrera, and Lopez, were not pacified, but kept the field at the head of formidable parties of Monteneros, cutting off all communication with the interior, and threatening the capital. Alvear and forty or fifty officers, who had formerly been in the service of Buenos Ayres, had joined Carrera and the other chiefs of the Monteneros. On the 10th of July, Martin Rodriguez, who had been appointed to the command of the troops of Buenos Ayres, amounting to nearly 3000 men, had an engagement with Alvear and his confederates, and obtained some advantage; they, however, still continued to threaten an attack on the city, which was kept in a continual state of alarm, so that no business could be transacted. Alvear continued to menace the city during the early part of the month of August, threatening vengeance against those who had some years before been accessory to his banishment while a director.

For the restoration of tranquillity, or at least for the discomfiture of its enemies, the country seems to be indebted principally to Rodriguez, and general Dorego, governor of Santa Fe. Dorego, the latter part of August, completely routed the forces of Alvear and Carrera, and made prisoners of Alvear and a number of officers, formerly in the Buenos Ayrean service, and 3 or 400 men. Carrera had several hundred troops from Chili, and the rest of his force consisted of the Monteneros, and the male-contents of the United Provinces. Carrera escaped with some followers; his fate, however, was not long deferred. This victory promoted the public tranquillity, and prepared the way for a better order of things. A junta, which was chosen from the city and country, on the 26th of September, 1820, appointed Rodriguez governor of Buenos Ayres. The turbulence of dissension, however, had not yet subsided, for on the 1st of October, Rodriguez was driven from the capital by a desperate faction; but on the 5th he routed and dispersed them, resumed his authority, and partially restored tranquillity to a distracted city, so long the prey of factions and civil war.

The power of Artigas, which had experienced so many vicissitudes, was completely prostrated about this period; being defeated

by the Portuguese, with the loss of nearly all his army, Ramirez, the chief of Entre Rios, who had formerly acknowledged the supremacy of Artigas, turned his arms against him, and compelled him to take refuge in Paraguay. Rodriguez maintained his authority, preserved the public tranquillity of the capital, repelled the predatory incursions of the Indians, and defeated the machinations and hostility of the desperate male-contents. Great disorders, however, still existed in the provinces, of which Carrera was regarded as being the principal author; he continued his predatory incursions, and often committed dreadful outrages on the inhabitants in remote settlements. He seemed to have become a desperate and infatuated man, and to be bent on destroying every thing within his power, which finally brought destruction on his own head. Ramirez also continued his hostility to the government of Buenos Ayres, and even threatened the capital; he had the command of the forces of the Banda Oriental, formerly governed by Artigas.

The government exerted itself to oppose him, and fitted out a flotilla, for which purpose, it pressed some of the seamen of the United States to complete the crew; and not only Buenos Ayres, but some of the other provinces brought considerable forces into the field, for their security. A wing of the united armies of Cordova and Santa Fe, commanded by Don Francisco de Bedoya, acting governor of Cordova, on the 10th of July, 1821, attacked Ramirez and his party at Francisco, on the river Seco, and completely defeated them. Ramirez was among the slain; about 200 of his followers only escaped, who joined Carrera. The time had at last arrived, which was to witness the extinction of the torch of civil war that had so long spread desolation over the La Platan territories. Of the several leaders and chieftains who had risen up in arms against Buenos Ayres, Carrera only remained, and the fate of this brave, but desperate man was not long deferred. His situation had become so hopeless, that colonel Manuel Arias organized a revolution among his adherents, which he communicated to the governor of Mendoza, and an assurance of his personal safety as well as some of his associates. This was soon followed by the total defeat of Carreras' party, on the 31st of August, 1821, by a body of troops sent against them by the governor of Mendoza. Carrera was made prisoner, and shot on the 4th of September, in the public square, in the city of Mendoza, on the same spot where two of his brothers had been executed. He met his fate with that courage and firmness which would have excited unqualified applause, had he died a martyr to liberty, instead of a self-devoted victim of infuriated passions. The only favour he asked of his conquerors, was, that he might be buried in the same grave with his two brothers. Jose Miguel Carrera

was a brave man, possessing great resources of mind, and at first undoubtedly a good patriot, but the dreadful conflict of parties disappointed ambition, and a deep sense of personal injury having sacrificed a large estate, and lost two brothers in the civil wars, rendered him perfectly desperate, and equally regardless of the maxims of political justice, and the dictates of self-preservation.

Whilst Buenos Ayres, in conjunction with the other provinces, was exerting itself to bring to a close the civil war, it was not inattentive to its political situation. Don Bernadino Rivadavia was appointed secretary of state, and Don Manuel Jose Garcia placed at the head of the treasury; the departments of state and treasury having previously been united. These two enlightened ministers, possessing much experience in public affairs, improved by a residence at foreign courts, and enjoying an unusual share of public confidence, undertook a general reformation in the different departments of the government. The principal opposition to a reformation was from the military men, and the partisans of Pueyrredon, who opposing the new ministers, attempted to overthrow the government. The first object of the government was to restore peace, and conciliate the disaffected, thus securing to the state the services of all its citizens. For this purpose, after the defeat of Ramirez and Carrera, an act of general amnesty was passed by the legislative junta, and also a decree by the executive, which, with the exception of nine persons, permitted all who had been exiled in the successive revolutions, or who had fled for their own safety, to return to the bosom of their country.

The revenue had been delapidated by a most extensive practice of smuggling, which the new ministers boldly attacked, by removing Don Fernando Calderon, the head of the custom house department; who had, without disguise, encouraged smuggling, and introduced corruptions into every branch of the revenue. A new system of tariff was established, and duties levied on the *ad valorem* principle; some of the government loans were reimbursed in a gold currency, which, with the reform in the revenue, contributed to restore public credit, so long entirely prostrate. Among other objects of reform, was privateering, which had become little short of a general system of piracy. Mr. J. M. Forbes, agent for the United States at Buenos Ayres, had very earnestly pressed this subject on the attention of government, which finally produced a decree, passed on the 6th of October, 1821, ordering all persons having commissions from any of the governments which had existed at Buenos Ayres, to surrender them to the minister of marine within a given time, after which, if they neglected to do it, they were to be treated as pirates. The

decree also provided, that in future, no commission of privateering should be granted without a previous declaration on the part of the government, stating the causes which compelled it to grant such commission.

Whilst zealously engaged in reforming this existing government, the ministers were not insensible of the paramount importance of a union, and general confederation of all the provinces. Notwithstanding the disorders and contests which had so long distracted the country, a disposition for a federal union was manifested in many of the provinces, and availing themselves of these favourable circumstances, the several provincial governments, united in assembling a congress, which was installed in Cordova in September, 1821. To forward the great object of a union of the provinces of La Plata, on a federative plan, the government of Buenos Ayres published a project containing the basis of a system of federation, which was accompanied by a manifesto of the executive, unfolding more fully the views of the government on this momentous question. But such were the existing difficulties, and sectional jealousies, that all the influence of the government was not sufficient to induce the congress to adopt any plan of union.

The commencement of the year 1822 found the affairs of the United Provinces in a more prosperous condition; the internal enemies of the republic had been destroyed or driven out of the country; the voice of faction was silenced; the government had acquired energy and respect, and was engaged in works of improvement, in forming schools, and establishing libraries, calculated to prepare the people for the appreciation and enjoyment of liberty. The papers discussed freely, and often ably, important political questions connected with their new situation. A splendid edifice was erected for a congressional hall on the same spot, where, in 1780, was reared the dungeons of Oruro, in which were immured those accused of promoting the independence of Peru. Peace was also restored with the provinces of Entre Rios and Corrientes, a convention having been concluded between them and the province of Buenos Ayres and the city of Santa Fe, on the 14th of January, whereby the parties stipulated to be at peace, and make common cause against external and internal enemies, and mutually to defend and assist each other. The Portuguese or Brazilians maintained possession of the city of Monte Video, and the province of Banda Oriental. The public mind became more and more tranquilized, and the government acquired energy and the confidence of the people. The disaffected, however, were not entirely removed or conciliated, as a conspiracy was discovered at the capital on the 23d of August, said to be headed by Tagle, secretary of state, during

Pueyredon's administration; and a number of persons were arrested. It did not, however, occasion any commotion, and the public tranquillity continued undisturbed during the remainder of the year.

On the 4th of July, 1823, a convention or a preliminary treaty of peace was concluded between Buenos Ayres and Spain by commissioners appointed by the Spanish government, under the direction of the Cortes and Rivadavia, secretary of state for Buenos Ayres. It was stipulated that hostilities should cease for eighteen months, that the relations of commerce should be renewed between the two countries, and that within the time the two governments should negotiate a definite treaty of peace and friendship. The congress authorized the executive to ratify the convention, and resolved that on its being ratified by Spain, and a definitive treaty of peace concluded, twenty millions of dollars should be voted to Spain, to maintain her independence on the representative system, provided she should be invaded by France, that sum being the amount which the chambers of Paris had granted the king for the prosecution of hostilities in Spain. Notwithstanding this liberal conduct of the congress, the convention was rejected by the Spanish government.

On the 16th of November, 1823, Cæsar A. Rodney, minister from the United States, arrived at Buenos Ayres, and in a few days presented his credentials. He being the first envoy ever received from any foreign power, it was deemed important by the government that his recognition should be public in the hall of the government house, attended with a solemnity and splendour of ceremonies corresponding with the importance of the occasion. But the state of Mr. Rodney's health would not admit of this at that time. On the 27th of December, his health having been restored, the ceremony of presentation took place. He was conveyed to the government house, by the minister of foreign relations, in a coach of state, attended with military display and every mark of honour, and conducted by a deputation of the government into the hall, through an immense concourse of citizens, where he was presented to the governor, by the minister of foreign relations. Mr. Rodney delivered an address in his own language, which was interpreted; and having concluded, he presented his credentials. Rodriguez, who was deeply affected, made a suitable reply. The interesting relations thus established between the government of Buenos Ayres, and the first minister from any foreign power, was destined to be of short continuance. Mr. Rodney's health was not re-established, and he continued to languish until the 10th of June, 1824, when he expired. The government passed a decree expressing their grief at the event, directing his bu-

rial, with public funeral honours, and providing for the erection of a monument.

During the year 1824, the political and internal affairs of the United Provinces continued tranquil and prosperous, and the governments being relieved from the horrors of anarchy, and in a great measure, from the evils of war, were engaged in consolidating the republic, and in improving its condition. It is an evidence of the stability of the public mind, that an election of a new chief magistrate for Buenos Ayres took place in a peaceable manner, and without occasioning any disturbance, which is the first instance in which there had been a change in the executive without a revolution, or the employment of military force. Attempts were made for a re-union of all the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and the establishment of a general congress; and a more favourable disposition, both in the capital and in the provinces was manifested for this desirable object.

In October, 1824, general Alvear arrived in the United States, from the United Provinces, as resident minister near our government; and on the 11th of the month he was presented to the president by the secretary of state. In his address on the occasion, he says that he was charged in the name of all the provinces of Rio de la Plata, to express to the government of the United States the regard, friendship, and gratitude they entertain for the magnanimous expression with which they had been honoured in the solemn recognition of their independence. He adds, that the letters which he has to present to the president, will unfold more fully the solicitude and sincere desire which his government feels for an intimate union. The envoy of the United Provinces, however, scarcely entered on the duties of his office, before he returned to his country, the government having appointed him to the chief command of the army destined against the royalists in Upper Peru, where the Spaniards still maintained their authority over some of the provinces; as the government of Buenos Ayres, in consequence of the dissensions and civil wars which had prevailed for several years, had made but little effort in prosecuting the war against the Spaniards of Peru.

A congress of the United Provinces convened in December, 1824, at Buenos Ayres, and on the 15th of the month the executive delivered a message, which unfolds the present condition of the republic. He speaks of the efforts which he had made to secure the friendship of the American states engaged in the same cause, and says, he has appointed ministers to Colombia, and also to Peru. "The empire of Brazil," he remarks, "forms a contrast to the noble republic of the United States, and a deplorable exception to the general policy of the American nations." He

complaints of the base and low artifices by which the province of Monte Video has been separated from the union, and retained in subjection by force of arms. Every effort, he adds, has been made with the court of Rio Janeiro, to induce it to abandon its usurpations and listen to the dictates of reason and justice, which might prevent the terrible necessity of war, but without success. The executive, however, does not despair of effecting an accommodation; he speaks in high terms of the conduct of Great Britain, and says, that the principles she has adopted towards the American nations, must soon result in a recognition of their independence.

The Brazilians still had possession of the province of the Banda Oriental on the east side of the river; but in April, 1825, a revolution took place in the Banda Oriental, which liberated it from the authority of Brazil. Lavalleja, Oribe, and several other officers and inhabitants of the Banda Oriental, on the 27th of April, left Buenos Ayres, and crossed to the opposite side of the river, where they expected to have found 200 men assembled, who had collected, accordingly, but had taken fright and dispersed. Having discovered that about forty of the Brazilian troops, and thirty of the inhabitants who had been pressed into their service, were at Arenal Grande, Lavalleja and his party appeared before them, and they joined and followed him. Being also joined by a number of the inhabitants, he entered Sariano, and re-organizing the government of the place, marched to the Gallinas, where he destroyed about 200 Brazilian troops who guarded it. Here Lavalleja found plenty of horses and provisions, and was joined by the militia in the neighbourhood, and even by many of the Brazilians. Re-passing the Negro, he marched towards the Perdido, and by stratagem, took possession of the person of Fructus Rivero, the Brazilian military commander of the country, and his escort, all of whom, except the officers, joined the party of Lavalleja. Rivero himself afterwards joined the revolutionary cause, and publicly burnt his imperial uniform in the streets of Santa Lucia. He also summoned the commander of Monte Video to surrender that place. More recent intelligence represents that the revolution has extended throughout the province, the whole population being engaged in it; that a provisional government had been established, which had sent deputies to the general congress of the United Provinces, soliciting their assistance and co-operation in expelling the Brazilians from Monte Video. In pursuance of the solicitation of deputies sent to the government of Buenos Ayres, the congress passed a resolution, authorizing the executive to guard the territory of the United Provinces from the dangers which might arise in the present state of the Banda Oriental, and to re-enforce the line of the Uruguay.

Lavalleja was appointed governor and captain-general of the province of Banda Oriental, and on the 12th of October, 1825, he attacked a corps of Brazilian cavalry, 2000 strong, at Lavandi, and obtained a signal victory. The Orientals form the best cavalry in the world, their number was about the same as that of the enemy. "To meet and to conquer," says Lavalleja, "was the act of a moment. The charge was the only manœuvre that took place on both sides, and it was the most obstinate one that ever did take place. The enemy commenced theirs by a heavy discharge of fire arms, which was despised by our brave troops, who with sabre in hand, and carbine on the shoulder, met, encountered, and put the enemy to the sword; and after completely routing him, pursued him six miles with great slaughter. The result was 400 killed on the field of battle, and 522 prisoners, besides many wounded, and fugitives afterwards taken. The entire province is now liberated, and the Brazilians only hold possession of the city of Monte Video. After carrying on open war with the country east of the river for several years, and a disguised one with Buenos Ayres, the Emperor of Brazil, on the 12th of December, 1825, declared war formally against the United Provinces, and immediately published notice of the blockade of the port of Buenos Ayres.

An engagement took place between a party of the republican troops and a detachment of Brazilians in the latter part of January, 1826, near Monte Video, in which the enemy was defeated, with 50 killed and wounded. A partial engagement of an undecisive character has also occurred between the blockading squadron of the enemy and that of the republic, commanded by commodore Brown. Neither party appears to have sustained much loss. It had the effect, however, of compelling admiral Lobo, the Brazilian commander, to raise the blockade of Buenos Ayres, and to fall down with his squadron to some distance below.

Fortunately the provinces are now harmonious, are all at peace, and united on some plan or other into one confederacy, the form and principles of which we have not been able to ascertain. But there can be no doubt, that all the provinces will make common cause against a troublesome and mischievous neighbour, who has so long manifested a disposition to encroach on their territory, by taking advantage of their dissensions. Fortunately also no enemy now exists on the side of Upper Peru, so that the provinces will be enabled to direct their whole energies against the Brazilians. The republic has been so long engaged in war that it possesses the materials for forming large and efficient armies. The military force, previous to this war, was nearly 8000 strong. The empire of Brazil is in an agitated state, and already exhibits



the incipient stage of revolution. By the last accounts, Bolivar had visited Potosi, where general Sucre has a veteran army, and there is great reason to believe, that the conquerors of Ayacucho intend to take a part in the war against the emperor of Brazil. Perhaps the liberator of Colombia and Peru possesses the laudable ambition of being the liberator of all South America; he may believe that the new governments will not be safe until royalty is exterminated from the new world, and every part of the American continent is not only independent, but FREE. When these facts are considered, it cannot appear improbable, that this rash step of Don Pedro, should bring upon him the arms of all the southern republics, and result in the overthrow of his empire, and the establishment of a republic which shall take its rank in the family of nations, in the southern hemisphere. The province of Paraguay is still entirely independent, and has no political connexion with Buenos Ayres, or any of the other provinces; it has taken no part in the bloody events of the revolution, which disgraced and devastated the confederacy. Not long after, Belgrano, in 1810, marched against the royalists of Paraguay, and was defeated, on the river Tacuari, within thirty or forty miles of Assumption, the Paraguays effected a revolution, without the aid of Buenos Ayres. They deposed Velasco, the royal governor, and established a government for the province, but refused every solicitation to unite with the confederacy. There were at first two parties, one headed by Yedros, who had commanded the troops which defeated Belgrano, and the other by doctor Francia, who was educated to the law, and possessed a great reputation for wisdom; and to avoid civil commotions, the people appointed them both as joint governors. Dr. Francia, however, soon found means to displace his colleague, and a public meeting of the citizens conferred on him the supreme authority, which he has ever since exercised. He is styled dictator, and has for years possessed the power of an absolute sovereign, without any of the appendages or expenses of royalty, or any of its usual means of support. He has no nobility, no courtiers, and no favourites, nor does he make use of official patronage, as a means of maintaining his ascendancy. His government is a mixture of patriarchal, and military authority; without any system or written laws. He exercises nearly all the functions of government himself, managing the affairs of the state, as a father does those of his family. The only civil officers he employs, are a postmaster, and a collector. The peculiarly submissive, and docile character of the Paraguays, produced by the Jesuits, which still remains, contributes to the support of this singular

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government ; yet the strength of it is undoubtedly military power, as the dictator has organized a national militia of 6000 men, a part of which are kept constantly in service. He prohibits the freedom of the press, and excludes all foreigners from Paraguay. By the last accounts from Buenos Ayres it appears that Rivadavia, long secretary of state and of foreign affairs, had been elected president of the confederacy, in a peaceable manner, and had entered on the duties of his office.

# HISTORY

## AND PRESENT STATE OF

# CHILI.

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### CHAPTER XIII.

*Extent and boundaries—the Andes; summits and passes of—maritime border, bays, and harbours—rivers—face of the country—soil—climate and productions—desert of Atacama—mines—copper mines of Coquimbo—districts— islands—Santiago—Valparaiso—government—population—army, navy—commerce—exports.*

THE republic of Chili comprises the tract of country that extends from the summit of the Andes, westward, to the Pacific, and along the coast of the Pacific from the desert of Atacama, in latitude  $25^{\circ}$  south, to the straits of Magellan, in latitude  $54^{\circ}$  south, according to some authorities; but according to Pazos, it extends no further south than the gulf of Guaytecas, in latitude  $42^{\circ}$ . Its length according to the first description, would be about 2000 miles: according to the last, less than 1200; its average breadth is estimated at about 140 miles. Its northern boundary is the desert of Atacama; its eastern, the Andes; its southern, the Patagonian territory, or the straits of Magellan; and its western, the Pacific.

The lofty summits of the Andes, which traverse the entire continent of South America, skirt the whole eastern border of Chili, and form its eastern boundary. The highest summits in this range are Manfios, in latitude  $28^{\circ} 45'$ ; the Tupungato, in lat.  $33^{\circ} 24'$ ; the Deseabezado, in lat.  $35^{\circ}$ ; the Blanguillo, in  $35^{\circ} 4'$ ; the Langavi, in  $35^{\circ} 24'$ ; the Chillan, in  $36^{\circ}$ ; and the Coccabado, in  $43^{\circ}$ ; some of these are more than 2000 feet above the level of the ocean. There are fourteen volcanoes, which are in a constant state of eruption, and a greater number that discharge smoke only at intervals. The two principal passes of the Andes lie between the United Provinces of La Plata and Chili, those of

Putanda and Patos; the first leads from the city of Mendoza, and is about 200 miles in length; the latter leads from the city of San Juan, and is longer. To the north the Andes are broader, but to the south they are said to subside into such gentle slopes, that a good carriage road might be made across the country which is unsettled.

*Waters.*—Like Peru, Chili has an extensive maritime border on the Pacific, and is much better accommodated with bays and harbours, which are numerous along the whole coast. The most considerable is the great gulf of Guaytecas, in which is situated the Archipelago of Chiloe. Few countries are so well supplied with rivers as Chili. Lying at the foot of the Andes, it naturally receives the waters produced by the melting of that immense body of snow which annually falls upon those mountains. There are more than 100 rivers of considerable size which run westward, of which fifty-two fall directly into the ocean. The principal of these rivers, some of which are navigable some distance into the interior, are the Huasco, Lospontos, Maypu, Maule, Chillan, Itata, Biobio, Imperial, and Valdiva.

*Surface, soil, climate, and productions.*—The numerous ridges by which the surface of Chili is broken, present obstacles to the internal communication, but such as are no where insurmountable. The loose composition of those ridges is such that roads may be formed along their sides with comparatively little labour; and when made, such is the temperate regularity of the seasons, that with few repairs, they may be preserved for ages. But the wide desert, and the lofty Cordillera, by which Chili is enclosed and separated from the rest of the continent, presents a barrier, consisting of a dreary waste, and a range of mountains elevated in such ragged masses, and reared so far into the region of snow, that it is only passable for mules by some few narrow passes, and during particular seasons of the year. The desert of Atacama may be said to commence in Chili, almost immediately after crossing the Juncal or dry river, as it is sometimes called; thence to the river Salado, the northern boundary of the state, is a distance of fifty miles; thence to the town of Atacama, in Upper Peru, is a distance of nearly 300 miles, by the way of the coast, and the road passes wholly over a dry, sandy plain, where the traveller meets no living thing, either of the vegetable or animal kingdom; and losing sight of every other guide, his way is often only to be directed by the bleached bones of mules, which have perished in attempting to force a passage over that terrible waste. Instead of passing this dreary region, it is generally thought safer and better to climb the steep crags of the mountains, and take the road leading over the Andes along their giddy precipices, and narrow passes. Travellers and post-riders sometimes cross

the deserts of Atacama, along the lower and more level road ; but few or no traders or carriers ever venture to pass that way ; nor is it presumed any military leader would lightly be induced to encounter its difficulties for the purpose of carrying hostilities along that route into Chili. The desert of Atacama may therefore be considered as a great natural barrier, by which it is closed on that side against both commercial and hostile visitors.

From the Andes the inclination is so great that all the rivers flow with the rapidity of torrents, and are therefore not navigable. They serve to irrigate the vallies, and render them the most fertile in the world. The climate makes this method of cultivation absolutely necessary—for from the Salado to the Illata, that is from 25 to 36° of south latitude, not a cloud is to be seen above the horizon from the month of November to the month of May. The atmosphere, during this period, is perfectly clear, and the dews are scarcely perceptible, nor is the heat oppressive. The proximity of the Andes tempers the air, and the mercury fluctuates between 70 and 80° of Fahrenheit, and rarely rises to 85 degrees. Thunder storms, so frequent on the east of the Andes, are unknown in this part of Chili. Winter commences in the month of May ; the cold is mild, and the rains gentle, and unattended with wind. The rains of the winter fertilize the hills, and the plains which cannot be irrigated during that season, afford pasture for the cattle. The spring commences in September, and the face of nature, in Chili, is then peculiarly beautiful. The hills are verdant and covered with innumerable flowering shrubs, and the plains present to the eye a carpet of flowers. The abundance of water, and the peculiarity of climate enable the inhabitants to raise all the fruits of the earth in great perfection. The wheat which is cultivated in the vallies, is of excellent quality, and the produce seldom less than forty times the seed ; sometimes ninety, and on the best land, even one hundred. Indian corn is likewise cultivated, and produces abundantly. Barley is raised in great quantities for the use of horses and mules, which, in the winter, are fed on this grain mixed with chopped straw, as in Arabia and old Spain ; hemp and flax grow luxuriantly. Cotton is here and there cultivated for domestic manufactures. The climate and soil is well adapted to the culture of sugar, but the inhabitants have been long accustomed to procure that article from Peru in exchange for their wheat, and are not disposed to change their ancient habits. Only a single sugar plantation is cultivated. Rice likewise would grow on the low lands, but it is also brought from Peru.

South of the river Illata, the climate varies ; rains are frequent in the summer, and in the winter are attended by storms of wind. The grape is chiefly cultivated in these districts, and the wine is

better than where the vineyards are irrigated ; the olive grows luxuriantly throughout all Chili, and the oil is of the first quality. On the banks of the river Maule, and on all the rivers south of 35° 17' there is excellent timber, and the whole country abounds with forests of a thorny minosa, which makes good charcoal, and is in general used for fuel. Mines of the precious metals abound in almost every part of Chili, and their annual produce, in prosperous times, has been estimated at 3,000,000 of dollars. In the year 1825, a silver mine was discovered thirty or forty miles from Coquimbo, which is represented to be of the most extraordinary richness. The vein is about forty miles in extent, and the metal is said to merit the name of *native silver* ; it is thought not to be mineralized, but rather mixed with quartz and feldspar. Silver to the value of half a million of dollars is said to have been dug from this mine in twenty days, and it is supposed that in one year, its produce will exceed five millions. Besides the precious metals, the copper mines of Coquimbo actually produced during the year, ending the 1st of May, 1818, amidst the difficulties of the times, 41,000 quintals, which were shipped in foreign vessels, chiefly of the United States.

The copper mines are principally situated near the coast, and are believed to be the most productive in the world. In addition to the copper, there has also been shipped from Chili, a considerable amount of tin. Of these two metals, the annual production may be estimated at about 500,000 dollars. The mines of iron and quicksilver are very abundant ; mines of lead are also numerous and rich, but almost entirely neglected ; antimony and fossil salt are found in great quantities ; salt springs abound ; sal-ammoniac and salt-petre are also abundant.

The republic of Chili is divided into the following districts or provinces, viz: Copiapa, Guasco, Coquimbo, Cusco, Petorca, Quilota, Melipilla, Santa Rosa, Rancagua, Colchagua, Curico, Maule, Chillan, Isla de Maule, Canquenes, Ileta, Puchacay, Concepcion de Chili, and Isla de la Laja. The country occupied by the warlike tribes of Araucana, extends from the river Biobio, in lat. 26° 50' to the 39th degree of lat., and from the Andes to the Pacific. It is divided into four districts or provinces, by lines running from north to south. The country between the river Tollen and the southern boundary of the republic, is called Huilli Maypro. There are 82 islands in the Archipelago of Chiloe, 32 of which are inhabited by Indians or the descendants of Europeans. The largest is Chiloe, 180 miles in length from north to south, with a breadth of 60 at the widest place.

The city of Santiago is situated in the district of Melipilla, and was founded the 17th of February, 1514, by Don Pedro de Valdivia, on the south bank of the Maypu, in 33° 31' south lat.

Santiago contains 40,000 inhabitants. The plain on which the city stands, extends along the foot of the Andes, certainly to the line; and it is believed quite to the isthmus of Panama north, and south to the straits of Magellan. This is the only uniform level in Chili; from hence to the coast the descent is rapid and broken by irregular mountains and vallies. On the eastern extremity of the city rises the small rocky hill of Santa Lucia, formerly called the mountain of Gudon. These insulated hills are frequently seen on the great plain of Chili. A broad road extends round the south side of the town like the boulevards of Paris, and separates it from the suburbs, which are extensive and well built. The river is broad and shallow, and in summer flows in several channels. There are in Santiago eleven convents, seven nunneries, four parochial churches, three hospitals, an university, and a mint.

The port of Valparaiso is situated in  $33^{\circ} 1' 45''$  south lat., in the district of Petorca. The town extends around the bay from the castle of Saint Antonio, for nearly a mile, and is separated from Almíndral, a suburb of Valparaiso, by a low beach; the houses are irregularly scattered over the sides of steep hills, which rise abruptly from the shore, and extend along the ravines of Saint Augustine, Saint Francisco, and Gomez, the ground being very broken and rugged. The country near the town is very barren, and all the supplies are drawn from Quillota. The population of Valparaiso, including the Almíndral, does not exceed 6500 souls. *Concepcion* is the third city of Chili, and is considered the metropolis of the southern part. *Talcahuano*, its port, is six miles distant, and has a fine harbour. *Coquimbo* and *Copiapó* have good harbours. *Valdivia* has one of the finest on the coast; but it has no cultivated country around it to give it importance. The city is five miles from the sea, on a river of the same name.

The island of *Juan Fernandez*, off this coast, was the residence of Alexander Selkirk; whose story gave rise to the romance of Robinson Crusoe.

*Government and population.*—Since the liberation of Chili, in 1817, an independent republican government has been maintained the principal part of the time, under a chief magistrate, called a supreme director. A congress was convened in 1825, which framed a constitution for the republic, which now forms the basis of the government. The independence of this country has been acknowledged by the United States and Great Britain. The population of Chili, exclusive of the independent tribes of Indians, is estimated at 1,200,000 inhabitants, most of which are north of the river Biobío.

*Army, navy, and commerce.*—In July, 1818, the regular army of Chili amounted to 8400 men, exclusive of militia, which were

28,960; an army, respectable for its numbers and discipline, is still maintained, and is distinguished for its well known services in the liberation of Peru. A formidable navy was organized in 1818, and has ever since been efficiently employed in aiding the great cause of liberty and independence. The principal articles of export from Chili, consist of gold, silver, copper, tin, wheat, flour, hemp, cordage, hides, tallow, jerked beef, vicuna, and guanaco wool, chinchilla skins, and several kinds of dried fruits, figs, raisins, &c. The trade of Chili is chiefly carried on with the United States, England, and the neighbouring republics. Chili may be considered the granary of South America. The commerce of the United States with Chili is important and increasing; from February, 1817, to July, 1818, there was exported to Chili, by our citizens, merchandise to the amount of 1,375,000 dollars. Besides the direct commerce of the United States with Chili, which has been estimated at 2,000,000 dollars, the opening of its ports, which is one of the consequences of its independence, affords the most important advantages to the whale fishery, pursued in front of the coast of Chili, in which from fifteen to twenty American ships are engaged yearly, and also to the trade with the north west coast, in which about fifteen vessels from the United States are employed annually. Great advantages will likewise accrue to the trade, which our citizens pursue of collecting cargoes of seal skins and Sandal wood on the islands in the Pacific ocean, and carrying them to China, where they find a ready market, and the avails purchase a home cargo of great value. The settlement on Colombia river will ultimately maintain an important trade with Chili, which will afford a good market for ship, and other timber, with which that country abounds.



# HISTORY

## OF THE

# REVOLUTION IN CHILI.

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### CHAPTER XIV.

*Establishment of a junta—disturbance at Santiago—congress called—complaints as to the mode of election—measures of the congress—it is overthrown by the Carreras—their administration—Chili invaded from Peru—events of the war—revolution in the government—treaty concluded—dissensions among the patriots—success of the royalists—their authority re-established—expedition of San Martin—victory at Chacabaco—emancipation of the country—O'Higgins appointed director—expedition from Peru—defeat of the patriots—victory of Maypu—its effects—squadron under lord Cochrane—expedition to Peru—war with the Araucanian Indians and Benevides—piracies of Benevides—resignation of O'Higgins—establishment of a new government—general Freyre chosen director—Chili affords further succour to Peru—its fleet blockades Callao—its exploits—expedition to Chiloe—state of the country—conclusion.*

THE first revolutionary movement in Chili occurred in Santiago, where the inhabitants, in July, 1810, compelled the captain-general to resign, and count de la Conquista was appointed to succeed him, who favoured a revolution. He called together the most respectable land-holders, in September, 1810, to take into consideration the present condition of the country, and of Spain, and to decide on the measures proper to be adopted. The result was the creation of a junta, of which the count de la Conquista was president. The junta determined on assembling a congress, and prescribed regulations for the choice of representatives. The election in Santiago took place on the 11th of April, 1811, and a detachment of troops, under Don J. Figueroa, was stationed in the square of the consulado to preserve or-

der. This officer, although a Spaniard, had declared in favour of the revolution, and was in the employ of the junta; yet, nevertheless, he had formed a faction against it, and availed himself of his situation, and of the occasion to attempt to crush the revolution. A skirmish ensued between the troops that adhered to Figueroa, and those who remained faithful to the junta, in which fifty or sixty men were killed. The result was favourable to the popular cause, and the leading conspirators were seized and banished, except Figueroa, who was executed. After this the royal audiencia was dissolved, and its powers vested in a new tribunal.

The election of deputies to the congress was made according to the regulation of the junta, which prescribed the number for each municipality, but not according to the population. There was consequently little equality in the representation of different towns, which occasioned complaints and remonstrances. The three brothers, of the name of Carrera, sons of a wealthy landholder in Santiago, joined in the clamours, and put themselves at the head of the disaffected, of which the military of that city formed a part. The congress acknowledged the necessity of a reformation in the representation, which being made, tranquillity was restored, and the congress resumed its session. It passed a decree declaring that all Spaniards who were dissatisfied with the new order of things, should leave the country within six months, in which period they might dispose of their property and remove with all their effects. The congress also enacted many salutary laws for the reformation of the abuses of the old system; the curates were to be paid from the public treasury, not by their parishioners; the children of slaves born in future were declared free, and the restrictions were removed from commerce; the ancient law by which government disposed of places in the municipalities, was abrogated, and it was provided that the members of the municipalities should be elected annually; many useless offices were abolished, and the salaries of others reduced. A manufactory of fire-arms, and a military school, called *artilleria practica*, were established, and the powers of the junta prescribed.

Notwithstanding these revolutionary measures, Abascal, the viceroy of Peru, remained on apparent terms of friendship with the new government.

Encouraged by the success of their first attempt, the Carreras formed a plan for effecting a revolution, and placing themselves at the head of that government. And their connexion with the army, one being major in the grenadiers, and another captain in the artillery, facilitated the success of their enterprise. Having acquired an ascendancy over the troops, and placing themselves at their head, on the 15th of November, 1811, they compelled congress to depose the junta, and appoint three new members, of

whom J. M. Carrera was one. This junta, the offspring of violence and usurpation, immediately attempted to render itself absolute; a new regiment of cavalry was formed, and J. M. Carrera placed at its head; and having strengthened themselves sufficiently, on the 2d of December they dissolved the congress. The junta now ruled without control, relying for its support entirely on the military, who were greatly devoted to the Carreras.

The administration of the Carreras occasioned opposition and disaffection, which surrounded them with difficulties and dangers; one conspiracy against them was formed after another, four of which they succeeded in suppressing. At length, to increase their embarrassments, they quarrelled among themselves, and J. M. Carrera withdrew from the government; but a reconciliation having been effected, he resumed his former situation in October, 1812.

These dissensions and disorders in Chili induced the viceroy of Lima to send an expedition against that country, under general Pareja, which early in the year 1813, attacked and took possession of the post of Talcahuano without resistance. From this place he advanced to La Concepcion, where the garrison declared in his favour, which increased his force to 4000 men. He marched towards the river Maule.

To oppose Pareja, J. M. Carrera, leaving his brother, Juan Jose, in his place in the government, marched at the head of 6000 men, and approached the royal army. On the night of the 12th of April, 1813, he sent a detachment of troops to surprise and attack the enemy in their encampment. This attack was successful, but not without great loss to the patriots. It however induced Pareja to retire to Chillan, where he erected fortifications for his security; and the garrisons which he had left at Talcahuano and La Concepcion, were obliged to capitulate; but their commanders escaped to Peru.

To free themselves from the influence of the Carreras, the junta sent Juan Jose Carrera to the army, and filled his place, so that it now consisted of J. A. Perez, A. Eyzaguirre, and M. Infante. They removed to the town of Talca, near the seat of war, the better to direct its operations and watch over the safety of the country. J. M. Carrera continued to command the army, and governed without restraint over the country where his troops were stationed; at length his conduct and the devastations of his army so exasperated the people throughout the intendancy of La Concepcion, that they declared for the royalists. It was deemed necessary to remove from the command of the army a man who had rendered himself so obnoxious to the people. Carrera was accordingly displaced by the junta, and colonel O'Higgins appointed to succeed him, and colonel M'Kenna, second in command, on

the 24th of November, 1813. Carrera refused to relinquish the command, but being abandoned by the army, he was compelled to yield, and on his way to Santiago, with his brother Luis, both were taken by a party of royalists, and conducted to Chillan.

For nearly a year the Spanish forces remained at Chillan, and no important military operations took place. On the death of their commander, Pereja, general Gainza arrived from Lima with re-enforcements, and took the command. On the 19th of March, 1814, Gainza attacked M'Kenna with one division of the Chilian army, encamped at El Membrillal, twelve miles from Chillan, but was repulsed with loss; and the next day O'Higgins, who had come to the relief of M'Kenna, engaged the royal army with success, and it suffered severely. Not discouraged by these checks, Gainza resolved to march against Santiago, which was in a defenceless condition; and advancing rapidly, the royalists crossed the Maule, and O'Higgins pursuing them, encamped on the opposite side of the river. In the night O'Higgins crossed the river with his army without destroying his encampment, by which movement Gainza was completely deceived; being so surprised in the morning at seeing an army before him, and an encampment in his rear, which he supposed filled with troops, he abandoned his plan and retired to the town of Talca, which he had taken a few days before. O'Higgins opened a communication with Santiago, and cut off that of the enemy with Chillan.

The fall of Talca was attributed to the want of energy and courage in the junta, who left the town several days before the approach of the enemy, and took off a part of the garrison for their own security. This occasioned a revolution; the junta was deposed, and the government entrusted to Don F. Lastra, governor of Valparaiso, who was styled supreme director. At this time, propositions for an accommodation were received from the viceroy of Lima, brought by captain Hillyar of the British frigate *Phoebe*, which induced Lastra to call a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Santiago, which decided that the director should propose terms of capitulation to general Gainza. The result was a capitulation, on the 5th of May, whereby Gainza and his troops were to re-embark for Lima within two months, and to leave the places he then occupied, in the same state of military defence as he had found them. It was also stipulated that the viceroy should acknowledge the government of Chili, and all the changes which had been made, and that Chili should send a certain number of deputies to the cortes of Spain, as members of that body. Two colonels were delivered by each party as hostages, and peace was restored for a season. The only object of the Spanish chiefs, however, seems to have been to gain time and save their army, as Gainza, under various pretences, refused to fulfil the ar-

ticles of the treaty, and by this base expedient preserved his army until general Osorio arrived with reinforcements from Lima.

The two Carreras, having escaped from Chillan, on the 23d of August 1814 succeeded in deposing Lastra, and re-established the junta. This revolution, effected by force and corruption, excited much indignation with the inhabitants of Santiago. At their desire, O'Higgins marched with his troops towards the capital. Just as these troops and those of Carrera, brethren in the same cause, were about to shed each other's blood, intelligence arrived that the viceroy of Lima disapproved the capitulation. This put an end to the civil war, and O'Higgins submitted to the junta. Leaving O'Higgins at the head of the army, Carrera returned to Santiago. Meanwhile the Spanish forces under Osorio approached. O'Higgins was unable to resist them; great consternation prevailed throughout Chili. More than two thousand of the inhabitants, and also Carrera with 600 of his troops, fled from the country. Osorio took Santiago, Valparaiso, and all the principal towns, without opposition, and at the end of October, 1814, the Spanish authority was completely re-established throughout Chili. The inhabitants became the victims of royal vengeance; arrests, imprisonments, punishments, and banishments followed, filling the country with terror, suffering, and horror. More than one hundred patriots were exiled to the desert island of Juan Fernandez, 380 miles from the coast.

For more than two years the royalists maintained their power in Chili, and governed with the greatest rigor. At length the people, like the Israelites of old, found a deliverer raised up to free them from bondage. This was General San Martin, governor of the neighboring province of Cuyo; who conceived the noble design of emancipating Chili. After a year spent in preparations, in January, 1817 he commenced his march across the Andes. After the most incredible exertions, in passing over frozen summits, and through narrow and dangerous defiles, he at length reached the enemy. An attack was immediately commenced, the royalists put to flight, and the country emancipated. San Martin was appointed Supreme Director of Chili, but he declined the office, and it was conferred on O'Higgins.

San Martin returned to Buenos Ayres, to concert measures for an expedition into Peru. Great exertions to fit out this expedition were made both by Buenos Ayres and Chili. The viceroy, alarmed at these preparations, resolved to decide the fate of Peru in Chili. Osorio, with 5,000 men, landed at Talcahuano, and marched for the capital. Before he could reach it, San Martin and O'Higgins had united their forces, and attacked him. In the first engagement they were defeated and obliged to retire. But in a few